

# The Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini

Volume V

English Translation of Adhyāya Six with  
Sanskrit Text, Transliteration, Word-Boundary,  
Anuvṛtti, Vṛtti, Explanatory Notes,  
Derivational History of Examples, and Indices

Rama Nath Sharma

This volume of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of *Pāṇini* contains English translation of *adhyāya* six. It includes Sanskrit text of individual *sūtras* with their transliteration, word-boundaries, indication of inflectional endings and formation of compounds. Each *sūtra* is also furnished with *anuvṛtti*, *vṛtti*, examples, detailed explanatory notes and complete derivational history of examples cited by the *Kāśikāvṛtti*.

Explanatory notes are presented to facilitate proper understanding of individual *sūtras*, especially in view of their formulation, interpretation, application and relative placement. An attempt has been made to sort out and explain pertinent issues, as raised and discussed by major commentaries. The appendix contains major derivations, in addition to nearly five hundred derivations discussed in the text under individual *sūtras*.

This volume is the fifth of a planned six-volume study. The sixth, and the last volume, of this series will cover the *sūtras* of *adhyāyas* seven and eight.

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# THE AṢṭĀDHYĀYĪ OF PĀṇINI

VOL. V

ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF *ADHYĀYA SIX* WITH  
SANSKRIT TEXT, TRANSLITERATION, WORD-BOUNDARY,  
ANUVṛTTI, VṛTTI, EXPLANATORY NOTES, DERIVATIONAL  
HISTORY OF EXAMPLES, AND INDICES

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त्रिपाठिवर्याय मुदान्विताय  
रामप्रसादाय सुसज्जनाय ।  
समर्थ ग्रन्थं गुरवेऽहिताय  
मोदं समाप्नोति ममाद्य चेतः ॥

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## Preface

This present is the fifth of a planned six-volume study on the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini. It also constitutes the fourth of the five translated volumes of the *sūtrapātha* of Pāṇini, with Sanskrit text, transliteration, word-boundary, *anuvṛtti*, *vṛtti*, English translation, examples, explanatory notes, derivations and appendices. This volume contains the English translation of *adhyāya* six of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. The sixth and final volume of this series will soon be published with the English translation of *adhyāyas* seven and eight.

I have, as usual, relied very heavily on commentarial sources for sorting out issues relative to rule-formulation, interpretation, application and order. Three *prakriyā* texts, the *Rūpāvatařah* of Dharmakirti, the *Prakriyākaumudī* of Rāmacandra and the *Siddhāntakaumudī* of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita have served as primary sources for derivational details. I have benefited most from the *Vyākaraṇa-mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali, the *Vyākaraṇa-candrodaya* of Charudeva Shastri, the *Kāśikāvṛtti*, with the commentaries Nyāsa of Jinendrabuddhi and Padamañjari of Haradatta (with Hindi translation of Jayashankar Lal Tripathi), the *Aṣṭādhyāyī-bhāṣya* of Prajñā Devī, the Hindi translation of the *Laghukaumudī* of Varadaraja made by Bhimsen Shastri and the *Siddhāntakaumudī* of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita with the Tattvabodhini of Jñānendra Sarasvatī and the Bālamanoramā of Vāsudeva Dīkṣita. I have mostly followed the *Kāśikāvṛtti* with the Nyāsa and Padamañjari for explanatory notes. Nyāsa, Padamañjari and *Siddhāntakaumudī* have proved extremely valuable in clarifying issues relative to rule interaction and conflict resolution. Here again, under individual rules, I have taken detours to accomodate remarks of cultural importance.

I have presented some general derivational processes at the beginning of the appendix so that repetition can be minimized. I have still offered major derivational details to illustrate issues, mostly in the text but also in the appendix. Frequent references to derivational details of earlier volumes have proved very helpful. I have, at places, found accentual rule-interaction somewhat puzzling. My reader must remain on guard in deciding issues pertaining to accentuation.

I fully realize the extremely complex nature of the form and content of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. I am also aware of my own limitations due to which I may have made many mistakes. I realize that there are many typographical errors in the earlier volumes. I have tried not to repeat them in this volume. As I get closer to the completion of my last volume I feel much confident in presenting the complexity of issues based on explanatory details of commentaries. It also reinforces my belief that *Kāśikā*, with the Nyāsa and Padamañjari, is the best source for fully understanding intricacies of the

*Aṣṭādhyāyī.* I have already started preparing a more detailed version of volume one and do intend to edit volumes two and three. I shall greatly appreciate my reader's comments in this regard.

I must express my deep sense of indebtedness to authors of works I have regularly consulted. My brother Narendra and Pandit Ramaprasad Tripathi, both of the Sampurnanand Sanskrit University at Varanasi, have always been generous to me in giving of their time. I dedicate this volume in memory of Pandit Ramaprasad Tripathi who recently passed away. I had the honor of studying the entire *Kāśikāvṛtti* with its commentaries Nyāsa and Padamañjari with him. I have, as usual, greatly benefited from the writings of Professor George Cardona.

The University of Hawaii, especially through its Research Council and Research Relations, has been very generous in supporting my research endeavors with grants. The American Institute of Indian Studies still remains the major funding agency to support this entire project. I must express my special thanks to Chris Bopp without whose programming skills I could never find my way out of the software jungle. These volumes owe a great deal to him. These volumes owe the most to my wife Kamala who has always protected me from many of my duties as a householder. I could not do this project without her support. Finally, I must thank Mr. Devendra Jain, Director of Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, my publishers, in dealing with this often not-so-very organized Pandit.

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# Abbreviations

abl	ablative
acc	accusative
Ait	<i>Aitareya Brāhmaṇa</i>
bv	<i>bahuvrīhi</i>
cat tat	<i>caturthī-tatpuruṣa</i>
DP	<i>Dhātupāṭha</i>
dat	dative
du	dual
dv	<i>dvandva</i>
dvi tat	<i>dviñyā-tatpurusā</i>
itar dv	<i>itaretara-dvandva</i>
fem	feminine
GP	<i>Ganapāṭha</i>
gen	genitive
inst	instrumental
int	internal
KS	<i>Kāthaka Samhitā</i>
Kāś	<i>Kāśikāvṛtti</i> of Vāmana Jayāditya with Padamañjari (PM) of Haradatta and the Nyāsa of Jinendrabuddhi
loc	locative
LS	<i>Laghuśabdenduśekhara</i> of Nāgeśa
Mbh	<i>Vyākaranamahābhāṣya</i> of Patañjali with the Pradīpa of Kaiyatā and the Udyota of Nāgeśa
masc	masculine
nañ tat	<i>nañ-tatpuruṣa</i>
neut	neuter
nom	nominative
PM	<i>Padamañjari</i> of Haradatta as <i>Kāśikāvṛtti</i> of Vāmana Jayāditya
PŚ	<i>Paribhāṣenduśekhara</i> of Nāgeśa
Pai	<i>Paiippalāda Samhitā</i>
pbh	<i>paribhāṣā</i>
pañc	<i>pañcamī</i>
pl	plural
RV	<i>Rgveda</i>
SK	<i>Vaiyākaraṇasiddhāntakauṇḍī</i> of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita with the Bālamanoramā of Vāsudeva Dīkṣita, and the Tattvabodhini of Jñānendra Sarasvatī
SP	<i>Sūtrapāṭha</i>
sam	<i>samāhāra</i>

sg	singular
Śś	<i>Śivasūtra</i>
Śat	<i>Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa</i>
ṣaṣ	ṣaṣṭhī
Tai	<i>Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa</i>
tat	<i>tatpuruṣa</i>
tr/trt	tṛtyā
VP	<i>Vākyapadiya</i> of Bhartṛhari with the commentary Ambākartrī of Paṇḍita Raghunātha Śarmā
vt	vārttika
Vāj	<i>Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā</i>
voc	vocative

# Adhyāya Six

## PĀDA ONE

### 6.1.1 एकाचो द्वे प्रथमस्य

*ekāco dve prathamasya*  
*/ ekācaḥ 6/1 = ekaḥ ac yasya (bv.), tasya;*  
*dve 1/2 prathamasya 6/1/*  
*ekācaḥ prathamasya iti dve vaktavyaḥ*

That which is formed with the first vowel of an item is iterated to become two.

EXAMPLES:

*jajāgāra* ‘... remained awake’  
*papāca* ‘... cooked’  
*iyāya* ‘... returned’  
*āra* ‘... departed’

1. This is an *adhikāra*. Consequently, one must read it in all subsequent rules prior to 6.1.13 *syañ samprasāraṇam*. . . . The true status of this rule must be determined since it also orders an operation (*vidhi*). Is this an *adhikāra*, merely to be carried to, and intended for, other rules (*parārtha*)? Is this an operational rule, especially since it specifies both an operand (*kāryin*; *prathamasya ekācaḥ*) as well as an operation (*kārya*; *dve*)? For, in this sense, it can be treated as intended for itself (*svārtha*). Since this rule must be carried to facilitate iteration in subsequent rules, it can also be accepted as intended for other rules (*parārtha*). An exclusive *svārtha* ‘intended for itself’ interpretation will create problems. For, in that case, this rule alone will be control iteration of all formal units. This, in turn, will make rules such as 6.1.8 *līti dhātor* . . . vacuous (*vyartha*). A restrictive (*niyama*) interpretation of 6.1.8, i.e., *līti dhātor eva* . . . ‘iteration of a *dhātu* only when *LIT* follows’, can save it from being vacuous. But a restrictive interpretation cannot be favored over a non-restrictive operational interpretation because of the *paribhāṣā* (84): *vidhiniyamasambhave vidhir eva jyāyān* ‘operational interpretation alone is to be preferred where restrictive and operational interpretations both become possible’. For reasons of connection with subsequent rules (*uttarottara-sambandha*), this rule is to be accepted as an *adhikāra*, different in nature from general operational rules.

2. Note that *ekācaḥ* of this rule, when read with 6.1.8 *līti dhātor* . . . , is interpreted as a qualifier to *dhātoḥ*. A question is raised whether *ekācaḥ* should be treated as a coreferential (*saṁānādhikarāṇa*), or else as a non-coreferential

(*vyadhibhāraṇa*), qualifier to *dhātōḥ*. If it is accepted as a coreferential qualifier, iteration will then be permitted only in connection with monosyllabic roots such as *pāṭh* and *pac*, etc. For, *dhātōḥ*, when qualified with *ekācāḥ*, will yield the interpretation: ‘of a root which consists of a single vowel’. Iteration, with this interpretation, will be blocked in connection with *jāgr* ‘to wake up’ and *daridrā* ‘to be poor’, etc., which consist of more than a single vowel. It is to remove such difficulties that the genitive in *dhātōḥ* is interpreted as denoting the part (*avayava*) of a whole (*avayavīn*). That is, *ekācāḥ* will be interpreted as a unit constituted by a single vowel which, in turn, forms part of a root. Of course, *ekācāḥ* will be further modified by *prathamasya*. This will yield the interpretation as follows: ‘a unit constituted by the first vowel which is also a part of the root’. This will clear the way for iteration in *jāgr*, etc. To conclude, genitive of *dhātōḥ* is interpreted as denoting a part-whole relationship (*avayavāvayavabhāva*). Additionally, *ekācāḥ* is not accepted as a coreferential qualifier.

The compound in *ekācāḥ* cannot be interpreted as a *karmadhāraya-tatpuruṣa* with the analyzed form: *ekaś cāsaū ac ca* ‘that (a root) which is also constituted by a single vowel’. For, it will then allow iteration only in the context of roots such as *iK* ‘to remember’, and *iN* ‘to study’, etc. Iteration in contexts where the root is not constituted by anything but a single vowel will be blocked. That is, *pac*, etc., cannot avail iteration to yield *papāca*, etc. It is to remove this difficulty that *ekācāḥ* is interpreted as a *bahuvrīhi* compound with the analyzed form: *eka ac yasmin* ‘that in which there is only one vowel’. Application of rules such as 7.4.70 *halādi* *śeṣāḥ* and 7.4.61 *śarīrvāḥ khayah* also attest to this. For, retention of a unit constituted by the first vowel, and deletion of the others, is possible only when a *bahuvrīhi* interpretation is accepted. A *tatpuruṣa* interpretation will block application of 7.4.70 *halādi* *śeṣāḥ*.

The *bahuvrīhi* of *ekācāḥ* is further interpreted as a *tadguṇa-samvijñāna*. Consider the following sentences:

- (i) *citravāsasam ānaya*  
‘bring one who wears colorful clothes’
- (ii) *citrāgum ānaya*  
‘bring one who owns brindled cows’

The first is a type of *tadguṇa-samvijñāna-bahuvrīhi* where its constituent *citra* of *citravāsas* is paraphrased with the verb. That is, when the person is brought, colorful (clothes) are also brought. The second sentence is a type of *atadguṇa-samvijñāna-bahuvrīhi* where *citra* of *citra(gu)* is not construed with the verb. That is, when the person is brought the cows are not brought along. The word *ekācāḥ*, when interpreted as an *atadguṇa-samvijñāna-bahuvrīhi*, will not permit *aC* to be paraphrased with the verb. It will then refer to something not qualified with a single vowel. This interpretation, however, is not desired. A *tadguṇasamvijñāna* interpretation is favored because it will

permit *aC* of *ekāC* to be paraphrased with the verb. *Kāśikā*, therefore, states that *sākṣayaiva dvirvacanam bhavati* ‘iteration applies only to that which consists of an *aC*’. The part-whole relationship of the genitive in *dhātoḥ* further strengthens this interpretation (*Kāś.*: *abhyantaraś ca samudāye' vayavo bhavatī sākṣayaiva dvirvacanam bhavati*).

3. A question is raised as to why the focus of iteration with the qualification of *ekāc*, for example in *pac*, cannot be accepted as *pa*, or *ac*, as opposed to *pac*. If there were more vowels then, in view of the qualification of *prathamasya*, determining a formal unit constituted by the first among vowels will be a lot easier. A root such as *pac*, for reasons of containing a single vowel, poses a problem in determining the object of iteration. In the absence of any clear solution the entire unit *pac* undergoes iteration. Iteration of *pa*, *a*, or *ac*, will yield undesired results. Besides, *pa*, *a*, or *ac*, as separate units constituted by a single vowel will not produce the cognition of the whole, i.e., verbal root *pac*. For, cognition will take place one at a time. That is, *pac* will be cognized as *ekāc* on one occasion, and *a*, and *pa*, on the other. Even if cognition is accomplished simultaneously (*yugapat*), it will not be possible to accomplish iteration simultaneously. It is in view of this that *Kāśikā* states: *sakṛc chāstrapravṛtyā sāvayavah samudāyo' nugṛhyate* ‘a whole with its parts alone is (to be) accepted (as focus of iteration) since the rule which allows iteration applies only once’.

A question is raised as to why iteration of more than one unit constituted by the single vowel of a larger whole cannot be accomplished in turn (*paryāya*). That is, why can *pac*, *pa*, *ac* and *a* cannot go through iteration in turn, as may be desired in view of the usage. This application of iteration in turn is not free of trouble. Consider the derivation of *nenekti*, *neniktaḥ* and *nenijati*, the third singular, dual and plural present indicative active forms of *nij* ‘to nourish’, derived from: *nij + ŠaP + ti*, *nij + ŠaP + tas* and *nij + ŠaP + jhi*, respectively. The focus of iteration in case of *nij* should be correctly accepted as *nij*. If (*n→n*)*i*, as against *nij*, is accepted as focus of iteration, deriving the first two forms will not pose any problem. We will thus get: (*n→n*)*ij* + (*LAT→tiP*) = *nij + ŠaP + ti(P→ϕ)* = *nij + (ŠaP→ŚLU) + ti→(ni + nij) + ϕ + ti* = *ninijti→n(i→e) n(i→e) jti→nene(j→k) ti = nenekti*. Similar rules can be applied in deriving *neniktaḥ*. But the derivation of *nenijati* will run into problems, especially in view of the assignment of the term *abhyasta* (6.5.1 *ubhe abhyastam*). Given *ninij + jhi*, rule 6.1.5 *ubhe abhyastam* will assign the term *abhyasta* to *nini*. But this term is desired to be assigned to *ninij*. For, 7.1.4 *ad abhyastat* will be blocked from introducing *at* as a replacement for *jhi* which, in turn, occurs after *nini*, an *abhyasta*. Everything will be in order if *ninij* is termed *abhyasta*. Thus, (*n→n*)*ij* + (*LAT→jhi*) → *nij + jhi→nij + (ŠaP) + jhi→nij + (ŠaP→ŚLU) + jhi→nij + nij + jhi→ni(j→ϕ) + nij + jhi = ninij + (jh→at) i = ninij + at + i = n(i→e) nij + at + i = nenijati*. Note that, in addition to deletion of *ŠaP* by *ŚLU* (2.4.75 *juhotyādibhyah śluḥ*), and iteration (6.1.10 *ślau*; 6.1.1

*ekāco dve prathamasya) with assignment of the terms *abhyāsa* (6.1.4 *pūrvo’ bhyāsah*) and *abhyasta* (6.1.5 *ubhe abhyastam*), we also apply 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣah* and 7.4.75 *nijām trayāṇām gunaślau*. Thus, *nij + nij → ni(j=ϕ) + nij = ninij* and *ninij → n (i → e) nij = nenij*.*

Refer to the appendix for derivational details.

### 6.1.2 अजादेर्द्वितीयस्य

*ajāder dvitīyasya*

/ *ajādeḥ* 6/1 = *aj ādir yasya* (*bv.*), *tasya*;

*dvitīyasya* 6/1/

(*ekācaḥ dve #1*)

*ac ādir yasya dhātoḥ tadaवयावास्या dvitīyasyaikāco dve bhavataḥ*

That which is constituted by the second vowel of a root beginning with a vowel is iterated to become two.

#### EXAMPLES:

*aṭitiṣati* ‘... wishes to constantly wander about’

*aṣiṣiṣati* ‘... wishes to eat’

*aririṣati* ‘wishes to go’

1. This rule offers iteration of a formal unit which may be constituted by the second vowel (*dvitīyasya*) of a verbal root beginning with a vowel (*ajādeḥ*). Our preceding rule offers iteration of a formal unit constituted by the first vowel of a verbal root. This rule is thus treated as an exception to the first, and hence, blocks its application. A question is raised against such blocking. That is, the question of blocking arises only when there is a possibility (*sambhava*) of application of both the rules (*ubhayaprasanga*). But how is it possible for these two rules to apply at the same time. These rules offer different objects of application. An argument in favor of application in turn (*paryāya*) cannot be made since *anabhyāsasya* of 6.1.8 *liṭi dhātor anabhyāsasya* will negate it.

2. Consider *aṭitiṣati* ‘... wishes to constantly wander about’, where verbal root *aṭiṣa* derives from *aṭ + saN*, via augment *iT*, replacement of *s* of *saN* with *ṣ* (*satva*; 8.3.59 *ādeśa pratyayayoh*) and iteration of *tiṣ* of *aṭ + i(T) + (s→ṣ) a(N)*) = *aṭiṣa*, to produce *aṭitiṣa* subsequent to the application 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣah*. This same is also true of *aṣiṣiṣati* ‘... wishes to eat’, where iteration of 6.1.9 *sanyaṇoh* is similarly regulated by provisions of this rule.

Note that deriving *aririṣati* still may pose some problem. For example, *ariṣa* of verbal root *aririṣa*, yet another derivate of *saN*, derives from *r + saN*, where *r* is replaced with its *guna* counterpart *a* followed immediately with *r* (*rapara*; 1.1.70 *taparas tatkālasya*). We then derive *ar + iT + sa = ariṣa*, where rule 7.2.74 *smipūnrañjasāṁ sani* orders augment *iT* to yield *ariṣa*. Rule 1.1.59 *dvirvacane’ ci* will create a problem in connection with focus of iteration. That

is, it will not allow *r* to be replaced with its *guna* counterpart *ar*, and hence, *r* alone will be included as part of the focus of iteration.

It is argued that rule 1.1.59 *dvirvacane’ci* applies only when a vowel (*aC*) is to serve as a condition (*nimitta*) for iteration (*dvitva*). What forms the condition of iteration here is *saN*, and not the *r*, or its replacement in *ar*. Rule 6.1.9 *sanyāñoh* orders this iteration with reference to a unit ending in *saN*. One may also argue here in favor of treating augment *iT* as part of condition of iteration. But this cannot be done because *saN*, and not the augment, is the condition for iteration. To this one can argue that, since *iT* is an augment (*āgama*), and hence, it is part of *saN*, *iT* can also be treated as a condition for iteration. For, What forms as part of *saN* can also be accepted as *saN*. But *i* will also be a part of *īś*, the operand (*kāryin*). A *kāryin*, while going through the application of a rule (*kārya*), cannot be treated as a condition for an operation ordered by that rule (*Kāś.: na ca kāryī nimittatvenāśriyate*; also see *paribhāṣā* (11): *kāryam anubhavan hi kāryī na nimittatvenāśriyate*). This is why the negation of *guna* or *vṛddhi*, as per 1.1.5 *kniti ca*, does not apply on *śayitā*. For, *śiN* cannot be treated as *nimitta* for its own *guna*.

It is explained that a *nimitta* must follow, and as such, it should serve as a condition for an operation to take place on what precedes. Close to this context of iteration (*dvirvacana*), its *nimitta* must constitute a right condition (PM: *yatra parato dvirvacanam ucyate tad eva tasya nimittam iti bhāvah*). Augment *iT* here does not follow. It is included within the operand (*kāryī*), instead.

3. Note that *Kāśikā* accepts *ajādeḥ* as a *bahuvrīhi* compound ending in *sasthī* ‘genitive’. It thus serves as a qualifier to *dhātoḥ* and yields the interpretation: *ajāder dhātor avayavasya dvitīyasaiकāco due bhavataḥ* ‘iteration in place of a unit formed by the second vowel of a root beginning with a vowel’. *Kāśikā* mentions that some also interpret *ajādeḥ* as a *karmadhāraya* compound (*ac cāsau ādiś ca*) used here with the *pañcamī* ‘ablative’. This, as has also been discussed by the *Mahābhāṣya*, yields the interpretation: *ajāder uttarasya ekāco due bhavataḥ* ‘two in place of a unit constituted by a vowel occurring after an initial vowel’. The *pañcamī* of *ajādeḥ*, when interpreted in view of 1.1.67 *tasmād ity uttarasya*, will automatically make the second vocalic unit as focus of iteration. This will then render *dvitīyasya* useless. Or else, *dvitīyasya* can then be accepted as used for clarity (*Kāś.: teśām ‘dvitīyasya’ iti vispaṣṭārthaṁ draṣṭavyam*).

### 6.1.3 न न्द्रः संयोगादयः:

*na ndrāḥ samyogādayaḥ*  
*/na φ ndrāḥ 1/3 = naś ca daś ca raś ca (itar. dv.); samyogādayaḥ 1/3 =*  
*samyogasya ādayaḥ (saṣ. tat.) /*  
*(ekācaḥ dve #1 dvitīyasya #2)*

*nakāra-dakāra-rephā dvitīyaikāco' vayavabhūtāḥ samyogādayo na dvir ucyante*  
 The initial *n*, *d* and *r* of a consonant cluster which occurs as part of a syllable formed with the second vowel of a vowel-initial root is not iterated to become two.

EXAMPLES:

*undidiṣati* ‘... wishes to make (it) wet’

*addidiṣati* ‘... wishes to press charges’

*arcicisati* ‘... wishes to worship’

1. This rule does not permit iteration of a unit which is formed with the second vowel of a root, and also contains a conjunct beginning with *n*, *d*, or *r*. Thus, *undidiṣati* ‘... wishes to make (it) wet’ is derived from (*undi + sa*) + LAT, where *n* occurs as part of the conjunct *nd*, occurring as initial of *ndi*, a unit formed with the second vowel *i* of verbal root *undi*. This rule, for purposes of iteration, will not permit *n* as part of a unit constituted by *i* of *undi*. Consequently, we will get: *undi + di + sa*, where *di* alone is accepted as constituting the focus of iteration. Note that *d* cannot be excluded from becoming a part of the unit which forms the focus of iteration. For, *d* does not occur after an *aC* and is also not the initial of a conjunct. Note also that this rule is not formulated for blocking iteration. It only blocks, for purposes of iteration, the initial *n*, *d*, or *r*, of a conjunct from becoming part of a unit constituted by the second vowel. The twin conditions of *samyogādi* ‘initial of a conjunct’ and *ajādi* ‘that which begins with a vowel’ are both important. Consequently, this negation will not be applicable in deriving *prāṇiniṣati*, where *n* of *pra + an + iT + saN* → *prāṇiṣa* does not occur at the beginning of a conjunct. Though it does occur after a vowel. What goes through iteration is *nīṣ*, a form constituted by the second vowel *i*, where *n* is also replaced with *ṇ* (*ṇatva*). Refer to the appendix for further derivational details.

2. Some also bring *ajādeḥ* from the previous rule and interpret it as a *karmadhāraya* (*ac cāsau ādiś ca*) compound ending in *pañcamī* ‘ablative’. This blocks the *n* of *indri* from being included within the unit *dri*, formed by the second vowel *i*. For, in view of a *pañcamī* interpretation, *n* will be occurring immediately after *i*, here characterized as *ajādi*. The iteration of *d* which occurs after *n* cannot be blocked since it does not occur immediately after *i*. Incidentally, *indidriyīṣati* ‘... wishes to wish for Indra’ derives from *indidriyīṣa* + LAT. Verbal root *indidriyīṣa* itself derives from *indrīya + saN*, where *indrīya* is paraphrased as *indram icchatī*, parallel to (*indra + am*) + KyaC. Deriving *indidriyīṣa*, from *indrīya + saN*, involves introducing augment *iT*, deleting *a* of *indrīya* (6.4.48 *ato lopah*) and iteration of *dri* of *indrīya*. The *n* of the root cannot be accepted as part of *ndrī*, a unit formed by *i*, the second vowel of *indrīya*. For, *n* happens to occur immediately after *i*, a unit beginning with a vowel. Since *d* of *dri* is intervened by *n*, *dri* is treated as a unit fit for iteration. See the appendix for additional derivational details.

Note that a *karmadhāraya* interpretation of *ajādeḥ* is favored over a *bahuvrīhi* so that a desired form such as *indidriyisati* can be derived. The *Mahābhāṣya* discusses these interpretations both. *Kāśikā* seems to be favoring the *bahuvrīhi* interpretation. Bhaṭṭoṇi Dīkṣita (SK: *ādibhūtād acaḥ parasya dve na stah*) prefers the *karmadhāraya* interpretation.

3. A series of *vārtikas* offer additional negations (*pratiṣedha*) relative to iteration:

- (i) Iteration of a *b* occurring at the beginning of a conjunct must also be negated (*bakārasyāpy ayam pratiṣedho vaktavyah*). Thus, we get *ubjijisati*. This negation applies only when the root is specified as *ubj*, with *b* in its *upadhā*. It does not apply when the root is specified as *udj*, with *d* in its *upadhā*. But then its *d* must be replaced with *b* to derive forms such as *ubjītā* and *ubjītum* (cf.: *bakārasya pratiṣedho vaktavyah. yadā bakāropadha ubjir upadiṣyate tadāyam pratiṣedhah. dakāropadhopadeśe tu na vaktavyah. batvam tu tadā dakārasya vidhātavyam*).
- (ii) Iteration of a *r* which is followed by *y* should not be stated (*yakāra-parasya rephasya pratiṣedho na bhavañtī vaktavyam*). Thus, we get *arāryate* where iteration finds its scope in *arya*, derived from *r + yaṄ* (cf. *atyartisūrnotūnām upasamkhyānam*) through *guṇa* (7.4.30 *yaṇi ca*). Note that *r* occurs at the beginning of a conjunct (*ry*) which, in turn, occurs after *a* (*ajādi*). A negation of iteration which obtains here is blocked at the strength of this *vārtika*. Incidentally, the source of this *vārtika* is doubtful.
- (iii) Iteration of the third of *īrya* should also be stated (*īryates tṛtyasya dve bhavata iti vaktavyam*). But a question remains: iteration of the third of what? Some say of the third consonant (*vyañjanasya*). This would then yield an example such as: *īryiyisati*. But others state that iteration affects a unit formed with the third vowel (*tṛtyasyai-kācaḥ*). This would then yield *īryiṣisati*, etc.
- (iv) A *vārtika* recommends iteration of a unit formed with the third vowel when verbal roots listed in the *kañvādi* group are involved (*kañvādīnām tṛtyasyaikāco dve bhavata iti vaktavyam*). This will give us *kañdūyiyisati* and *asūyiyisati*.
- (v) Yet another *vārtika* allows iteration of a unit formed with the third vowel of a denominative, only optionally (*vā nāmadhātūnām tṛtyasyaikāco dve bhavata iti vaktavyam*). This will offer us: *aśvīyisati* and *asīsvīyisati*.
- (vi) Yet others claim that iteration applies as desired in connection with denominatives (*yatheṣṭam nāmadhātuṣ iti vaktavyam*). Thus observe: *puputriyiyisati*, *putitriyiyisati*, *putriyiyisati*, *puputitriyiyisati* (\*doubtful) and *putriyiyisati*.

## 6.1.4 पूर्वाभ्यासः:

*pūrvo' bhyāsaḥ*  
*/pūrvah 1/1 abhyāsaḥ 1/1/*  
*(dve #1)*

*asmin prakaraṇe ye dve vihite taylor yah pūrvo' vayavah so'*  
*bhyāsasamjñō bhavati*

The first of the two elements gotten via iteration is termed *abhyāsa*.

## EXAMPLES:

- papāca* 'he cooked'
- pipakṣati* '... wishes to cook?'
- pāpacyate* '... cooks over and over again?'
- juhoti* '... offers ritual sacrifice'
- apipacat* '... had something cooked'

1. The word *abhyāsa* is commonly used in the sense of *āvṛtti* 'repetition'. As such, the first of the two units in iteration cannot be assigned the term *abhyāsa*. For, in this section of iteration, the term *abhyāsa* can apply only to the subsequent second (*parasya*). It is to make this term also applicable to the first of the two units in iteration that the word *pūrva* is specified (*Nyāsa*: *abhyāsaśabdo'yaṁ āvṛttivacano loke prasiddha eva. sa cāvṛtih prathamasya nāstīty abhyāsapradeśeṣu parasyagrahane prāptē pūrvasya grahanam yathā syād ity evam arthaṁ tasyābhyāsasamjñā vidhiyate*). This word is here used in the sense of *avayava* 'part of a whole' as we find in expressions such as *pūrvam kāyasya paśoh* 'the front part of the body of an animal'. But we always refer to parts with reference to a whole which contains them. Since no specification of this whole is made in this rule we must carry the *anuvṛtti* of *dve*. But a whole with reference to which *pūrva* can specify a part must be given in the genitive (*sasthī*) with the denotatum of *avayavin* 'whole'. That is, as a *sasthī* marking the relationship understood by the genitive in *vṛksasya*, as in *vṛksasya sākhā* 'branch of a tree'. The nominative of *dve* cannot mark such a relationship.

Commentators state that the nominative of *dve* will be transformed into genitive for availing this desired meaning (*Nyāsa*: *arthād vibhaktivipariṇāmo bhavati*). That is, the genitive of *dvayoh* will enable us to interpret the rule as: *dvayor yah pūrvas tasyābhyāsasamjñā vidhiyate* 'the term *abhyāsa* is applied to that which is first of the two'. If this is how we apply the term *abhyāsa* to the first of the two then this term can also apply in the domain of 8.1.1 *sarvasya dve*. Commentators state that this can be blocked in view of close contextual proximity (*pratyāsatti*). That is, this term will be applicable only to that first which forms part of the two units brought about by applying an operational rule from this section dealing with iteration (*Kāś.: tatra pratyāsatter asmin-prakaraṇe ye dve vihite taylor yah pūrvo' vayavah so' bhyāsasamjñō bhavati*). Inci-

dentially, the maxim (*nyāya*) of *vyāpti* ‘pervasion’ will focus on instances of iteration. The maxim of *pratyāsatti* will limit the scope of operation on hand.

Is it necessary to state that *pūrva* denotes *avayava* here? Yes, because *pūrva* can also denote *vyavasthā* ‘definite arrangement or position (east)’.

2. The scope and function of assigning the term *abhyāsa* can best be illustrated by provisions of rules such as 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣah*, 7.4.62 *kuhoś cuḥ*, 7.4.83 *dirgho' kitah*, 7.4.93 *sanvallaghuni . . .*, 7.4.94 *dirgho laghoh*, 8.4.54 *abyāse car ca*, etc. Thus, 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣah* allows an *abhyāsa* to retain only that unit which is formed with its initial consonant. Consequently, in *pac* of *pac + pac*, where the first *pac* is termed an *abhyāsa*, only *pa* is retained. Rule 7.4.62 *kuhoś cuḥ* orders that a velar stop and its corresponding nasal, as well as the *h* of an *abhyāsa*, be replaced with its palatal counterpart. Rule 7.4.83 *dirgho' kitah* orders a long vowel as a replacement for the short of an *abhyāsa*, other than one marked with *Kas* as an *it*. Rule 7.4.93 *sanvallaghuni . . .*, under special circumstances, extends operations similar to a *saN* affix to the *abhyāsa* of an item termed *aṅga* (1.4.13 *yasmāt pratyayaividhis . . .*; 6.4.1 *aṅgasya*). Our next rule orders a long vowel replacement for the *laghu* ‘light’ vowel of an *abhyāsa* in situations similar to that of the preceding rule. A replacement denoted by the abbreviatory term *caR*, and *jaŚ* as well, is ordered by 8.4.54 *abyāse car ca* for sounds denoted by *jhaL*, and contained within an *abhyāsa*.

### 6.1.5 उभे अभ्यस्तम्

*ubhe abhyastam*

/ *ubhe 1/2 abhyastam 1/1/*

(*dve #1*)

*ye dve vihite te ubhe api samudite abhyastasamjñe bhavataḥ*

The two thus obtained via iteration are together termed *abhyasta*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*dadati* ‘third plural active LAT of *dā* (to give)’

*dadat* ‘nominative singular of *dā* ending in *ŚatR*’

*dadhatu* ‘third plural active LOT of *dhā* (to place, hold)’

1. Jinendrabuddhi states that *ubhe* is specified so that the nominatum (*sanjñin*) of the term *abhyasta* could be clearly specified (*Nyāsa ad Kāś.: iha ubhegrahaṇam sanjñinirdeśārtham kriyate*). Haradatta strongly objects to this interpretation. He states that bringing *dve*, via *anuvṛtti*, itself specifies the nominatum (PM: . . . *na tu sanjñānirdeśārtham. dve ity asyānuvṛtyaiva sanjñinirdeśasya siddhatvād ity arthaḥ*). But a question still remains. Why make a specification by *ubhe* when its purpose can be served by carrying the *anuvṛtti* of *dve*? A specification by *ubhe* becomes necessary since, in its absence, the term *abhyasta* will be assigned to the two constituents of iteration individually. Although a term applying to the two constituents singly, may still be

treated as applying to them also as a group, such a practice is not desired. That is, this term assignment can not be likened to a situation where the action of bringing two people individually in response to *dvāv ānīyetām* ‘let the two be brought’ may also be interpreted as bringing them both at once. The word *ubhe* is used in this rule so that *abhyasta* could not be assigned to constituents of iteration individually. This term is assigned, instead, to the two constituents both at once. This is what a specification by *ubhe* accomplishes (*Nyāsa*: *yad ubhegraḥaṇam na kriyeta tada pratyekam abhyastasamjñā pravartate. pratyekam api hi tayoḥ pravartamānāsau pravṛtaiva bhavati tathā hi dvāv ānīyetām ity ukte pratyekam apy ānayanena tāv ānītau bhavataḥ. tasmāt samudāye saṃjñāyāḥ pravṛttir yathā syād ekaikasya mā bhūd ity evam artham ubhe grahaṇam*).

### 6.1.6 जक्षित्यादयः षट्

*jakṣa ityādayah ṣat*

/*jakṣa* (1/1 deleted) *ityādayah* = *ity ādiḥ yeṣām* (bv.); *ṣat* 1/1 / (*abhyastam* #5)

*jakṣa ity ayaṁ dhātūr ity ādayaś ca ṣat dhātavo' bhyastasamjñā bhavanti. seyam saptānāṁ dhātūnāṁ abhyastasamjñā vidihiyate*

Verbal root *jaksA* ‘to eat, laugh’, and an additional six roots enumerated thereafter, are also termed *abhyasta*.

EXAMPLES:

*jaksati* ‘they eat’

*jāgrati* ‘they are awake’

*daridrati* ‘they are poor’

*cakāsati* ‘they glow’

*śāsati* ‘they instruct’

(These examples are all third personal plural derivates of present indicative active)

1. The expression *jaksityādayah* ‘*jaksA* and roots enumerated thereafter’ refers to seven verbs, namely *jaksA* ‘to eat, laugh’, *jāgr* ‘loss of sleep, to remain awake’, *daridrā* ‘state of things going bad, be poor,’ *cakāsR* ‘to glow’, *śāsR* ‘to instruct’, *dīdhīN* ‘to glow’ and *veviN* ‘to move’. Assigning the term *abhyasta* serves diverse purposes. For example, an item termed *abhyasta* is marked *udāitta* at the beginning (6.1.189 *abhyastānām ādiḥ*). It also ends up losing its *ā* when followed by a *sārvadhātuka* affix marked with *K* and *N* (6.4.112 *śnābhystayor ātah*). It can also prove instrumental in blocking augment *nUM* (7.1.78 *nābhystāc chatuh*). More directly, it is to enable the assignment of the term *abhyasta* that these roots are explicitly cited. This rule thus facilitates the application of rule 7.1.4 *ad abhyastāt*. Refer to derivational details under examples of relevant rules.

Our preceding rule assigns the term *abhyasta* to both elements of an iterated string. This rule assigns the term to specific roots which have not gone through iteration. Refer to the appendix for additional derivational details.

### 6.1.7 तुजादीनां दीर्घोऽभ्यासस्य

*tujādīnām dīrgho' bhyāsasya*  
*/ tujādīnām 6/3 = tuja ādir yesām (bv);*  
*dīrghah 1/1 abhyāsasya 6/1/*  
*tujādīnām abhyāsasya dīrghah sādhur bhavati*

A long (*dīrgha*) comes in place of the *abhyāsa* of *tujA* and other roots of its kind.

EXAMPLES:

*tūtujānah* ‘quick, eager’  
‘nominative singular of *tuj* + (*LIT*→*KānaC*) = *tūtujāna*’  
*māmahānah*  
‘nominative singular of *maha* + (*LIT*→*KānaC*) = *māmahāna*’  
*gnādvān dādhāra*  
*dādhāra* ‘third singular of *dhṛ* + (*LIT*→*tiP*→*NaL*)’  
*svādhām mīmāya*  
‘third singular of *mi* + (*LIT*→*tiP*→*NaL*) = *mīmāya*’  
... *tūtāva* ‘third singular of *tu* + (*LIT*→*tiP*→*NaL*)’  
*tutoja* . . . ‘a form of classical usage’

1. The word *ādi* is here used in the sense of *prakāra* ‘kind’. That is, a *vyavasthā* ‘fixed’ meaning of *ādi* will refer to roots which are found in *sūtras* and in different groups of verbal listings. It is, therefore, desired that *ādi* be interpreted as meaning *prakāra* ‘kind, like’. Consequently, *tujādi* will here refer to roots of the kind of *tuj* where its *abhyāsa* is not subjected to lengthening (*dīrgha*) by any specific rule application (*na vihitah*) but is seen in usage (*dr̥yate*). Such seen-in-usage lengthening is accepted as correct (*sādu*). Thus, consider *tūtujānah* which derives from *tuj* + *LIT*→ (*tutuj* + (*LIT*→*KānaC*) = *tutuj* + *āna* where no rule replaces the *u* of the first *tu* with its long counterpart. Our present rule considers this replacement valid based upon usage. It does not order the replacement. Incidentally, one must also infer *LIT* from the *abhyāsa* specification of this rule. For, that is where iteration and assignment of the term *abhyāsa* is possible. Incidentally, a long vowel in the Vedic forms of these roots is seen only when some particular affix follows (*Kāś.*: *dīrghaś caisām chandasī pratyayaviśeṣe eva dr̥yate, tato'nyatra na bhavati*). Refer to the appendix for full derivational details.

*Nyāsa* indicates that this rule is unnecessary. That is, all examples are Vedic and hence, 3.1.85 *vyat�ayo bahulam* can account for its provision. A

*vyatyaya*, other than that of a *sUP*, can thus be accepted as an expiation (*prapañca*) of 3.1.85 *vyatyayo bahulam*.

### 6.1.8 लिटि धातोरनभ्यासस्य

*liti dhātor anabhyāsasya*

/ *liṭi* 7/1 *dhātoḥ* 6/1 *anabhyāsasya* (*nañ tat.*) 6/1/

(*ekāco dve prathamasya* #1 *ajāder dvitīyasya* #2)

*liti parato anābhyaśasya dhātor avayavasya prathamasyaikāco dvitīyasya vā yathāyogaṁ dve bhavataḥ*

That part of a root which is formed with its first vowel, or is formed with its second if the root begins with a vowel, is iterated to become two if not already iterated, provided affix *LIT* follows.

EXAMPLES:

*papāca* 'third singular active *LIT* of *pac*'

*papāṭha* 'third singular active *LIT* of *path*'

*prornunāva* 'third singular active *LIT* of *pra-ūrṇu* (to cover)'

1. This rule offers iteration of a unit of root constituted by its first vowel, or its second if the root begins with a vowel and, of course, when affix *LIT* follows. This iteration is allowed only when the unit constituted by the first or second vowel of a root has not gone through iteration previously. Consider *papāca* which derives from *pac* + (*LIT* → *tiP*) = *pac* + (*tiP* → *NaL*) = *pac* + *a* → *pac* + *pac* + *a* → *pa* (*c* → *∅*) + *pac* + *a* → *pa* + *p* (*a* → *ā*) *c* + *a* = *papāca*, where *LIT* is replaced with *NaL*, via *tiP*, and iteration with the assignment of the term *abhyāsa* to first *pac* yields *papac*, through *halādiśeṣa* 'retention of a unit of *abhyāsa* constituted by its intitial consonant'. A replacement in *vṛddhi* for the penultimate vowel of *papac* + *a* finally yields *papāca*. This same also is followed in deriving *papāṭha*. Deriving *prornunāva* from *pra* + *ūrṇu* + (*LIT* → *tiP*) = *pra* + *ūrṇu* + (*tiP* → *NaL*) = *pra* + *ūrṇu* + *nu* + *a* involves iteration of the second syllable of the root, i.e., *nu* (6.1.2 *ajāder dvitīyasya*). The *ṇu* of *ūrṇu* is here treated as *nu* (cf. *vācyā ūrnor ṣuvadbhāvah*). This *ṣuvadbhāva* blocks introduction of affix *ām* (3.1.36 *ijādeś ca . . .*). Note that iteration cannot apply to *u* since the root begins with a vowel. It cannot apply to *r* since 6.1.3 *ndrāḥ saṃyogādayah* will block it. The *u* + *a* sequence of *pra* + *ūrṇu* is replaced with a single *guna* vowel *o* (6.1.87 *ād gunah*), yielding *pror* + *nu* + *a*. We will arrive at the string *pror* + *nu* + *nu* + *a* after iteration, where the *u* of the second *nu* will be replaced with *āv* (6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvah*) via its *vṛddhi* counterpart *au* (7.2.115 *aco' ṣṇiti*). Incidentally, a form such as \**prornuvāñcakāra* cannot be derived here because affix *ām* (3.1.37 *ijādeś ca gurumato' nṛccahah*) is negated in this context of *ūrṇu* (cf. *vt. ūrṇoteś ca pratīṣedho vaktavyah*).

Why can we not apply 7.2.115 *aco' ṣṇiti* to replace the *u* of *nu* of *pror* + *nu* before *NaL*? Rule 1.1.59 *dvirvacane'ci* will block this vocalic replacement.

Thus, a replacement in *vṛddhi* will apply to the *u* of the second *nu* of *pror + nu + nu*. Now the question. How could this *vṛddhi* apply on the second *nu* when it is not an *aṅga* ending in a vowel? This *nu* comes from iteration and hence is not the *nu* after which *NaL* was introduced (1.4.13 *yasmāt pra-tyayavidhis . . .*). Commentators accept *dvirvacana* as *dviprayoga* ‘repetition’. It is not accepted as *sthāne dvirvacana* ‘two utterances in place of one’. That is, the same *nu* after which *NaL* was introduced is repeated.

Yet another question. Why *vṛddhi*? Why not *guṇa* of 7.3.84 *sārvadhātu-kārddhadhātukayoh*? An application of *vṛddhi* will be favored since *NaL* is marked with *N* as an *it*. This will block *guṇa* on the basis of *śighropasthitikāntaraṅgatva* ‘immediately available internal conditioning’ and *alpāpekṣatva* ‘minimum dependency’. This same conflict will appear in *papāca* and *papāha* where *vṛddhi* will obtain from 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ*. Rule 1.1.59 *dvirvacane’ci* will again block *ajādeśa* ‘vocalic replacement’, i.e., *vṛddhi*. This kind of interaction between 7.2.115 *aco’ nñiti* and 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārddhadhātukayoh* will appear everywhere in connection with derivates of *LIT*.

2. Why do we have to state ‘when *LIT* follows’? So that given *kṛ + LUT* and *hṛ + LUT*, from which one derives *kartā* and *hartā*, we do not end up applying iteration. Why is iteration restricted to apply only to a root (*dhātoḥ*)? Consider *somam indrāya sunvire* where *sunvire* is a derivate of verbal root *śuṄ* ‘to press out juice’ used with *LIT*. The final form of *sunvire* is derived with augment *Śnu*. Iteration is blocked here since a root such as *śu*, when used with *Śnu*, is not accepted as a root (*dhātu*). Iteration will here be blocked because of interruption (*vyavadhāna*) caused by the augment (*vikarāṇa*). One may also invoke *chandas bahulam* ‘variously in the Vedic’ (see *Nyāsa*) to block this iteration. The restriction that only a root not gone through iteration should go through iteration before *LIT* is also important. For, *nonū + LIT* where *nonū* derives from *n(u→o) + n(n→ū) + (yaṄ→LUK)* with affixal denotatum of repeated action (*paunahpunya*), will not qualify. Incidentally, *yaṄ* is deleted by 2.4.74 *guṇo yaṄ luki*. Our final derivate *nonāva* also entails *tiP→NaL* where, given *nonū + a*, *ū* is replaced with *āv* via its *vṛddhi* counterpart *au*. Recall that iteration has already been accomplished in deriving *nonū*. Since the root has already gone through assignment of the term *abhyāsa*, iteration again cannot be allowed in *nonū + LIT*.

3. The following *kārikā* verse has consequences for derivates of this rule:

*nakārajāv anusvāra pañcamau jhali dhātuṣu/*  
*sakārajah śakāraś ca rasāt ṭavargah tavargajah//*

‘*anusvāra* and nasals which occur in a root before a sound denoted by *jhaL* are understood as having their origin in *n*.

A palatal *ś* before *c* is to be understood as having its origin in a dental *s*. A retroflex stop of the *t*-series which occurs after *r* and *ś* should be accepted as having its origin in the stop of the dental *t*-series.’

Note that the iteration of *nu* of *urṇu*, especially after its impaired association with *r* results in *n̄* replaced with *n*, can be accomplished with the help of this *kārikā*. One thus does not have to resort to a statement such as *vācyā urṇor nuvadbhāvah*.

4. A *vārttika* proposal under this rule makes iteration optional in case of the Vedic usage (*dvirvacanapraharane chandasī veti vaktavyam*). Thus, we get examples such as *jāgāra/jajāgāra; dāti/dadāti; dātu/dadātu*, etc.

### 6.1.9 सन्यङ्गोः:

*sanyāñoh*

/ *sanyāñoh* 6/2/

(*ekāco dve prathamasya #1 ajāder dvitīyasya #2 dhātor anabhyāsasya #8*)

*sanantasya yanantasya cānabhyāsasya dhātor avayavasya*

*prathamasyaikāco dvitīyasya vā yathāyogañ dve bhavataḥ*

That part of a root which is formed with its first vowel, or is formed with its second if the root begins with a vowel, is iterated to become two if not already iterated, provided the root ends in affixes *saN* and *yaṄ*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*pipakṣati* 'third singular active present of *pac + saN* = *pipakṣa'*

*pipatiṣati* 'third singular active present of *pat + saN*

*aririṣati* 'third singular active present of *r + saN* = *aririṣa'*

*undidiṣati* 'third singular active present of *undi + saN* = *undidiṣa'*

*pāpacyate* 'third singular present middle of *pac + yaṄ* = *pāpacya'*

*aṭātyate* 'third singular present middle of *aṭ + yaṄ* = *aṭātya'*

*yāyajyate* 'third singular present middle of *yaj + yaṄ* = *yāyajya'*

*arāryate* 'third singular present middle of *ṛ + yaṄ* = *arārya'*

*prornonūyate* 'third singular present middle of *prornonūya'*

*loluyiṣate* 'third singular present middle of *luṄ + yaṄ* = *loluya'*

1. This rule orders iteration again of a non-*abhyāsa* unit constituted by the first or second vowel of a verbal root, provided the same ends in affixes *saN* and *yaṄ*. Our earlier rules orders iteration for a root which occurs before *LIT* and has not gone through iteration. The word *sanyāñoh* is genitive (*sasthi*) dual (*dvirvacana*). The *anuvṛtti* of *dhātor anabhyāsasya* is still valid. Consequently, the non-*abhyāsa* unit which is here required to go through iteration must be part (*avayava*) of a root which has not gone through iteration. Additionally, the root must also end in affixes *saN* and *yaṄ*. Needless to say that units formed by the first or second vowel of a root will form the focus of iteration.

2. Note that *sanyāñoh* is interpreted as ending in genitive (*sasthi*), and not in the locative (*saptamī*). This, in consonance with *pratyayagrahane*

*tadantagrahanam* (*Paribh.* 24) yields the interpretation ‘... the root which ends in affixes *saN* and *yaṄ*’. A locative interpretation will yield the following meaning: ‘... the root when affixes *saN* and *yaṄ* follow’. Clearly then the locative interpretation will permit iteration, for example, in *aṭ + sa(N→ϕ)* = *aṭ + sa*. The result will be a wrong string: \**aṭ + aṭ + sa*. Our correct string should be *aṭi + aṭ + sa* which results from iteration of a unit formed with the second vowel of the root. For, verbal root *aṭ* begins with a vowel. This second vowel of the root is gotten from introduction of augment *iT* (*idāgama*). We thus get *aṭ + saN→aṭ + i + sa→aṭi + ti + sa*. If one accepts the locative interpretation then the base, i.e., *aṭ*, will form the focus of iteration under the condition of following suffixes, i.e., *saN* and *yaṄ*. Consequently, augment *iT*, because it will then be intervened by affix *saN*, cannot be part of iteration (*PM ad Kāś.: saptamīpakte tu sanyaiḥ parataḥ pūrvasya dhātor dvirvacanam bhavaty ity ayam arthaḥ syāt, tatas ca sanbhaktasyeṣo dvirvacanam na syāt ...*). Iteration will be blocked here since augment *iT*, the second vowel before *saN*, will no longer be available. The *i* of *iT* will become a part of *saN*, the affix which follows. Besides, a locative interpretation will create problems in cases where affixal deletion, for example deletion of *yaṄ*, has taken effect. Iteration in such instances will then apply to an *āṅga* before the affix which has gone through deletion. One cannot here invoke *pratyayalakṣaṇa* ‘characteristic affixal operations take place even when the affix is deleted (1.1.62 *pratyayalope pratyayalakṣaṇam*)’ since 1.1.63 *na lumatāṅgasya* will block it. Invoking *pratyayalakṣaṇa* in case of a genitive interpretation to introduce *iT* to a base which has lost its *yaṄ* does not create any problem. For, that base, through *pratyayalakṣaṇa*, will still have *yaṄ* as its final part. Refer to the *Tattvabodhī* ad *SK* for further details.

3. Note that iteration involves two formal possibilities as foci: (a) a formal unit constituted by the first vowel of the base, or (b) a formal unit constituted by the second vowel of the base. This context of iteration also involves two affixes *saN* and *yaṄ*. Shall we then establish some kind of *yathāsaṅkhyā* ‘assignment of equivalency in accord with enumeration of equal number of elements in two sets (1.3.10 *yathāsaṅkhyam anudeah samānām*)?’ Should we say that a formal unit constituted by the first vowel of the base is iterated when affix *saN* is involved; and a formal unit constituted by the second vowel is iterated when affix *yaṄ* is involved? Since such an interpretation will yield many wrong derivations, especially in examples where affix *yaṄ* is involved, the idea of *yathāsaṅkhyā* must be abandoned. For, accepting *yathāsaṅkhyā* will block introduction of augment *nīK* to *vañcU*, etc. (7.4.84 *nīgvañcusrāṇsudhvāṇsubhraṇsu ...*) when a deleted *yaṄ* follows (*Nyāsa ad Kāś.: yadi hy atra yathāsaṅkhyam abhipretam syāt tadā ‘nīgvañcu’ ityādinā ‘vañcuprabhṛtinām abhyāsasya yañluko nīgāgamavidhānam noपapadyate*).

Refer to the appendix for derivational details of examples.

### 6.1.10 श्लौ

*ślau*

/ślau 7/1/

(ekāco dve prathamasya #1 ajāder dvitīyasya #2 dhātor anabhyāsasya #8)

*ślau paratao' nabhyāsasya dhātor avayavasya prathamasyaikāco dvitīyasya vā yathāyogaṁ dve bhavataḥ*

That part of a root which is formed with its first vowel, or is formed with its second if the root begins with a vowel, is iterated to become two if not already iterated, provided ŚLU follows the root.

EXAMPLES:

*juhoti* ‘third singular active present of *hu* (to call)’

*bibheti* ‘third singular active present of *Ñlbhī* (to fear)’

*jihreti* ‘third singular active present of *hriÑ* (to be shy)’

1. This rule allows iteration of a unit formed with the first or second vowel of a root when ŚLU follows. Recall that roots such as *hu* ‘to call’, *Ñlbhī* ‘to fear’ and *hriÑ* ‘to blush’ are classed in the *juhotyādi* group. As such, ŚLU comes in place of ŚaP which follows these roots (2.4.75 *juhotyādibhyah śluḥ*). But how can ŚLU form a right condition for iteration when it has gone through non-appearance (*adarśana*). How could ŚaP which has gone through non-appearance (*adarśana*) be still made to reappear and follow? It is possible via *upacāra* ‘assumed application’ which will enable a replacement (*ādeśa*), in our present context ŚLU, to be acceptable as the item it replaced (*sthānin*), i.e., ŚaP. ŚLU can thus form the right condition of iteration by way of ŚAP it replaced (*Nyāsa ad Kāś: sthāninah paratvāt tasyāpi taddvārena paurvāparyam aupacārikam gr̥hitvaiva yuktam uktam ity adosah*). Refer to the appendix for derivational details of examples.

### 6.1.11 चति

*cari*

/cari 7/1/

(ekāco dve prathamasya #1 ajāder dvitīyasya #2 dhātor anabhyāsasya #8)

*cari parato' nabhyāsasya dhātor avayavasya prathamasyaikāco dvitīyasya vā yathāyogaṁ dve bhavataḥ*

That part of a root which is formed with its first vowel, or is formed with its second if the root begins with a vowel, is iterated to become two if not already iterated, provided CaÑ follows the root.

EXAMPLES:

*apipacat* ‘third singular active *LUN* of *paci*’

*apipathat* ‘third singular active *LUN* of *pāthi*’

*ātiyat* ‘third singular active *LUN* of *āti*’

āśisat '... of āśi'  
ārdidat '... of ārdi'

1. This rule orders iteration when *CaN* follows. Consider the derivation of *apipacat*, a derivate of *LUN* introduced after verbal root *pac* used with *NiC*. Thus we get: *pac + NiC = pāc + i = pāci* where affix *NiC* is introduced after verbal root *pac* by 3.1.26 *hetumati ca*. The long replacement (*dīrgha*) for the short *a* of *pac* is accomplished by 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ*. Affix *LUN* can now be introduced after a newly derived verbal root *pāci* (3.1.23 *sanādyantā dhātavah*). A subsequent introduction of augment *aT* will yield *aT + pāc + i + LUN → a + pāc + i + LUN → a + pāc + i + CLI + LUN → a + pāc + i + (CLI → CaN) + LUN = a + pāc + i + a + LUN*, where *CLI* is introduced after *pāci* (3.1.43 *cli luni*) when *LUN* follows. This *CLI* is then replaced with *CaN* (3.1.48 *niśidrumbhyāḥ kartari caṇ*) under the right condition of *LUN* with the denotatum of *kartṛ* 'agent'. Iteration now becomes applicable under the provision of this rule. However, deletion of the causal affix *i* (*NiC; nilopa*) is also available under the provision of rule 6.4.51 *ner aniṭi*. Both these operations are obligatory (*nitya*). The deletion of *NiC* will apply even when iteration does not apply. Iteration itself will apply even when deletion of *NiC* does not apply. We find a conflict of equal strength between these two operations, especially since their obligatory nature is established based upon *kṛtā-kṛtāprasāṅga*, a context where two operations come into conflict such that performing or not performing one against the other does not alter their obligatory status.

Deletion of *NiC*, since it is to be accomplished by a rule subsequent in order (*para*), will take precedence. Thus we get: *a + pāc + (i → φ) + a + LUN*. What follows now is shortening of the penultimate vowel (*upadhāhrasva*; 7.4.1 *ṇau caṇi upadhāyāḥ hrasvāḥ*) *ā* in *pāc*, yielding *a + p(ā → a)c + φ + a + LUN*. An application of our present rule for iteration and a subsequent application of 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣāḥ* will produce: *a + pac + pac + φ + a + LUN → a + pa(c → φ) + pac + φ + a + LUN*. *Nyāsa ad Kāśi* reminds that *upadhāhrasva* and *dvirvacana* are both obligatorily available again, based upon the same notion of *kṛtākṛtāprasāṅga*. Here again the decision is made on the basis of *paratva* 'subsequent order of a rule in conflict'. Rule 7.4.79 *sany atāḥ* will replace the *a* of *pa* with *i* (*itva*). The short *i* will then be replaced with its long counterpart by 7.4.94 *dīrgha laghoh*. We thus get: *a + p(a → i) + pac + a + LUN → a + p(i → ī) + pac + a + LUN*.

2. *Kāśikā* recommends that operations on *pac*, etc., when ending in *NiC*, and subsequent to when *CLI* is replaced with *CaN*, should be performed in the order of (i) *nilopa* 'deletion of *NiC*', (ii) *upadhāhrasva* 'shortening of the penultimate vowel' and (iii) *dvirvacana* 'iteration' ('*pacādīnāṁ nyantānāṁ caṇikṛte nilopa upadhāhrasvatvāṁ dvirvacanam'ity esāṁ kāryānāṁ pravṛttikramah'). Such a recommendation is made in view of the application of rule 7.4.93 *sanvallaghuni caṇipare* 'naglope', whereby *sanvadbhāva* 'operation simi-*

lar to when *saN* follows' applies. This extensional application will be available to an *abhyāsa*, in our present case *pa* of *a + pa + pac + φ + a + LUN*, provided *NiC*, followed by *CaN*, follows, and deletion of a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *aK* has not occurred in the *aniga*. The *abhyāsa* unit is also constrained by this extensional operation. That is, it should be followed by a light (*laghu*) vowel. The *a* of *pa* in *a + pa + pac + a + LUN* is the required light vowel which follows *pa*. Rule 7.4.79 *sany atah* thus orders *a* replaced with *i* which, in turn, is replaced with *ī* by 7.4.94 *dīrgho laghoh*. Now the question? A treatment as if *saN* followed (*sanvadbhāva*) allows operations such as *itva* and *dīrgha* (*a → i → ī*). The *itva* is made with the understanding that *a* of *pa* is *laghu* 'light'. But why, through *sthānivadbhāva* (1.1.56 *sthānivad ādeśo* 'nalvidhau'), this *a* cannot be treated as the long *ā* which it replaced. It has been established under the provisions of rule. 1.1.57 *acah parasmin pūrvavidhau* that such a *sthānivadbhāva* is permitted only relative to an operand and which occurs before a non-replacement (*anādiṣṭa*) vowel (*Kāś.*: *yo hy anādiṣṭād acah pūrvas tasya vidhiṇ prati sthānivadbhāvo bhavati*). If *a* of *pa* is considered as if it was *ā* which it replaced then *sanvadbhāva* will be blocked. That is, the *pa* of *a + pa + pac + a + LUN* cannot yield *pī* through *itva* and *dīrgha*. A *dīrvacana* 'iteration' performed before *upadhāhrasva* will allow *sthānivadbhāva* and will thus block *sanvadbhāva* which facilitates operations such as *itva* and *dīrgha*. One must follow this order of application to facilitate *sanvadbhāva*. That is, iteration follows penultimate shortening (*upadhāhrasva*). Similar problems will be encountered in deriving *āṭitat* if this particular operational order is not followed. Refer to the appendix for derivational details of examples.

### 6.1.12 दाश्वान्साह्वान्मीद्वांश्च

*dāśvān sāhvān mīdhvāṁś ca*  
*/ dāśvān 1/1 / sāhvān 1/1 / mīdhvān 1/1 ca φ /*  
*dāśvān, sāhvān, mīdhvān ity ete śabdāś chandasī bhāṣāyām cāviśeṣena*  
*nipātyante*

Forms such as *dāśvān*, *sāhvān* and *mīdhvān* are derived via *nipātana*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*dāśvān* 'generous'  
*sāhvān balāhakāḥ* 'victorious cloud'  
*mīdhvas tokāya* 'generous for offsprings'

1. Forms such as *dāśvān*, *sāhvān* and *mīdhvān* are all derived in the Vedic, as well as in the Classical usage, via *nipātana*. Our first example *dāśvān* is derived by introducing affix *LIT* after verbal root *dāśR* 'to give'. Affix *LIT* is here replaced with *KvasU* (3.2.107 *kvasuś ca*) Rule 6.1.8 *līti dhātor . . .* is blocked from accomplishing iteration by *nipātana*. This same *nipātana* is

also responsible for blocking introduction of augment *iT* (7.2.67 *vasve-kājād* . . .). Additional operations follow the pattern of *citavān*. Deriving *sāhvān* also involves *KvasU*, followed by lack of iteration and *iT*, again via *nipātana*. In addition, *parasmaipada*, as against the required *ātmanepada* after *śah* ‘to endure, be angry’ and lengthening of the penultimate *a* of the root, are both accomplished via *nipātana*. Deriving *mīdhvān* from *mih* + *KvasU* involves similar lack of operations via *nipātana*. The lengthening of the short *i* of the root, and the *dh*-replacement for *h* is also accomplished via *nipātana*.

2. Following *vārttika* proposals have also been made under this rule:

- (i) Verbal roots *kṛN*, etc., go through iteration when affix *Ka* follows. We thus get *cakram* and *ciklidam* where affix *Ka* is introduced with the significations of *ghāñ* (cf. (vt.): *ghāñarthe kavidhānam*). A sequence *kṛ + a* yields *kar + kṛ + a*, through iteration and the application of 7.4.66 *ur at*. An application of 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣah* will then produce *ka + kṛ + a*. The *k* of *ka* is replaced with *c* by 7.4.62 *kuhoś cuḥ*. An application of *yaN* on *r* will produce *cak(r→r) + a = cakra*. Note that a replacement in *yaN* cannot be accomplished before iteration. For, 1.1.59 *dvirvacane'ci* will block it. A derivate of *klid*, i.e., *ciklida*, is similarly derived;
- (ii) Verbal roots *carI*, *call*, *patI* and *vadI* go through iteration before affix *aC*. The *abhyāsa* of these verbal roots also gets augment *āK*. The application of 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣah* is then blocked since introducing augment *āK* and applying 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣah* removes the difference between the replacement and augment. Affix *aC* is introduced with the denotatum of *kartṛ* of 3.1.134 *nandigrāhi-pacādy*. . . . A string such as *car + a* will yield *car + ā + car + a = carācara*, through iteration and introduction of augment *ā* to the *abhyāsa*. Note that specifying the augment with long *ā* blocks shortening and 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣah*. This same applies to other examples such as *calācalah*, *patāpataḥ* and *vadāvadah*;
- (iii) These preceding derivates are also made optional through yet another *vārttika* proposal. That is, an absence of iteration, etc., will produce *carah* ‘goer’, *calah*, *pataḥ* and *vadah* (*veti vaktavyam*);
- (iv) A *vārttika* proposal is also made to derive *ghanāghanaḥ* with the introduction of affix *aC* after verbal root *han* ‘to kill’. This *vārttika* especially provides for a *gh*-replacement for *h* of the *abhyāsa*. The following *h* is replaced with *gh* by 7.3.55 *abhyāsāc ca*. Thus, *han + han + a→han + ā(K) + han + a→(h→gh) an + ā + han + a→ghan + ā + (h→gh) an + a = ghanāghana*, through iteration and introduction of augment *āK*;
- (v) A derivate of causal verbal root *pāti* is derived as *pātūpataḥ* by introducing affix *aC*. Deletion of *Ni* and iteration, followed by augment *ūK* introduced to the *abhyāsa* and a subsequent lengthening, will

produce the desired derivate. Thus, *pāṭ* + *ū* + *pāṭ* + *a* → *pāṭ* + *ū* + *pāṭ* + *a* = *pāṭūpāṭa* (*vt.* *pāṭer* *niluk* *cok* *ca* *dīrghaś cābhyaśasya*).

### 6.1.13 च्छः सम्प्रसारणं पुत्रपत्योस्तत्पुरुषे

*syañah samprasāraṇam putrapatyos tatpuruṣe*  
*/syāñah 6/1 samprasāraṇam 1/1 putrapatyoh = putrāś ca patiś ca = putrapati*  
*(itar. dv.), tayoh; tatpuruṣe 7/1/*

*'putra, pati'ity etayor uttarapadayos tatpuruṣe samāse syañah  
 samprasāraṇam bhavati*

*SyaṄ* goes through *samprasāraṇa* when *putra* and *pati* follow in a *tatpuruṣa* compound.

EXAMPLES:

*kāriṣagandhīputrah*

'son of Kāriṣagandhyā, a woman who smells like dried cowdung'  
*kāriṣagandhīpatih* 'husband of Kāriṣagandhyā . . .'

*kaumudagandhīputrah*

'son of a woman who smells like water-lily'

*kaumudagandhīpatih* 'husband of a woman . . .'

1. Note that the *anuvṛtti* of *samprasāraṇam* carries over through 6.1.44 *vibhāṣa* *pareh*.

2. This rule orders *samprasāraṇa* (1.1.45 *ig yañah samprasāraṇam* 'a sound denoted by *iK* comes in place of a corresponding sound denoted by *yAN*) for *SyaṄ* in a *tatpuruṣa* compound formed with *putra* and *pati* as following (final) constituents. Let us consider *kāriṣagandhīputrah* which is a genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound paraphrased as: *kāriṣagandhyāyah putrah*. The first constituent of this compound, i.e., *kāriṣagandhyā*, is a derivate of the feminine affix *CāP* (4.1.74 *yanaś cāp*) introduced after *kāriṣagandhyā*, ending in *SyaṄ*, itself a replacement for the *aN* introduced after *kāriṣagandhi* + *Nas*. The word *kāriṣagandhi* derives from *kariṣa* + *sU gandha* + *sU*, parallel to *kariṣasya iwa gandhāḥ asya*, a *bahuṛīhi* where rule 5.4.137 *upamānāt ca*, read with 5.4.135 *gandhasyed . . .*, orders *i* to replace the final *a* of *kāriṣagandha*. Affix *aN* is then introduced after *kāriṣagandhi* + *Nas* to be further replaced with *SyaṄ*. The *i* of *kāriṣagandhi* is deleted (6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*; 1.4.18 *yaci bham*) before the *a* of *aN*. It is *kāriṣagandhyā* which then receives affix *CāP* (4.1.74 *yanaś cāP*). The *a* of *ya* is deleted (6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*; 1.4.18 *yaci bham*) before the feminine affix *CāP*. The son of this *kāriṣagandhyā* will then be characterized with the genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound *kāriṣagandhīputrah* where, given the compound *kāriṣagandhyāputra*, *samprasāraṇa* applies. The result obtained through this process then goes through a replacement in *i* (6.1.107 *samprasāraṇāt ca*) of *i* + *ā* of *kāriṣagandh(y→i)ā*). . . . An application of 6.3.139 *samprasāraṇasya* will then replace the short *i* of *kāriṣagandhīputra* with a long

*i* to yield: *kāriṣagandhīputra*. Similar rules apply in deriving *kāriṣagandhīpatih* ‘husband of a woman who smells like dried cowdung’, *kaumudagandhīputrah* ‘son of a woman who smells like a lily’ and *kaumudagandhīpatih* ‘husband of a woman who smells like a lily’.

3. Note that the word *samprasāraṇa* can refer to sounds (*varṇa*) denoted by the abbreviatory term *iK* which, in turn, occur as substitutes for sounds of a parallel set denoted by *yaṄ*. The word *samprasāraṇa* can also refer to this very process (*vidhi*) of replacing a sound denoted by *yaṄ* with a sound denoted by *iK*. This rule uses the word *samprasāraṇa* in the sense of *vidhi*. By the way, *samprasāraṇa* is an *anvarthasamjñā* ‘a term interpreted in its etymological sense’.

4. The word *SyaṄ* is here interpreted as an affix via *sthānivadbhāva* ‘substitute treated as the item it replaced’ introduced under the denotatum condition of 4.1.3 *striyām* ‘when feminine is to be denoted’. This delimitation of scope is also responsible for blocking *tadādiniyama* ‘a constraint pertaining to that which begins with that’ in a feminine derivate other than one termed an *upasarjana* ‘secondary’. Thus, *kāriṣagandhi* is a non-secondary (*anupasarjana*) constituent of the compound after which *SyaṄ* is introduced. The application of *samprasāraṇa* thus cannot be blocked. It can also not be blocked in examples such as *paramakāriṣagandhīputrah* and *paramakāriṣagandhīpatih* where *kāriṣagandhyā* does not occur at the beginning. That is, the *samprasāraṇa* cannot be blocked based upon the *tadādiniyama* of the *paribhāṣā* (27) *na stripratyaye cānupasarjane* (*yasmāt sa vihitas tadādeḥ*) ‘not also when a non-secondary affix with its scope as feminine (beginning with that after which the affix is introduced)’. That is, this *samprasāraṇa* cannot be limited to only those instances where a non-secondary constituent such as *kāriṣagandhi* after which affix *SyaṄ* is introduced occurs as the initial constituent of the compound. It is the non-applicability of *tadādiniyama* that *samprasāraṇa* is permitted in examples such as *paramakāriṣagandhīputrah* and *paramakāriṣagandhīpatih* which obviously do not begin with *kāriṣagandhi*. Incidentally, a constituent ending in *SyaṄ* here does not become secondary in meaning after forming a compound with *parama*.

Now consider an example such as *atikāriṣagandhyaputraḥ* ‘the son of one who has excelled Kāriṣagandhyā’ where a constituent ending in *SyaṄ* is secondary (*upasarjana*). The *samprasāraṇa* must be blocked here. An additional example parallel to the preceding will be *atikāriṣagandhyapatiḥ*.

5. The condition of *syānah* is imposed so that *samprasāraṇa* applies only to the *y* of *SyaṄ*. Thus, it will not apply to the *y* of *ibhyāputrah* ‘son of a woman who deserves an elephant’ and *ksatriyāputrah* ‘son of a ksatriya woman’ where it is introduced by rules 5.1.66 *dandādibhyo yat* and 4.1.138 *ksatrādghah*, respectively. Recall that a replacement is only introduced in place of that for which it is specified (*paribhāṣā* (13): *nirdiśyamānasyādeśā bhavanti*).

A similar condition of *putrapatyoḥ* is imposed so that this *samprasāraṇa* is

also blocked in examples such as *kāriṣagandhyākulam* ‘the clan of a woman who smells like dried cowdung’ and *kaumudagandhyākulam* ‘the clan of a woman who smells like a lily’. Note that *putra* and *pati* must occur as following constituents combined after the constituent ending in *SyaṄ*, and not when they combine as initial, or final, constituent of the compound. Thus, the *samprasārana* will again be blocked in examples such as *kāriṣagandhyā-putrakulam* ‘the family of the son of the woman who smells like dried cowdung’ and *kāriṣagandhyā-putraparamah* ‘the excellent son of the woman who smells like dried cowdung’.

Finally, this *samprasārana* is constrained also with the condition of *tatpuruse*. For, a *bahuvrīhi* such as *kāriṣagandhyāpatih*, parallel to *kāriṣagandhyā patir asya grāmasya* ‘the village of which Kāriṣagandhyā is the leader’ will not come under the scope of this rule.

### 6.1.14 बन्धुनि बहुव्रीहौ

*bandhuni bahuvrīhau*

/ *bandhuni* 7/1 *bahuvrīhau* 7/1 /

(*syañah samprasāranaṁ #13*)

*bandhuśabda uttarapade bahuvrīhau samāse syañah samprasāranaṁ bhavati* *SyaṄ*, in a compound termed *bahuvrīhi*, goes through *samprasārana* when *bandhu* combines to follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*kāriṣagandhibandhuḥ* ‘friend of the woman who smells like dried cowdung’

*kaumudagandhibandhuḥ* ‘friend of the woman who smells like a lily’

1. This rule allows *samprasārana* also when *bandhu*, preceded by the constituent ending in *SyaṄ*, is combined as a final constituent in a *bahuvrīhi* compound. Thus, we get examples such as *kāriṣagandhibandhuḥ*. The compound must be a *bahuvrīhi* so that a genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound such as *kāriṣagandhyābandhuḥ* ‘a friend of she who smells like dried cowdung’ can be excluded from the scope of this rule. Our constituent *kāriṣagandhyā* is here an *upasarjana* ‘secondary’. Recall that *samprasārana* is applicable to non-secondary (*anupasarjana*) constituents. Examples such as *paramakāriṣagandhyābandhudhanah* and *kāriṣagandhyāparamabandhuḥ* will also be blocked from availing *samprasārana* for reason that, in the first example, *bandhu* alone is not used as final. Instead, we have *bandhudhanah*. The second example has *bandhu* occurring after *kāriṣagandhyā* intervend by *parama*.

2. Note that *bandhu* is a masculine here specified as neuter. Such a specification is made in view of form (*śabdasvarūpa*), as against meaning (*artha*). Commentators state that a neuter specification is intended so that *bandhu* could denote its form only. A specification in view of meaning, with *bandhu*

used as masculine, would have allowed *samprasāraṇa* also to apply when a synonym of *bandhu* followed.

3. A *vārtika* proposal favors an optional *samprasāraṇa* also when *mātaC*, *māṭṛka* and *māṭṛ* occur in a *bahuvrīhi* compound following a constituent ending in *SyaṄ*. Consider *kāriṣagandhyāmātā* and *kāriṣagandhimātā* as optional examples parallel to *kāriṣagandhyā mātā asya* ‘he whose mother is one who smells as dried cowdung’. A similar set of two optional forms each for *mātaC* and *māṭṛka* are: *kāriṣagandhyāmātāḥ*/*kāriṣagandhimātāḥ*; *kāriṣagandhyāmāṭṛkah*/*kāriṣagandhimāṭṛkah*. Remember that *māṭṛ* and *māṭṛka* are specified here as separate options. Consequently, affix *KaP* of 5.4.153 *nadyṛtaś ca* is also made optional. An optional *mātaC* also mandates final *udātta* accent of 6.1.163 *citah*, as against the retention of original accent of initial constituent in a *bahuvrīhi* compound (6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau prakṛtyā pūrvapadam*).

### 6.1.15 वच्चस्वपियजातीनं किति

*vacisvapiyajādīnāṁ kiti*

/ *vaci-svapi-yajādīnāṁ* 6/3 = *yaja ādir yesāṁ te = yajādayaḥ* (bv.); *vaciś ca svapiś ca yajādayaś ca* (itar. dv.), *teśāṁ; kiti* 7/1 / (*samprasāranam* #13)

*vaci-svapi-yajādīnāṁ kiti pratyaye parataḥ samprasāraṇāṁ bhavati*

Verbal roots *vac* ‘to speak’, *ÑIsvap* ‘to sleep’, and also roots headed by *yaj*, go through *samprasāraṇa* when an affix marked with *K* follows.

EXAMPLES:

*uktah* ‘spoken, said’

*uktavān* ‘said’

*suptah* ‘fallen asleep’

*suptavān* ‘slept’

*istah* ‘performed sacrifice’

*iṣṭavān* ‘ibidem’

*uptah* ‘sown’

*uptavān* ‘ibidem’

*ūdhah* ‘carried, brought’

*ūḍhavān* ‘ibidem’

*usitah* ‘dwelt’

*uṣitavān* ‘ibidem’

*utah* ‘woven’

*utavān* ‘ibidem’

*samvītah* ‘properly covered’

*samvītavān* ‘ibidem’

*āhūtaḥ* ‘called’

*āhūtavān* ‘ibidem’

*uditah* ‘uttered’

*uditavān* ‘ibidem’

*śūnah* ‘enlarged, grown’

*śūnavān* ‘ibidem’

\*Examples are all derivates of *Kta* and *KtavatU*.

1. Note that the *anuvṛtti* of *Syañah* is dropped. The word *samprasāraṇam* still carries over.

2. The specification made by *ādi* is here associated only with *yaj*, and not also individually with *vacI* and *svapI*. How do we know this? From the order of enumeration of roots in the *gāṇa* in general, and the enumeration of *svapI* after *vacI*, in particular. There was no need for specifying *svapI* after *vacI* if a reference was intended to be made to *svapI* as one of the roots included in the set headed by *vacI*. For *svapI* is listed in the *adādi* group after *vacI*, intervened by four roots. A reference with *ādi* associated with *vacI* could thus have also accounted for *svapI*. The *ādi* associated with *yaj* includes references to the last nine roots of the *bhāvādigāṇa* ‘listings enumerated beginning with *bhū*’.

Verbal root *vac* here refers to both (i) the *adādi* root *vac* ‘to speak’ and (ii) the replacement in *vac* of *brūṄ* (2.4.53 *bruvo vacih*). A specification relative to an affixal provision made with reference to specific form of a verbal root (*dhātu*) conditions operations relative only to that particular affix (*Kāś*: *dhātōḥ svarūpagrahane tatpratyaye kāryam vijñāyate*). The existence of this *paribhāṣā* is inferred from the derivation of *bhrauṇahatyam* where the *n* of verbal root *han* is to be replaced with *t*. But since such a replacement is allowed *han* when an affix with *Ś* and *N* as an *it* follows (7.3.32 *hanas . . .*), this *taddhita* derivate cannot avail this provision. It must then receive this *t*-replacement via *nipātana* (6.4.174 *dāñdināyanahāstināyana . . .*). This *nipātana* then indicates that an operation specified with a particular form of a verbal root obtains only when a specified affix follows. Thus, we do not find *samprasāraṇa* applicable to derivates such as *vācyati* ‘wishes to speak’ and *vācikāḥ* ‘relating to speech’ where the first is a derivate of *KyaC* and the second of *thaK* introduced after *vāc*, a derivate of *KvIP*. The first will be treated as a root by 3.1.23 *sanādyantā dhātavah*. The *vāc* of the second example may also be treated as a root at the strength of Patañjali’s desideratum that items ending in a *KvIP* do not abandon their status as a root. The first is denied *samprasāraṇa* because *KyaC* is introduced after an item ending in a *sUP* (3.1.8 *supa ātmānaḥ kyac*). The second is denied *samprasāraṇa* expressly by an *Unādi* affix (II.57). Besides, *thaK* is introduced in the domain of 4.1.1 *nyāp-prātipadikāt*.

Refer to derivational details in the appendix.

#### 6.1.16 ग्रहिज्यावयिव्यधिवच्छिविचतिवृश्चतिपृच्छतिभृजतीनां डिति च

*grahijyāvayivyadhivastivicativṛścatiprcchatibhṛjjatīnām niti ca*

/grahi-jyā-vayi-vyadhi-vaṣṭi-vicati-vṛścati-prcchatati-bhrjjatūnām (itar. dv.)

6/3 niti 7/1 ca φ/

(*samprasāraṇam* #13 kiti #15)

'graha upādāne, jyā vayohānau, veño vayih, vyadha tāḍane, vaśa kāntau, vyaca vyājikaraṇe, ovrāścū chedane, praccha jñīpsāyām, bhrasja pāke'ity etesām dhātūnām niti pratyaye paratas cakārāt kiti ca samprasāraṇam bhavati'

Verbal roots *grahA* 'to grab, seize', *jyā* 'to decay, grow old', *vay* (a replacement of *veN* 'to weave'; 2.4.41 *veño vayih*), *vyadhA* 'to pierce, hurt', *vaśA* 'to shine', *vyacA* 'to deceive', *OvrāścŪ* 'to cut', *pracchA* 'to ask, enquire' and *bhrasjA* 'to cook' also go through *samprasāraṇa* when an affix marked with *K* and *N* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*grhitah* 'seized'

*grhitavān* 'he seized'

*grhnāti* 'he seizes ...'

*janīgrhyate* '... is seized again and again'

*jñānah* 'decayed, grown old'

*jñānavān* 'he grew old'

*jināti* 'he grows old'

*jetīyate* 'grows older'

*ūyatuh* 'they (two) wove ...'

*ūyuḥ* 'they (all) wove'

*viddhah* '... pierced'

*viddhavān* 'he pierced'

*vidhyati* 'he pierces'

*vevidhyate* 'pierces again and again'

*uśitah* '... desired; dazzled'

*uśitavān* 'he desired; glowed'

*uṣṭah* 'desired'

*uśanti* 'they desire'

*vicitah* '... deceived'

*vicitavān* 'he deceived'

*vicati* '... creates an illusion'

*vevicyate* '... deceives again and again'

*udvicitā* 'he who will deceive'

*udvicitum* 'for deceiving'

*udvicitavyam* 'to be deceived'

*vṛkṇah* 'cut'

*vṛkṇavān* 'he cut'

*vṛścati* 'he cuts'

*varīvṛścyate* 'he cuts over and over again'

*prṣṭah* 'asked'

*pr̥stavān* ‘he asked (a question)’  
*pr̥chati* ‘he inquires’  
*pariprcchyatē* ‘he asks over and over again’  
*bhr̥stah* ‘cooked’  
*bhr̥ṣṭavān* ‘he cooked . . .’  
*bhr̥jati* ‘he cooks’  
*baribhrijyate* ‘he cooks over and over again’

1. The *ca* at the end of this rule is used to attract *kiti* from the preceding rule.

2. What is *vayI*? It is interpreted as a replacement of *veṄ* gotten from rule 2.4.41 *veṄo vayih*. It cannot be interpreted as *vay* ‘to go’ since that is an active (*parasmaipada*) verb. The *vay* of this rule is interpreted as the middle (*ātmanepada*), i.e., *veṄ*. Of course, via its replacement (*ādeśadvārena*) due basically to its association (*sāhacarya*) here with *grahA*.

Why do we not have any examples of *vay* occurring before an affix marked with *N*? Because rule 1.2.5 *asamyoḡal liṭ kit* extends *Kit* ‘as if marked with *K*’ status to a replacement of *LIT*.

3. Questions have also been raised against listing *vayI* in this rule. It is argued that *vayI*, since it is already covered by the *yajādi* ‘*yaj*, etc.’ group of the preceding rule, can easily avail *samprasārana*. Offering *samprasārana* again through this listing does not make any sense. The fact that this rule lists *vayI* as a replacement and our earlier rule includes the root itself in the *yajādi* group should not create any problem. For, a replacement (*ādeśa*) will, through the process of *sthānivadbhāva*, be treated as the item (*sthāni*) it replaced. That is, *vayI* of this rule can be treated as *veṄ* of the *yajādi* listing. This way one does not need to provide *samprasārana* which is already available.

Commentators state that this separate listing is made so that *samprasārana* in *vayI* is not blocked by 6.1.40 *veṅah*. It is argued that *sthānivadbhāva* will operate in connection with a negative provision (*nisedha*) in a manner similar to one made in connection with a positive (*PM ad Kāś.: yathā sthānivadbhāvād vidhiḥ prāpyate tathā pratīṣedho pi prāpnoti*). Thus, rules 6.1.15 *vacisvapiyajādīnāṁ kiti* and 6.1.16 *grahijyāvayi . . .* will both invoke *sthānivadbhāva* in connection with the *samprasārana* of *vayI*. That is, if *sthānivadbhāva* is offered as the basis for rejecting inclusion of *vayI* in rule 6.1.16 *grahijyāvayi . . .* A separate listing of *vayI* is made here so that it can be saved from the negation of 6.1.40 *veṅah*. The process of *sthānivadbhāva* is thus not accepted. Besides, Pāṇini’s listing of *vayI*, as against *veṄ* particularly in this rule in contradistinction with the negation of 6.1.40 *veṅah*, must serve some special purpose. That purpose must be accepted as blocking of negation via cancellation of *sthānivadbhāva*. It is further stated that situations of conflict between *vidhi* and *pratīṣedha* favor *vidhi* (*Nyāsa ad Kāś.: vidhipratīṣedhator virodhād ekatra vidhir eva bhavisyati na pratīṣedha iti*). Consequently, we get two sets of third personal singular/dual/plural forms in perfect (*LIT*) of *vayI*: *uvāya/ūyatuh/*

·*ūyuh*; and *vavau/vavatuḥ/vavuḥ*.

Now consider rule 6.1.38 *līti vayo yaḥ* whereby a negative provision of *samprasāraṇa* is made for *vayI*. Note that a negative provision does not make any sense unless a positive provision already exists. This, in turn, becomes an indicator (*jñāpaka*) for the positive provision of *samprasāraṇa* of *vayI*. It should also be noted that the negative provision of *samprasāraṇa* 6.1.38, made with the specification of *vayI*, does not include any reference to *veñ*. A separate negation is provided by 6.1.40 *veñah*. Kāśikā thus rightly remarks: ‘*līti vayo yaḥ’ iti yakārasya samprasāraṇapratīṣedhād vayer vidhau grahaṇam pratiṣedhe cāgrahaṇam anumāsyate* ‘it is assumed on the basis of the negative provision of *samprasāraṇa* of *y* in 6.1.38 *līti vayo yaḥ* that *vayI* is included in *vidhi* and excluded from *pratīṣedha*’.

4. Note that derivates of *vyac*, for example *udvicitā/udvicitum/udvicitavyam*, all involve *samprasāraṇa* when an affix other than one marked with *N* and *Ṅ* follows. This operational provision is facilitated by a *vārttika* proposal (under 1.2.1 *gāṅkluṭādibhyo . . .*) whereby *vyac* is treated similar to the *kutādi* group of roots before an affix other than one marked with *N* and *Ṅ*.

5. Let us briefly consider the derivation of *vr̥kṇah* and *vr̥kṇavān* from *vraśc* + (*K*→∅) *ta* and *vraśc* + (*K*→∅) *tavat*(*U*→∅), respectively. These strings will both go through *samprasāraṇa* (*v(r→ṛ)aśc . . .*), *pūrvarūpa* (*v(r+a→ṛ)sć . . .*) and *kutva* (*vr̥s(c→k) . . .*). Why is *c* of *vraśc* replaced with *k* against the provision of *s* made by rule 8.2.36 *vraścabhrasjasya . . .*? Commentators argue that a replacement in *s* is conditioned by an affix beginning with a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *jhAL* (Ss. 8-14; *jh*, *bh*, *gh*, *dh*, etc.). The *niṣṭhā* affixes *Kta* and *KtavatU*, in *vr̥kṇah* and *vr̥kṇavān*, can no longer be accepted as beginning with a *jhAL* since the same gets replaced with *n* of 8.2.42 *radābhyaṁ niṣṭhāto . . .* Consequently, *c* of *vraśc* cannot be replaced with *s*. Rule 8.2.42 *radābhyaṁ . . .* cannot be treated as *asiddha* ‘suspended’ in view of the application of 8.2.36 *vraścabhrasjaya . . .* because of a *vārttika* proposal (*vt.*: *niṣṭhādeśāḥ satvasvaraḥ pratyayaḥ avidhiḥ vidhiṣu siddho vaktavyaḥ* ‘a replacement of *niṣṭhā* should be declared effective (*siddha*) in operations relative to: *s*-replacement (*satva*), accent (*svara*), affix (*pratyayaḥ avidhiḥ*) and augment *iT* (*idividhi*)’. Since this *vārttika* proposal renders *n*-replacement (*natva*) of a *niṣṭhā* affix as *siddha* in view of a *s*-replacement (*satva*), the *s* of *vraśc* cannot be replaced with *s*. A replacement in *k* for *c* of *vraśc* cannot be blocked since *n*-replacement (*natva*) of 8.2.42 *radābhyaṁ . . .* cannot be accepted as *siddha* in view of the same.

6. Why would *r* of *praśna* not go through *samprasāraṇa*? Because Pāṇini himself uses *praśna* as the correct form (cf. 3.2.117 *praśne cāsannakāle*). Refer to the appendix for additional derivational details.

### 6.1.17 लिट्यभ्यासस्योभयेषाम्

*līty abhyāsasyobhayeṣām  
/līti 7/1 abhyāsasya 6/1 ubhayeṣām 6/3/*

(*samprasāraṇam* #13)

*ubhayesāṁ vacyādīnāṁ grhyādīnāṁ ca līti parato'bhyāsasya samprasāraṇam  
bhavati*

The *abhyāsa* of verbal roots enumerated beginning with both *vacI* ‘to speak’ (6.1.15) and *grahI* ‘to hold, seize’ (6.1.16) goes through *samprasāraṇa* when affix *LIT* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*uvāca* ‘third person singular active *LIT* of *vac*’

*uvacitha* ‘second person singular . . .’

*susvāpa* ‘third person singular *LIT* of *vap* ‘to sleep’’

*susvapitha* ‘second person singular . . .’

*iyāja* ‘third singular active *LIT* of *yaj*’

*iyajitha* ‘second person singular . . .’

*uvāpa* ‘third person singular active *LIT* of *vap* ‘to sow’’

*uvapitha* ‘second person singular . . .’

*jagrāha* ‘third person singular active *LIT* of *grah* ‘to hold, seize’’

*jagrahittha* ‘second person singular . . .’

*jijyau* ‘third person singular active *LIT* of *jyā* ‘to grow old’’

*jijyitha* ‘second person singular . . .’

*uvāyu* ‘third person singular active *LIT* of *veN* to weave’’

*uvayitha* ‘second person singular . . .’

*vivyādha* ‘third person singular active *LIT* of *vyadh* ‘to pierce’ used with the preverb *vi*’

*vivyadhitha* ‘second person singular . . .’

*uvāśa* ‘third person singular active *LIT* of *vas* ‘to desire’’

*uvaśitha* ‘second person singular . . .’

*vivyāca* ‘third person singular active *LIT* of *vyac* ‘to deceive’’

*vivyacitha* ‘second person singular . . .’

*vavraśca* ‘third person singular active *LIT* of *vraśc* ‘to cut’’

*vavraścitha* ‘second person singular . . .’

*ūcatuh* ‘third person dual active *LIT* of *vac* ‘to speak’’

*ūcuh* ‘third person plural active . . .’

*vivyādha*

1. Note that 6.1.15 *vacisvapiyajādīnām . . .* allows *samprasāraṇa* within the right context of an affix marked with *K* and *N* as an *it*. The *Kīt*-status to a replacement of *LIT* is extended by 1.2.5 *asamyogāl līt kit*. Given this, why state our present rule when the *samprasāraṇa* required by it can be accomplished by 6.1.15 *vacisvapi. . .* It is argued that rule 1.2.5 *asamyogāl līt kit* extends *Kit*-status to only those replacements of *LIT* which are not marked with *P* (*apit*, 1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit*). This rule is then needed to allow *samprasāraṇa* in contexts where a replacement of *LIT* may be marked with *P*.

Consider, for example, affixes *NaL* and *thaL* which replace *tiP* and *siP*, the third and second person singular replacements of *LIT*. Affixes *NaL* and *thaL* are extended *pit*-status via *sthānivadbhāva* ‘treatment of a replacement (*ādeśa*) as if it was the item (*sthānin*) it replaced’. Our present rule facilitates *samprasāraṇa* even when a non-*Kit*, in the present context a *pit*, follows. Thus we get *uvāca* and *uvacitha* from *vac + (LIT→tiP→NaL) = vac + a* and *vac + (LIT→siP→thaL) = vac + tha*, respectively, through *dvirvacana* ‘iteration’ and *samprasāraṇa*.

2. It is argued that forms of *grah*, *pracch* and *bhrasj* can be derived even without this rule. That is, we can get *grah + (N)a(L) = grah + a → grah + grah + a → grah + grah + a → ga + grah + a*, through iteration and operations specific to 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣah*. Our string *ga + grah + a* will eventually produce *jagrāha* through the *j* replacement of *g* and *vrddhi* of *a* in *grah*. This same form can also be derived through iteration (*grah + grah + a*); *samprasāraṇa* and *pūrvarūpa* (*g(r→r) ah + grah + a → g(r+a→r) h + grah + a*; *uradatva* (7.4.66 *ur* at #1.1.51 *ur an raparah*) *g(r→ar) h + a + grah + a* and *halādiśeṣah* (*ga(rh→φ) + grah + a = gagraha*). Similar derivational cases can be made for derivates for *praccha* and *bhrasj*, with or without the application of *samprasāraṇa* of this rule. One avails *samprasāraṇa* without iteration (*dvirvacana*) with regard to an affix not marked with *K* as an *it* (*Kāś.: akidartham ced anabhyāsasya samprasāraṇam vidhīyate*). In case of an affix marked with *K*, *samprasāraṇa* will be availed prior to iteration on account of being subsequent (*paratvāt*). Iteration can then follow in view of *paribhāṣā* (PŚ: 40): *punah prasaṅgavijñānāt siddham* ‘a previously set aside rule applies when its operational context reappears’. Incidentally, the *Tattvabodhīni* reminds that rules apply like clouds which rain indiscriminately (*parjanyaaval lakṣanam pravartate*). That is, our present rule still applies in the context of cited verbs even if one can do without.

3. The case of *vraśc* is special. If one believes that this rule is not needed for *vraśc* then *vavrāśca* can be derived through iteration and *halādiśeṣa*. That is, *vraśc + vraśc + a → vra + vraśc + a → va + vraśc + a = vavrāśca*. This is basically the view of the *Kāśikā*. Patañjali feels that this rule is still needed for *vavrāśca*. If one accepts this then *samprasāraṇa* must precede iteration. We will thus get *vraśc + a → vraśc + a → vrśc + a*. If iteration precedes *samprasāraṇa* then, given *va + vraśc + a*, our present rule will demand the *samprasāraṇa* of initial *v*, thereby producing an undesired form (*v→u a + vraśc + a → (u + a→u) + vraśc + a → \*vavrāśca*). If *samprasāraṇa* precedes iteration then we get *vr + vraśc + a*. The *r* will then be replaced with *ar* and the *r* will be dropped under the provisions of 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣah*. Thus, *v(r→ar→va(r→φ)) + vraśc + a = vavrāśca*. The initial *v* of *vavrāśca* can then be saved from going through *samprasāraṇa* under the protection of *sthānivadbhāva*. That is, the *a* after *v* of *va* will then be treated as if it was *r*. Rule 6.1.37 *na samprasāraṇe samprasāraṇam* will block this *samprasāraṇa*, especially when another *samprasāraṇa* followed.

4. Since Pāṇini uses *ubhayesām* explicitly even when reference to the two groups of *vacyādi* and *grahyādi* roots can be easily made by the context, this explicit mention of *ubhayesām* must serve some special purpose. It is to make clear that *samprasāraṇa* and operations relative to it must take precedence over, for example operations relative to 7.4.60 *halādiśeṣa*, that Pāṇini explicitly uses *ubhayesām*. Consider the derivation of *vivyādha* from *vyadh + vyadh + (N) a(L)* = *v(y→ia) dh + vyadh + a→vidh + vyadh + a→vi(dh→∅) + vyadh + a→vi + vy(a→ā) dh + a = vivyādha*. If, at the stage of *vyadh + vyadh + a*, we apply 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣāḥ* as against *samprasāraṇa*, the result will be *va + vyadh + a*. A *samprasāraṇa* followed by penultimate *vrddhi* will then yield a wrong form (*vi→u*) + *vy(a→ā) dh + a = \*uvyādha*. That is why *samprasāraṇa* applies on *vyadh + vyadh + a* to yield *vi + vyadh + a* on which 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣāḥ* applies. An explicit mention of *ubhayesām* warns that a conflict in the application of *samprasāraṇa* and *halādiśeṣa* should not be decided on the basis of *paratva*. This may also be the reason why the tradition also recognizes *samprasāraṇam tadāśrayam ca kāryam balavat* ‘*samprasāraṇa* and operations related to that are treated as stronger’.

Incidentally, a reference to two groups of roots without any explicit mention of *ubhayesām* is not facilitated by the governing contexts (*adhiṅkāra*) mediated by *anuvṛtti* ‘recurrence’. Instead, it is facilitated by the governing context mediated by *apekṣā* ‘expectancy’.

### 6.1.18 स्वापेशच्छिदः

*svāpeś canī*  
*/svāpeḥ 6/1 canī 7/1/*  
*(samprasāraṇam #13)*

*svāper iti svaper nyantasya grahaṇam, tasya canī parataḥ*  
*samprasāraṇam bhavati*

Verbal root *svāpi* goes through *samprasāraṇa* when *caN* follows.

EXAMPLES:

*asūṣupat* ‘third person singular active *LUN*-derivate of *svap* ‘to sleep’ used with causal *NIC*  
*asuṣupan* ‘third person plural active . . .’

1. This rule specifies verbal root *svap* in its causal form (*nijanta*). We know it from *canī*, a right context which is not possible to obtain without the root ending in *NiC* (*Nyāsa: na hy anyantāc canī sambhavati*). Note also that one cannot here interpret *svāpi* as specifying non-causal verbal root *āpLR* ‘to pervade’ used with *su*. For, *canī* again will be impossible to justify. *Kāśikā* states that *svāpi*, in deriving *asūṣupat*, goes through *samprasāraṇa* prior to iteration (*dvirvacana*), possibly based upon *paratva* and surely on the basis of *samprasāraṇam tadāśrayam ca balavat* (*PŚ: 129*). A *guna*-replacement of the

short penultimate vowel (*laghūpadhaguṇa*; 7.3.86 *pugantalaghūpadhasya ca*) and shortening (*hrasva*) of its result (7.4.1 *nau caṇy upadhāyā hrasvah*) follow. Iteration (*dvirvacana*) then applies followed by a long replacement for the light vowel (7.4.94 *dīrgho laghoh*). Refer to the appendix for further derivational details.

2. Why was it necessary to state *caṇi*? So that *samprasāraṇa* can be blocked in examples such as *svāpyate* and *svāpitah* where both are derivates of *NiC*. The first is a third person singular present passive and the second a derivate of *Kta*. Needless to say, these examples cannot involve *CaN*. Why did Pāṇini not formulate the *sūtras* as *svāpēś ca* with *nīti* carried via *anuvṛtti*? Such a formulation would confuse about whether the *anuvṛtti* of *nīti* was still valid? Answering it in the affirmative will raise the question whether the *anuvṛtti* of *kīti* was dropped. Besides, *nīti* would have offered a much wider right context. It is for clarity then that Pāṇini used *caṇi*.

Consider the derivation of *asūṣupat* ‘third singular active causal past imperfect of *svap*’. Thus, *svap + NiC* (3.1.27 *hetumati ca*) = *sv(a→ā)p + i + LUN* (7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ*; 3.1.23 *sanādyantā . . .*; 3.2.110 *lun*) = *svāp + i + CLI + LUN* (3.1.43 *cli lunī*) = *svāp + i + (CLI→CaN) + LUN* (3.1.48 *niśridusrubhyah kartari caṇī*) = *svāp + i + (C)a(N) + LUN* = *svāp + i + a + LUN→a(T) + svāp + i + a + LUN* (6.4.71 *lunlānīlṛṇkṣu ad udāttah*) → *a + svāp + i + a + LUN→a + svāp + (i→ϕ) + a + LUN* (6.4.51 *ner anīti*) = *a + svāp + a + LUN→a + sv(ā→a)p + a + LUN* (7.4.1 *caṇy upadhāyā hrasvah*) = *a + svap + a + LUN→a + s(v→u)ap + a + LUN* (6.1.18 *svāpēś caṇi*) = *a + suap + a + LUN→a + s(u + a→u)p + a + LUN* (6.1.108 *samprasāraṇāc ca*) → *a + sup + a + LUN→a + sup + sup + a + LUN* (6.1.1 *ekāco dve prathamasya*) = *a + su + sup + a + LUN* (7.4.60 *halādi śesah*) = *a + su + sup + a + LUN→a + s(u→ū) + sup + a + LUN* (7.4.94 *dīrgho laghoh*) = *a + su + sup + a + LUN*.

A replacement of *LUN* with *tiP* yields *a + sū + sup + a + t*. Rule 7.2.86 *pugantalaghūpadhasya ca* applies to yield *a + sū + s(u→o)p + a + t*. Rule 7.4.1 *nau caṇy upadhāyāḥ hrasvah* would then apply to yield *a + sū + s(o→u)p + a + t*. An application of *satva* (8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoh*) will now yield: *a + su + (s→ś)up + a + t = asūṣupat*.

### 6.1.19 स्वपिस्यमिव्येजां यदि-

*svapisyamivyeñām yani*  
*/svapisyamiveñām (itar. dv.) 6/3 yani 7/1/*  
*(samprasāraṇam #13)*

‘*niśvap* śaye, *svamu svana dhvana śabde, veñā samvaraṇe’ ity eteśām dhātūnām yani parataḥ samprasāraṇam bhavati*

Verbal roots *NIśvap* ‘to sleep’, *syamU* ‘to shout’ and *vyeñ* ‘to cover’ go through *samprasāraṇa* when affix *yaN* follows.

## EXAMPLES:

*sosupyate* ‘third person singular middle present derive of *svap* ‘to sleep’ ending in *yaṄ*’

*sesimyate* ‘third person singular . . . of *syam* ‘to cry’ ending in *yaṄ*’

*vevīyate* ‘third person singular . . . of *vyeṄ* ‘to wrap’ ending in *yaṄ*’

1. Note that a right context of *yaṄi* is imposed so that *samprasāraṇa* could be blocked from applying elsewhere. Consider, for example *svapnak*, a derive of affix *najṄ* introduced after verbal root *svap* (3.2.172 *svapitṛṣor najin*).

2. Note that *v* and *y* of verbal root *veyṄ* can both form the focus of *samprasāraṇa*. But since Pāṇini blocks *samprasāraṇa* when *samprasāraṇa* forms the right condition (6.1.37 *na samprasāraṇe samprasāraṇam*), we learn that a *samprasāraṇa* which is subsequent should be accomplished first. The first *samprasāraṇa* then gets automatically blocked. The *samprasāraṇa* of *y*, thus accomplished in *veyṄ*, blocks the *samprasāraṇa* of *v*. Besides, the *samprasāraṇa* of *y* should also precede because of *pratyāsatti* ‘proximity’ with the condition (*nimitta*), i.e., *yaṄ*. The *e* of the root is replaced with *ā* (6.1.45 *ādeca upadeśe'siti*). Refer to the appendix for further derivational details.

## 6.1.20 न वशः:

*na vaśah*

/ *na* φ *vaśah* 6/1/

(*samprasāraṇam* #13 *yani* #19)

*vaśer dhātoraṇi parataḥ samprasāraṇam na bhavati*

Verbal root *vaśA* ‘to desire’ does not go through *samprasāraṇa* when *yaṄ* follows.

## EXAMPLES:

*vāvaśyate* ‘third person singular middle present of *vaś* ‘to desire’ ending in *yaṄ*’

*vāvaśyete* ‘third person dual . . . ’

*vāvaśyante* ‘third person plural . . . ’

1. Our present rule negates the *samprasāraṇa* of verbal root *vaśA* when *yaṄ* followed. Recall that *vaś* can avail *samprasāraṇa* of 6.1.6 *grahijyā-vayi*. . . . Derivates of this root will thus go through iteration. Thus, *vaś* + *yaṄ* → *vaś* + *vaś* + *ya* → *va* + *vaś* + *ya* → *v* (*a* → *ā*) + *vaś* + *ya*. The long vowel replacement for the short of *va* is accomplished after iteration and *halādiśeṣa* (7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ*) by 7.4.83 *dīrgho' kitah*. Deriving the present active third personal singular dual and plural forms of verbal root *vaś* used with affix *yaṄ*, i.e., *vāvaśyate*, *vāvaśyete* and *vāvaśyante*, from *vāvaśya* + *LAT* with subse-

quent replacements for *LAT* and relevant operations, should pose no problem.

2. That this negation of *samprasāraṇa* is available only when *yaṄ* follows is important. For, the *samprasāraṇa* offered by 6.1.16 *grahijyāvayi* . . . applies elsewhere. Consider *uṣṭah* and *uśanti* which derive from *vaś + Kia* and *vaś + (LAT→jhi)*. Verbal root *vaś* goes through *samprasārana* and *pūrvarūpa* (6.1.108 *samprasāraṇāc ca*) here because affix *yaṄ* does not follow. Note that *uṣṭah* is derived similar to *prṣṭah* from (*uś + ta*) + *sU*) where *uś* is gotten through *samprasāraṇa* and *pūrvarūpa*. Our third plural present indicative active from *uśanti* also involves *samprasārana* and *pūrvarūpa*. Additionally, it involves deletion of *ŚaP* (2.4.72 *adiprabhṛtibhyah* . . .) and replacement of *jhi* by *ant* (7.1.3 *jho'ntah*). Thus, *vaś + LAT→vaś + (LAT→jhi)→vaś + ŚaP + jhi→vaś + (ŚaP→∅) + jhi→(v→u) aś + jhi→v(uā→u) ś + jhi→uś + (jh→ant) i = uś + anti→uśanti*.

### 6.1.21 चायः की

*cāyah kī*

*cāyah* 6/1 *kī* (1/1 deleted)

(*yani* #19)

'*cāyṛ pūjāniśāmanayoh'ity etasya dhātor yanī parataḥ kī'ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*  
Verbal root *cāyR* 'to honor' is replaced with *kī* when affix *yaṄ* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*cekiyate* 'third person singular present middle of *cāyR*  
'to honor' ending in *yaṄ*

*cekiyete* 'third person dual . . .'

*cekiyante* 'third person plural . . .'

*cekitah* 'third person dual active of *cāyR* with deletion of *yaṄ*'

1. Deriving *cikiyate*/*cekiyete*/*cekiyante* from (*cāyR→kī + ya(N)*) + (*LAT*), through iteration (*kī + kī + ya*), *guṇa* of the *abhyāsa* (*k(i→e)*) + *kī + ya* and *cutva* (*k→c*) *e + kī + ya* should not pose any difficulty. Affix *LAT* is as usual replaced with third personal *ātmanepada* suffixes. Look for additional details in the appendix.

2. Why specify *kī* with the long *ī* when a short *i* could easily be replaced with its long counterpart via application of 7.4.25 *akṛtasārvadhātukayor dirghah*. A specification with long *ī* is made because *LUK*-deletion of *yaṄ* would make this long replacement impossible. Consider *ceki + tas→cekitah*.

### 6.1.22 स्फायः स्फी निष्ठायाम्

*sphāyah sphī niṣṭhāyām*

/ *sphāyah* 6/1 *sphī* (deleted 1/1) *niṣṭhāyām* 7/1/  
(*samprasāraṇam* #13)

'*sphāyī oṣyāyī vṛddhau*'ity asya dhātor niṣṭhāyāṁ parataḥ 'sphī ity ayam ādeśo bhavati'

Verbal root *sphāyī* 'to swell' is replaced with *sphī* when an affix termed *niṣṭhā* follows.

EXAMPLES:

*sphitah* 'swollen (*Kta*)'  
*sphitavān* 'ibidem (*KtavatU*)'

1. The condition of *niṣṭhā* (1.1.26 *ktavatū niṣṭhā*) is required so that a string such as *sphāy + KtN* (3.3.94 *striyāṁ ktin*) could be blocked from availing this replacement. That is, *sphī* comes as a replacement only when the context is that of *niṣṭhā*. A derivate of *sphāy + KtN* will thus be *sphātī* as in *sphātī bhavati* 'that which swelled which previously it was not'. Note that 6.1.66 *lopo vyor vali* will delete *y* of *sphāy + ti*. The long replacement for the short final *i* of *sphātī* is gotten under the right context of *CvI* (7.4.26 *cwau ca*). This *CvI* is, of course, introduced by 5.4.50 *abhūtatadbhāve . . .*, in coordination with *bhū* thereby yielding *sphātī bhavati*. The affixal *v* is deleted by 6.1.67 *ver apṛktasya*.

2. The *anuvṛtti* of *niṣṭhā* is valid prior to 6.1.29 *linyānoś ca*. Commentators warn that *sphī* is not marked with *svarita*. Consequently, the *anuvṛtti* of *sphī* is suspended.

### 6.1.23 स्त्यः प्रपूर्वस्य

*styah prapūrvasya*

/ *styah* 6/1 *prapūrvasya* 6/1 = *pra pūrvo yasya* (bv.), *tasya/*  
*(samprasāraṇam #13 niṣṭhāyāṁ #22)*

'*styā*'ity etasya *prapūrvasya* dhātor niṣṭhāyāṁ parataḥ samprasāraṇam bhavati  
 The *styā* of verbal root *styai* 'to sound, crowd', used with the preverb *pra*, goes through *samprasāraṇa* when an affix termed *niṣṭhā* follows.

EXAMPLES:

*prastītah* 'assembled, gathered (*Kta*)'  
*prastītavān* 'ibidem (*KtavatU*)'  
*prastīmāḥ* 'ibidem (*Kta*)'  
*prastīmavān* 'ibidem (*KtavatU*)'  
*prasamstītah* 'ibidem (*pra-sam-styai + Kta*)'  
*prasamstītavān* 'ibidem (*pra-sam-styai + KtavatU*)'

1. *Kāśikā* states that *styah* includes references to verbal roots *styai* and *styai* both. For, they both yield the form *styā*. They both have their *ai* replaced with *ā* of 6.1.45 *ādeca upadeśe asiti*. The *ś* of *styai* is replaced with *s* of 6.1.64 *dhātvādeḥ sah*. The *t* which will then follow *s* have to be replaced with a corresponding dental *t*. This is how one gets the form *styā*. A form such as

*prastīta* is derived from *pra + sty(ai→ā) + (K) ta→pra + st(y→i)ā + ta = prast(i+a→i) + ta = prast(i→i) + ta*. A long replacement for the short *i* is gotten from the application of 6.4.2 *halah*. Similar steps have to be followed for deriving *prastītavān*, nominative singular of *prastītavat*. The *t* of these *niṣṭhā* suffixes is optionally replaced with *m* when occurring after *styai* used with the preverb *pra* (8.2.55 *prastyo nyatarasyām*).

2. Why do we have to use *prapūrvasya* when a formulation such as *prastyah* could account for what it does. The expression *prapūrvasya* is used so that *samprasāraṇa* and *t→m*-replacement can also be availed in examples such as *prasaṁstītah* and *prasaṁstītavān*. The word *prapūrvasya* will then have to be interpreted as genitive signifying *avayava* ‘part of a whole’. The compound *prapūrvah* itself will be interpreted as a *vyadhikaraṇa-bahuvrhi* paraphrased as *pra pūrvo yasya* ‘that (a root or preverb + root) whose initial is *pra*’. Given *prasaṁstītah*, etc., *prapūrvasya* will refer to *samstyai* used with *pra* as its initial.

### 6.1.24 द्रवमूर्तिस्पर्शयोः इयः

*dravamūrttisparśayoh śyah*

/ *drava-mūrtti-sparśayoh* 7/2 = *dravasya mūrttih kāthinyam = dravamūrttih* (saṣ. tat.), *dravamūrtti ca sparśaś ca* (itar. dv. with int. bv.), *tayoh; śyah* 6/1/

(*samprasāraṇam* #13 *niṣṭhāyām* #22)

‘*dravakāthinye sparše vartamānasya ‘śyaiñ gatau’ ity asya dhātor niṣṭhāyām parataḥ samprasāraṇam bhavati*

Verbal root *ŚyaiN*, when used in the sense of *dravamūrtti* ‘solidification of liquid’ and *sparśa* ‘touch’, goes through *samprasāraṇa* when an affix termed *niṣṭhā* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*śīnam gṛtam* ‘solidified clear butter’

*śīnā vasā* ‘solidified animal fat’

*śīnam medah* ‘solidified fat’

*śītam vartate* ‘it (the touch) is cold’

*śīto vāyuh* ‘wind with a touch of cold’

*śītam udakam* ‘water with a touch of cold’

1. Note that *dravamūrtti* is glossed by *Kāśikā* as *dravakāthinya* ‘solidification of liquid’. The same is further explained by *Nyāsa* as *dravāvasthāyā uttarō vashāviśeṣah kāthinyākhyah* ‘a subsequent state of liquid characterized as solidified’.

The word *sparśa* ‘touch, contact’ has been glossed as a quality accompanied with form, etc. (*rūpādisahacarito gunah*). A question is now raised concerning coreferentiality between a modifier (*guna*) such as *vāyu* characterised as *sparśa* and the modified such as *vāyu* ‘wind’, a *drvavya* ‘thing’. It is ex-

plained that certain modifiers, for example *śukla* ‘white’ of *paṭasya śuklah* ‘whiteness of the cloth’, based upon their inseparable relationship with corresponding modifieds, for example *śuklah* of *śuklah paṭah* ‘the white cloth’, at times can be accepted as co-referential. A modifier such as *sīta* can thus be construed in both the senses of *guṇa* ‘quality’ and *gunin* ‘locus of quality’.

2. Note that derivates of *niṣṭhā* with no signification of *sparsa* ‘touch’ will have their *t* replaced with *n* (8.2.47 *śyo’sparśe*). We will thus get *śinam gṛtam*, etc. This also explains why the *t* of *sīto vāyuḥ* cannot be replaced with *n*. The *ai* of *śyai* goes through *ā*-replacement (*ātva*), *samprasāraṇa*, *pūrvarūpa* and *ī*-replacement similar to *styai* of the preceding rule.

3. What is the consequence of not meeting the twin conditions of *dravamūrtti* and *sparsa*? Lack of *samprasāraṇa*, and *n*-replacement of *t* of the affix termed *niṣṭhā* (*niṣṭhānatva*). Consider, for example, *saṃśyāno vrścikah* ‘a rolled up scorpion’.

### 6.1.25 प्रतेश्च

*prateś ca*

/ *prateh* 6/1 *ca* φ /

(*samprasāraṇam* #13 *niṣṭhāyām* #22 *śyah* #24)

*prater uttarasya śyāyater niṣṭhāyām parataḥ samprasāraṇam bhavati*

Verbal root *ŚyaiN*, when used after the preverb *prati*, also goes through *samprasāraṇa* when a suffix termed *niṣṭhā* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*pratiśinah* ‘that which has melted; liquid’

*pratiśinavān* ‘that which has a tendency to melt’

1. This rule is formulated to also allow *samprasāraṇa* outside the meaning conditions of *dravamūrtti* and *sparsa*. Verbal root *śyaiN* is to be used here with the preverb *prati*. Derivational steps are followed similar to examples of the preceding rule. The *n*-replacement of *t* is accomplished by 8.2.43 *saṃyogāder āto dhātor*. . . .

### 6.1.26 विभाषाऽभ्यवपूर्वस्य

*vibhāṣā* *bhyava pūrvasya*

/ *vibhāṣā* 1/1 *abhy-ava-pūrvasya* 6/1 = *abhiś ca avaś ca abhyavau*

(*dvj*; *abhyavau pūrvau yasya* (*bv*. with internal *dv*.) /

(*samprasāraṇam* #13 *niṣṭhāyām* #22 *śyah* 24)

‘*abhi*, *ava*’ity *evam pūrvasya śyāyater niṣṭhāyām vibhāṣā samprasāraṇam bhavati*

Verbal root *ŚyaiN*, when used after the preverbs *abhi* and *ava*, goes through *samprasāraṇa* only optionally.

## EXAMPLES:

*abhiśīnam gṛtam* ‘melted clarified butter’  
*abhiśyānam* ‘ibidem’  
*avaśīnam medah* ‘melted animal fat’  
*avaśyānam gṛtam* ‘ibidem’  
*abhiśito vāyuḥ* ‘cold wind’  
*abhiśyānah vāyuḥ* ‘ibidem’  
*avaśītam udakam* ‘cold water’  
*avaśyānam udakam* ‘ibidem’

1. Note that this option of *vibhāṣā* is *ubhayatra*. That is, it is now available (*prāptā*) to the context of *abhi* and *ava* which it previously was not (*aprāptā*). The *samprasāraṇa* in the context of *dravamūrtti* and *psarśa*, which was not made available (*aprāptā*) by rule 6.1.24 *dravamūrttisparśayoh* . . . to the context of *abhi* and *ava*, is now made optionally available. Consequently, we get two sets of forms: one with *samprasāraṇa* and the other without. A set with application of *samprasāraṇa* lacks *n*-replacement for the *t* of *niṣṭhā*. For, the derivate does not retain any sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *yaN* (cf. 8.2.43 *samyogāder* . . .). A set of derivates with no application of *samprasāraṇa* will remain *yanvān* ‘possessing a sound denoted by *yaN*’. Consequently, *n*-replacement for *t* of *niṣṭhā* will apply. Derivates of *SyaiN* will also have their *t* replaced with *n* when derivates denote non-touch (*asparśa*).

## 6.1.27 शृतं पाके

*śṛtam pāke*  
*/śṛtam 1/1 pāke 7/1/*  
*(niṣṭhāyām #22 vibhāṣā #26)*  
*'śrā pāke' ity etasya dhātor nyantasyānyantasya ca pāke' bhidheye*  
*ktapratyaye paratah śrbhāvo nipātyate*

Verbal root *śrā* is optionally replaced with *śr̥*, via *nipātana*, when it is used with the signification of *pāka* ‘cooking’, and affix *Kta* follows.

## EXAMPLES:

*śṛtam kṣīram* ‘cooked milk’  
*śṛtam haviḥ* ‘cooked ritual oblation of food’

1. Commentators explain that *śṛtam* here refers to verbal root *śrā*, when used with or without the causal suffix *NiC*. This option is explained as *vyavasthita-vibhāṣā* ‘a fixed option made available in special contexts’. That is, a replacement in *śr̥* is obligatory (*nitya*) in the context of deriving *śṛtam*, only when *pāka* ‘softening’ is denoted. Elsewhere, it is not available. The word *pāka* is here used to clearly specify the context of this *nipātana*, i.e., *kṣīra* ‘oblation of rice-pudding’ and *havi* ‘oblation’. A replacement of *śrā*

with *śr*, for example, in *śrāñā yavāgūḥ* ‘barley gruel is cooked’ and *śrapitā yavāgūḥ* ‘barley gruel was caused to be cooked’, cannot be permitted. Incidentally, *śrāñā* is a derivate of *Kta* where *t* is replaced with *n* via *n* (8.2.43 *samyogāder āto . . .*). Feminine affix *TāP* is then introduced to *śrāñā* to derive *śrāñā*. Our next example *śrapitā* is also a derivate of *Kta* ending in *TāP*, though *śrā* is here used with *NiC*. Augment *pUK* (7.3.36 *artīhṛivlā . . .*) with a subsequent application of *hrasva* ‘shortening’ produces: *śrā + p(UK) + (N)i(C) + (K)ta → śr(ā → a) + p + (N)i(C) + (K)ta*. Note that a *sūtra* of the *dhātupāṭha*, i.e., *ghaṭādayo mitah*, recognizes *śrā* as marked with *M* as an *it*. This, in turn, enables application of shortening (6.4.92 *mitāṁ hrasvah*). Affix *NiC* is deleted by 6.4.52 *niṣṭhāyāṁ seti* after augment *iT* is introduced. Thus, *śra + p + (N)i(C) → φ) + i(T) + (K)ta → śra + p + i + ta = śrapita*. Affix *TāP* can now be introduced to derive *śrapitā*.

2. It is stated that the *śr*-replacement is also not allowed when a *bāhya* ‘indirect’ *prayojaka* ‘instigator’ is involved. Thus, consider *śrapitāṁ kṣiram devadattena yajñadattena* ‘Devadatta had Yajñadatta cook the oblation of rice-pudding’ where *yajñadatta* is the indirect instigator. Verbal root *śrā* is explained as intransitive (*akarmaka*), used here in the sense of *pac* with its object having agent as its locus (*karmakartṛvisayaka*). Thus, consider *śrtāṁ kṣirāṁ svayam eva* ‘the oblation cooked by itself’ and *śrtāṁ kṣirāṁ devadattena* ‘Devadatta had the oblation cooked’. The word *pāka* is used in this *sūtra* so that *niṣṭātana* could be restricted to the context of ‘oblation’.

### 6.1.28 प्यायः पी

*pyāyah pī*

/ *pyāyah* 1/1 *pī* (1/1 deleted) /

(*niṣṭhāyāṁ* #22 *vibhāṣā* #26)

‘*opyāyi vṛddhau*’ity *asya dhātor niṣṭhāyāṁ vibhāṣā* ‘*pī*’ity *ayam ādeśo bhavati*  
Verbal root *Opyāyī* ‘to swell’ is optionally replaced with *pī* when a suffix termed *niṣṭhā* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*pīnam mukham* ‘a swollen face; a wide face’

*pīnau bāhū* ‘strong arms’

*pīnam urah* ‘strong chest’

1. This provision of replacement can also be labeled as *vyavasthita-vibhāṣā*. That is, it is obligatorily available when verbal root *Opyāyī* is not used with a preverb. It is, of course, blocked when the root is used with a preverb. Thus, no replacement is available in *āpyānaś candramāḥ* ‘a full moon’ where *pyā* is used with the preverb *ā*. Incidentally, *n*-replacement for the *t* of *niṣṭhā* is accomplished by 8.2.45 *oditaś ca*.

2. Commentators add, however, that *pyā* is replaced with *pī* when it is used with the preverb *āN*, and when derivates denote *andhu* ‘water-well’ and *ūdhas* ‘udder’. Yet another instance of *vyavasthita-vibhāṣā*. Thus, *āpiṇo'ndhuḥ* ‘a water-well full to the brim’ and *āpiṇam īdhah* ‘an udder full of milk’.

### 6.1.29 लिङ्गांशः

*lidyaños ca*

/ *lid-yañoh* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*) *ca* φ /

(*pyāyah pī* #28)

*līti yani ca parataḥ 'pyāyah pī' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*

Verbal root *Opyāyī* is replaced with *pī* when affixes *LIT* and *yaN* follow.

EXAMPLES:

*āpiṇye* ‘third singular middle perfect (*LIT*) of *Opyāyī* (to fill)’

*āpiṇyire* ‘third plural . . .’

*āpepiṇye* ‘third singular middle present of *āpepiṇya*’

*āpepiṇyete* ‘second dual present of . . .’

*āpepiṇyante* ‘third plural present . . .’

1. Note that *vibhāṣā* is not carried over, especially since *vibhāṣā* is explicitly stated in the following rule. Particle *ca* is used for bringing *pyāyah pī* to facilitate the replacement in *pī*. Thus, this rule allows a replacement in *pī* when affixes *LIT* and *yaN* follow. Consider *āpiṇye* and *āpiṇyire*, the third singular and plural middle forms of *LIT* which derive from *ā(N)* + (*pyā→pī*) + (*LIT→ta→eS*) and *ā(N)* + *pyā* + (*LIT→jha→ireC*), respectively. A replacement in *eS* and *ireC* for third person middle singular and plural affixes *ta* and *jha* is gotten from 4.4.81 *litas tajhayor*. . . . A replacement in *pī* is accomplished prior to iteration since the rule which allows this replacement happens to be subsequent (*para*) in order. Iteration then applies because its applicational context presents itself again (*PS*: 40) *punah prasaṅgavijñānāt siddham*. We thus get *ā* + (*pyā→pī*) + (*LIT→ta→eS*)).

Note that a conflict of application between *pī*-replacement and iteration is not of the type one finds between a general (*sāmānya*) rule and its related exception (*apavāda*). Actually, the *pī*-replacement, if not applied prior to iteration, will render this rule without any scope of application (*niravakāśa*). To put iteration temporarily on hold is the best (*utkṛṣṭa*) way of saving this rule from becoming vacuous.

An application of iteration produces *ā* + *pī* + *pī* + *e*. The long *i* of the *abhyāsa* is replaced with its short counterpart to produce: *āp(i→i)* + *pī* + *e*. The following long *i* is replaced with *y* (*yaN*) to yield *āpiṇye*. This *yaN*-replacement is accomplished by 6.4.82 *er anekāco' samyogapūrvasya*. The plural *āpiṇyire* follows similar pattern. The third personal singular, dual and plural present indicative middle (*LAT*) derivates with *yaN* also involve *pī*-replace-

ment and iteration. A *guṇa* of their *abhyāsa* is accomplished by 7.4.82 *guṇo yañlukoh*. Follow derivational patterns of many *yaṄ*-derivates already explained.

### 6.1.30 विभाषा श्वेः

*vibhāṣā śveḥ*

/vibhāṣā 1/1 śveḥ 7/1/

(*samprasāraṇam* #13 *liḍyañoḥ* #29)

*liṭi yani ca śvayater dhātor vibhāṣā samprasāraṇam bhavati*

Verbal root *TUOśvi* ‘to swell’ optionally goes through *samprasāraṇa* when affixes *LIT* and *yaṄ* follow.

EXAMPLES:

*śuśāva* ‘third person singular active *LIT*-derivate of *śvi* ‘to swell’’

*śiśvāya* ‘ibidem’

*śuśuvatuh* ‘third person dual . . .’

*śiśiyatuh* ‘ibidem’

*śośūyate* ‘third person singular middle derivate of *LAT* of *śvi* ending in *yaṄ*’

*śeśūyate* ‘ibidem’

1. This rule carries the *anuvṛtti* of *samprasāraṇa*, *LIT* and *yaṄ*. Of course, the application of *samprasāraṇa* is optional. The option (*vibhāṣa*) itself is interpreted as *ubhayatra-vibhāṣā*. Verbal root *śvi* has *samprasāraṇa* available (*prāptā*) to it obligatorily (*nitya*) before a *LIT* affix marked with *K* (*kit*; 6.1.15 *vacisvapiyajādīnām* . . .). That is, the *samprasāraṇa* is not available (*aprāptā*) to it before an affix not marked with *K* (*akit*). The *samprasāraṇa* before *yaṄ* has not yet been made available. Our present rule makes it optionally available.

The word *vibhāṣa* has been defined by 1.1.44 *na veti vibhāṣā* as denoting the sense of *na vā* ‘or not’. This *na vā* is construed with a rule of *ubhayatra-vibhāṣā* in part. Thus, *na* ‘not’ first negates the option which may be made available (*prāptā*) elsewhere (*anyatra*). The *vā* then makes that negative provision optional. The *na*, in the context of our present rule, will first negate provisions made by 6.1.15 *vacisvapiyajādīnām* . . . The *vā* will then make it available optionally in case of verbal root *śvi*. In case of the option of *samprasāraṇa*, which is not made available (*aprāptā*) elsewhere, *na* of *na vā* cannot be construed with the rule. For, negation can apply only when a positive provision is already made. Consequently, *vā* alone will provide for optional *samprasāraṇa*.

Refer to the appendix of 1.1.44 *na veti vibhāṣā* (II:379-82) for derivational details.

## 6.1.31 णौ च संश्चडोः:

*ṇau ca samścañoh*  
*/ ḡau 7/1 ca φ samścañoh 7/2 = samś ca cañ ca, tayoh (itar. dv.) /*  
*(samprasāraṇam #13 vibhāṣā śveh #30)*  
*sanpare canpare ca ḡau parataḥ śvayater dhātor vibhāṣa samprasāraṇam*  
*bhavati*

Verbal root *TUOśvi* ‘to swell’ goes through *samprasāraṇa* provided when *NiC*, followed by affixes *saN* and *CaN*, follows.

## EXAMPLES:

*śusāvayiṣati* ‘third person singular causal *saN* derivate in *LAT* of *śvi*’  
*śisvāyayiṣati* ‘ibidem’

*asūśavat* ‘third person singular causal derivate of *śvi* in *LUN*’  
*asiśvayat* ‘ibidem’

1. Note that the *parasaptamī* ‘locative of right context’ in *ṇau* and *samścañoh* denote different loci (*bhinnādhikarana*). It is used in *ṇau* with reference to *śvi*. It is used in *samścañoh* with reference to *nau*. Consequently, this rule must be interpreted with two-step qualifiers to *TUOśvi* as follows:

- (i) *saṁścañoh parato yo'ñih* ‘the *NiC* which occurs when *saN* and *CaN* follow’;
- (ii) *tasmin ḡau parato yaḥ śvayatiḥ* ‘the *śvi* which occurs when *NiC*, particularly of the kind of (i) follows’.

Thus, the interpretation: *sanpare canpare ca ḡau parataḥ* ‘when *NiC*, followed by *saN* and *CaN*, follows’.

2. Commentators remind here again that *samprasāraṇa*, or an operation related to *samprasāraṇa*, is treated as comparatively more powerful (*balavattara; samprasāraṇam samprasāraṇāśrayam ca balyo bhavati*). Consequently, *samprasāraṇa* is able to block *vṛddhi*, etc., which happens to be internally conditioned (*antarāṅga*). Of course, *vṛddhi* and replacement in *āv*, as in *śusāvayiṣati*, apply subsequent to *samprasāraṇa*.

Rule 7.4.80 *oh puyanjī apare* provides that ‘an *i* comes in place of the final sound of an *abhyāṣa* when affix *saN* follows, provided the *abhyāṣa* ends in *u* and occurs before a labial (*pU*), a semivowel (*yaN*) or *j*, followed by *a'*. This, in turn, becomes an indicator that a substitution caused by *NiC*, for purposes of iteration (*dvirvacana*), is treated as what it replaced, irrespective of whether or not it conditions iteration. Let us consider a somewhat controlled derivation of *śisvāyayiṣati* where verbal root *śu* is used with the causal *NiC* before affix *saN*. A *vṛddhi* of *i* followed by its replacement by *āy* will yield: *śv(i→ai→āy) + i + i + (T→φ) + sa = śvāyi + i (s→ś)a = śvāyi + i + sa*. An iteration on *śvāyi* where *śvi* is not treated as a root via *sthānivadbhāva* will produce wrong results: \**śā + śvāyi + i + sa*. But bringing *śvi* via *sthānivadbhāva* for

purposes of iteration will offer the correct form  $\acute{s}(v \rightarrow \phi)i + \acute{svāyi} + i + sa \rightarrow \acute{siśvāy}(i \rightarrow e \rightarrow ay) + i + sa = \acute{siśvāyayiṣa}$ . Given  $\acute{svi} + i + sa$ , an application of *samprasāraṇa* will similarly produce  $\acute{s}(v \rightarrow u)i + sa \rightarrow \acute{s}(u \rightarrow i \rightarrow u) + i + sa \rightarrow \acute{s}(u \rightarrow au \rightarrow āv) + i + sa = \acute{sāv} + i + i + sa$ , where iteration, if applies with reference to  $\acute{sāv} + i$  will produce wrong results:  $*\acute{sā} + \acute{sāv} + i + i + sa$ . The correct form should be  $\acute{su} + \acute{sāv} + i + sa$  which will finally, through  $\acute{su}$  retrieved via *sthānivadbhāva*, augment *iT*, and  $i \rightarrow e \rightarrow ay$  replacements of *NiC*, will produce  $\acute{sūśāvayiṣa}$  of  $\acute{sūśāvayiṣati}$ .

Let us return to our reference to rule 7.4.80 *oh puyanjy apare* which becomes an indicator for applying iteration via *sthānivadbhāva* when *NiC* follows. It also means that *samprasāraṇa* blocks iteration initially. For, in its absence, the question of  $\acute{sāv}$  forming the focus of iteration via *sthānivadbhāva* does not arise. It also makes known that internally conditioned *vṛddhi*, etc., are also blocked by *samprasāraṇa*. Consequently, *vṛddhi* and replacement in  $\acute{āv}$  ( $\acute{āv}-ādeśa$ ) also apply subsequent to the application of *samprasāraṇa* (*Kāś.*: . . . *kṛte tu samprasāraṇe vṛddhir āvādeśaś ca. tataḥ ‘oh puyanjy apare* (7.4.80)’ *ity etad vacanam jñāpakam-ṇau kṛtasthānivadbhāvasya itis sthānivadbhāvāt śuśabdo dvirucyate*). Derivates of *CaṄ* have to be handled accordingly. Refer to the appendix for further derivational details.

### 6.1.32 हः सम्प्रसारणम्

*hvah samprasāraṇam*

/hvah 1/1 samprasāraṇam 1/1/

(*nau ca samścaṇoh* #31)

*sanpare caṇpare ca ḷau parato hvah samprasāraṇam bhavati*

Verbal root *hveṄ* goes through *samprasāraṇa* when affix *NiC*, followed by affix *saN* or *CaṄ*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

*juhāvayiṣati* ‘he wishes to challenge’

*juhāvayiṣataḥ* ‘those two wish to . . .’

*juhāvayiṣanti* ‘those all wish to . . .’

*ajūhavat* ‘he challenged’

*ajuhavatām* ‘they two challenged . . .’

*ajūhavan* ‘they all challenged’

1. What is the purpose of explicitly stating *samprasāraṇam* when we already have the same available through *anuvṛtti*. Pāṇini uses *samprasāraṇa* so that he can drop the *anuvṛtti* of *vibhāṣā* which happens to be associated with the earlier *samprasāraṇa*. This *samprasāraṇa* is used to drop the *anuvṛtti* of *vibhāṣā* and hence is not optional. Look for derivational details in the appendix.

2. Once again, since *samprasāraṇa* and operations related to it enjoy greater strength, *vṛddhi*, etc., are again initially put on hold in favor of

*samprasāraṇa*. This is also the reason why augment yUK (7.3.37 *śacchāsāh-vāryāvepām yuk*) is also blocked in favor of *samprasāraṇa*.

3. Why can we not have a single formulation of this rule as *hvah samprasāraṇam abhyastasya*. This way we do not need a separate 6.1.33 *abhyastasya ca*. A split formulation is made to indicate that *samprasāraṇa* is accomplished only when an affix conditioning *abhyāsa* intervenes. One can not accomplish *samprasāraṇa* when an affix which did not condition *abhyāsa* intervenes (Kāś.: ‘*hvah samprasāraṇam abhyastasya’ity ekayogen siddhe pṛthag yogakarāṇam anabhyastanīmittapratyayena vyavadhāne samprasāraṇābhāvajñāpanārtham*’). It is for this reason that *samprasāraṇa* is not accomplished in examples such as *hvāyakiyati* parallel to *hvāyakam icchatī . . . wishes for . . .*. This same is also true of a corresponding derivate of *saN*, i.e., *jihvāyakiyisati*.

### 6.1.33 अभ्यस्तस्य च

*abhyastasya ca*

/ *abhyastasya* 6/1/ *ca* φ/

(*hvah samprasāraṇam* #32)

*abhyastasya kāraṇasya hvayateḥ prāg eva dvirvacanāt samprasāraṇam bhavati*  
The *hveñ* which constitutes the source of an *abhyasta* also goes through  
*samprasāraṇa*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*juhāva* ‘he called out’

*juhūyate* ‘he makes repeated challenges’

*juhūṣati* ‘wishes to challenge?’

1. The *ca* of this rule is used to attract *hvah* from the preceding rule. If *hvah* is not attracted by *ca* then *samprasāraṇa* will apply to what is termed an *abhyasta*. That means it will apply to both the *abhyāsa* (6.1.4 *prathamo’ bhyāsah*) and *abhyasta* (6.1.5 *ubhe abhyastam*).

Note that *abhyastasya* and *hvah* both end in the genitive. But this dual genitive cannot establish a coreferential relationship (*sāmānādhikarāṇya*) between *abhyastasya* and *hvah*. That is, we cannot interpret the strings *abhyastasya hvah* as ‘the *hva* which is (also) termed *abhyasta*’. For, this will then require iteration whereby the term *abhyasta* can be assigned. But *samprasāraṇa* cannot be applied now since 6.1.37 *na samprasāraṇe samprasāraṇam* will not permit it. It is in view of this difficulty that the relationship between *abhyastasya* and *hvah* is accepted as *vyadhikarāṇa*, i.e., that which involves different loci. The phrase is then interpreted as: *abhyastasya tu hveñ* ‘the *hveñ* of *abhyasta*’. Kāśikā interprets it as that *hveñ* which is the *kāraṇa* ‘basis, source’ for the assignment of the term *abhyasta*. The *Mahābhāṣya* simply calls it the base (*prakṛti; abhyastasya prakṛter iti*) which forms as the source for assignment of the term *abhyasta*. This makes it possible for *samprasāraṇa* to

take place prior to *dvitva*. Thus, in contexts where assignment of the term *abhyasta* is possible after iteration, *samprasāraṇa* is accomplished prior to iteration. Consider *juhāva*, *juhūyate* and *juhūṣati*, derivates of *LIT*, *yaṄ* and *saṄ*, respectively, for illustration. Refer to the appendix for derivational details.

### 6.1.34 बहुलं छन्दसि

*bahulam chandasī*

/ *bahulam* 1/1 *chandasī* 7/1/

(*hvaḥ samprasāraṇam* #32)

*chandasī viṣaye hvayater dhātor bahulam samprasāraṇam bhavati*

Verbal root *hveṄ* goes through *samprasāraṇa* in the Vedic, variously.

EXAMPLES:

*indrāgnī huve* 'I invoke the presence of Indra and Agni'

*devīm sarasvatīm huve* 'I invoke the presence of Sarasvatī, the divine'

*hvayāmi marutāḥ śivān* 'I invoke the presence of benevolent winds'

1. It is because of this provision of *bāhulaka* 'variously' that we get *samprasāraṇa* and *uvAṄ* in an example such as *huve* 'first person singular present indicative middle' of *hu* 'to call'. But one can also find an example such as *hvayāmi*, the first person singular present indicative active of *hu*, where *samprasāraṇa* is not accomplished. Refer to the appendix for full derivational details.

### 6.1.35 चायः की

*cāyah kī*

/ *cāyah* 6/1 *kī* (deleted 1/1)/

(*bahulam chandasī* #33)

*cāyater dhātōś chandasī viṣaye bahulam 'kī' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*

Verbal root *cāyR* 'to honor' is variously replaced with *kī* in the Vedic.

EXAMPLES:

*viyantā nyanyam cikyur na nicikyur anyam*

'they did not worship any other'

*agnir jyotir nicāyam*

1. Here again a replacement in *kī*, or its absence, is accounted for by *nipātana*. Thus, *ni-cikī* + (*LIT* → *jhi* → *us*) = *nicikyus*, but *ni-cāy* + (*Ktvā* → *Lyap*) = *nicāy*.

### 6.1.36 अपस्पृथेथामानृचुरानृहुश्चच्चुषेतित्याजश्राताः श्रितमाशीराशीर्ताः

*apaspṛdhethām-ānycur-ānṛhus-cicyuse-tityāja-śrātāḥ śritam-āśirāśirttāḥ*

/ *apaspṛdhethām* (a form in *tiṄ*); *ānṛcuḥ* (a form in *tiṄ*); *ānṛhuḥ* (a form in *tiṄ*); *cicyuṣe* (a form in *tiṄ*); *tityāja* (a form in *tiṄ*); *śrātāḥ* 1/3 *śritam* 1/1 *āśīḥ* 1/1 *āśīrttaḥ* 1/1/  
(*samprasāranam* #32 *chandasī* #34)

'*apaspṛdhethām*' ite *śabdāḥ chandasī viṣaye nipātyante*

The following are derived, via *nipātana*, in the Vedic:

*apaspṛdhethām*, *ānṛcuḥ*, *ānṛhuḥ*, *cicyuṣe*, *tityāja*, *śrātāḥ*, *śritam*, *āśīḥ*, and *āśīrttaḥ*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*apaspṛdhethām* 'second person dual middle *LAṄ*-derivate of *apa-spardh* 'to compete'

*ānṛcuḥ* 'this person plural active *LIT* of *ān-arc* 'to worship, respect'

*ānṛhuḥ* 'third person . . . of *ān-arh* 'to respect'

*cicyuse*

*tityāja* 'third person singular active *LIT* of *tyaj* 'abandon'

*śrātāḥ* '*Kta*-derivate of *śriṄ* 'to cook'

*śritam* 'ibidem'

*āśīḥ* '(*āṄ-śī* + *Kta* + *KviP*) + *Kta*'

*āśīrttaḥ* '(*āṄ-(śrā→śī)* + *Kta*)'

1. Refer to the appendix for derivational details, especially as they relate to *nipātana*.

#### 6.1.37 न सम्प्रसारणे सम्प्रसारणम्

*na samprasāraṇe samprasāraṇam*

/ *na* φ *samprasāraṇe* 7/1 *samprasāraṇam* 1/1/

*samprasāraṇe parataḥ pūrvasya yanah samprasāraṇam na bhavati*

A sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *yaṄ* is not replaced with a corresponding sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *iK* when *samprasāraṇa* follows *yaṄ*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*viddhah* 'pierced'

*vicitah* 'deceived'

*samvītah* 'properly covered; (*sam-vyeṄ*) + *Kta*) + *sU*'

1. This rule negates *samprasāraṇa* when *samprasāraṇa* follows. Why do we need such a rule? So that *samprasāraṇa* can be blocked from applying to instances of sounds denoted by *yaṄ*. Consider the derivation of *viddhah* from *vyadh* + (*K*) *ta*. Should one apply *samprasāraṇa* to *v* and *y* both? Our present rule makes it clear that *samprasāraṇa* should apply only to *y*. How do we know that *samprasāraṇa* cannot apply to *v*? We know it from this negative provision of *samprasāraṇa* conditioned by the right context of *samprasāraṇa*.

Obviously, a right context of negation of *samprasāraṇa* cannot be gotten if *samprasāraṇa* did not apply to a *yaṄ* that occurred subsequent to another *yaṄ*.

One cannot invoke the *alo' ntya-paribhāṣā* (1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*) to restrict application of *samprasāraṇa* to the final *yaṄ* of a given form. For, that will render the *samprasāraṇa* provision of 6.1.15 *vacisvapi* . . . vacuous. One can also not invoke the *paribhāṣā* (PŚ: 104): *anantyavikāre' ntyasadeśasya*, thereby restricting the application of *samprasāraṇa* to a *yaṄ* which is next to the final sound segment of a given form.

The formation of rule 6.1.28 *pyāyah pī* also indicates that not every *yaṄ* should be replaced with *samprasāraṇa*. For, if all occurrences of sounds denoted by *yaṄ* could be replaced with *samprasāraṇa* in a form then specification of *pī* as a replacement for *pyāy* was unnecessary. For, *pīna* of *pīnam mukham* could have then been derived without *pī* as a replacement. Thus, given *pyāy + (K)ta*, *samprasāraṇa*, if applied to both *y*-elements, could yield: *p(y→i) ā(y→i) → p(iā→i) + i + ta* through *pūrvarūpa*. An application of 6.1.108 *samprasāraṇāc ca*, followed by that of 6.4.2 *halah*, could produce: *p(i + i→i) + ta → p(i→i) + ta = pīta*. The *t* could be then replaced with *n* (8.2.45 *oditas ca*) to yield *pī + (t→n) a = pīna*. Why can *samprasāraṇa*, in this derivation of *pīna*, not apply only to the final *y* of *pyāy*? This, of course, will be in consonance with 1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*. This application of *samprasāraṇa* on the final *y* is possible if the genitive, in *pyāyah* of *pyāyah pī*, is interpreted as denoting 'in place of' (*sthāna-śaṣṭhī*; 1.1.49 *śaṣṭhī sthāneyogā*). But this genitive when interpreted as denoting 'part of a whole' (*avayava-śaṣṭhī*) cannot block *samprasāraṇa* from applying to both *y*-elements of *pyāyah*. For purposes of *samprasāraṇa*, it will yield the interpretation: 'the *y* forming a part of *pyāy*'. This again indicates that *samprasāraṇa* does not apply to all sounds denoted by *yaṄ*. It applies only to a subsequent *yaṄ* and not to any preceding. This application of *samprasāraṇa* only applicable to a subsequent *yaṄ* is not possible to be known from *vidhyati adhanusā*, etc. For, *vidhyati* can be derived also by applying *samprasāraṇa* in turn (*paryāya*). This rule is then needed (PM ad *Kāś*: . . . *na sarvasya yaṇah samprasāraṇam bhavati; tatra kuta etat-parasyaiva bhavati na pūrvasyeti; na ca vidhyatītyādinirdeśāt parasyaiveti śakyam avagantum. paryāyenā pravṛttāv api tadutpatteḥ. tasmād ārabhyam evaitat*).

Some still argue that there is nothing in the specification of *samprasāraṇa* which can stop it from not applying indiscriminately to both the preceding and following elements of *yaṄ*. It will then become very difficult to comprehend this negation. How could you stop someone from eating when he is already eating (*yo hi bhuktavantam brūyād mā bhūnikthā iti kim tena kṛtam syāt*). It is to remove this difficulty that the locative in *samprasāraṇe* is interpreted as denoting *nimitta* 'cause'. Note, however, that *samprasāraṇa* itself is not accepted as the *nimitta*. Instead, it is the *iK* which is to be brought about (*tadbhāvī*), via *samprasāraṇa*, that becomes the *nimitta* for this negation.

2. Why is *samprasāraṇa* used here explicitly when the same can be gotten via *anuvṛtti*. Commentators explain that, in the absence of explicitly using *samprasāraṇam*, *paribhāṣā* (PS: 62): *anantarasya vidhir bhavati pratiṣedho vā* ‘an operation, or its negation, applies only to the most proximate’ will apply. Consider the derivation of *yūnah*, from *yuvan* + (Ś) *as* = *yuvan* + *as*, where 6.1.133 *śvayuvamaghnām ataddhite* requires *samprasāraṇa* to yield *yu(v→u) an + as = yu(ua→u) an + as = yuun + as→y(u + u→ū) na + as = yūna + as* through *samprasāraṇa*, *pūrvarūpa* and *dīrgha* (6.4.2 *halah*). The argument that *y* of *yūna* must also go through *samprasāraṇa* because it is most proximate to *v*, via *sthānivadbhāva* (1.1.56 *sthānivad* . . .), is not acceptable. The long *ū* cannot be accepted as the two vowels it replaced, especially since an operation is to be performed on what precedes (*pūrvavidhau kartavye*, 1.1.58 *na padāntadvirvacana* . . .). The notion of proximity via *sthānivadbhāva* is thus not valid. To still insist that examples such as *yūnah* can be derived via *nipātana* and hence, *samprasāraṇa* in this rule should not be used, is also not acceptable. For, *nipātana* cannot be manipulated to block a general provision.

An explicit mention of *samprasāraṇa*, as against its acceptance via *anuvṛtti*, makes it understood that *samprasāraṇa* on a preceding *yaN* sound is negated even when the following *yaN* sound does not occur contiguously after it.

3. The *Mahābhāṣya* offers two *vārttika*-proposals under this rule:

- (i) An application of *samprasāraṇa*, in addition to deletion of the initial sound of what follows, is recommended for *tri* when followed by *rc*. Thus *t(r→r)i + rc = t(ni→r) + rc = tr + (r→ϕ)c = trc*. A derivate such as *trca* of *trcaṁ sūktam* is derived by introducing the *samāsānta* affix *a* (5.4.74 *r̥kpurabdhūḥpathām ānakṣe*). This proposal of *samprasāraṇa* and *lopa* is made only for the Vedic. The classical language will still have *tr(i→y) + rca = tryrca*, derived via *yaN* with no *samprasāraṇa* and *lopa*, parallel to *tisrah rcaḥ yasmin* ‘that in which there are three hymns’.
- (ii) A *samprasāraṇa* on *rayi* before *matUP* applies variously in the Vedic. Thus, *ra(y→i)i + mat→ra(i + i = i) + mat = ra + i + mat = ra + (i→e) + mat→r(a + e→e) + (m→v)at = re + vat*. But we also get *rayimān* which does not involve *samprasāraṇa*.

### 6.1.38 लिटि वयो यः

*liṭi vayo yaḥ*  
*/ liṭi 7/1 vayaḥ 1/1/ yaḥ 1/1/*  
*(na samprasāraṇam #37)*

*liṭi parato vayo yakārasya samprasāraṇam na bhavati*

The *y* of *vay* is not replaced with *samprasāraṇa* when *LIT* follows.

## EXAMPLES:

*uvāya* ‘third person singular active *LIT*-derivate of *veṄ* ‘to weave’’

· *ūyatuh* ‘third person dual . . .’

· *ūyuh* ‘third person plural . . .’

1. Note that *uvāya* derives from (*veṄ*→*vay*) + *LIT* = (*vay* + *vay*) + *LIT* = *va*(*y*→∅) + *vay* + *LIT*→(*v*→*u*) *a* + *vay* + *LIT*→(*u* + *a*→*u*) + *vay* + *LIT*→*u* + *v*(*a*→*ā*) *y* + *LIT*→*uvāy* + (*LIT*→*tiP*→*a*) = *uvāya*. There are two rules which offer *samprasāraṇa* relative to *veṄ*→*vay*: 6.1.16 *grahijyāvayi* . . . and 6.1.17 *lity abhyāsasyobhayeśām*. The first offers *samprasāraṇa* to the root while the second offers it optionally to the *abhyāsa*. The *samprasāraṇa* of *v* can be blocked in favor of the *samprasāraṇa* of *y* by the preceding rule. Our present rule will block the *samprasāraṇa* of *y*. This, however, does not mean that *samprasāraṇa* will not apply. Once *y* is blocked from going through *samprasāraṇa*, *v* will become available to it. That is, *vay* contains two elements denoted by *yaṄ*. Rule 6.1.37 *na samprasārane* . . . negates the *samprasāraṇa* of *v*. Our present rule negates the *samprasāraṇa* of *y*. Given this, the *samprasāraṇa* of a verbal root is accomplished by rule 6.1.16 *grahijyāvayi* . . . The *samprasāraṇa* of the *abhyāsa* is accomplished by 6.1.17 *lity abhyāsasyobhayeśām*.

2. Why state *LIT* when a replacement of *veṄ*, in *vay*, is possible only in *LIT*? The *anuvṛtti* of *LIT* from 6.1.17 *lity abhyāsasyobhayeśām* can accomplish its function. Commentators claim that *LIT* is used for subsequent rules (*uttarārtham*). Thus, *liti*, when read with *veṅah* of 6.1.40 *veṅah*, will optionally block the *samprasāraṇa* of verbal root *veṄ* when *LIT* follows. The negation of *veṅah* could still apply when *LIT* follows. This, in turn, seems to be the purpose of using *liti* in this rule explicitly.

## 6.1.39 वश्चास्यान्यतरस्यां किति

*vaś cāsyānyatarasyāṁ kiti*

/ *vah* 1/1 *ca* ∅ *asya* 6/1 *anyatarasyāṁ* 7/1 *kiti* 7/1/

(*liti vayo yaṄ* #38)

*asya vayo yakārasya kiti liti parato vakārādeśo bhavaty anyatarasyāṁ*

The *y* of *vay* is optionally replaced with *v* when a *LIT* affix marked with *K* follows.

## EXAMPLES:

*ūvatuh* ‘third person dual active *LIT*-derivate’

· *ūvuh* ‘third person plural . . .’

· *ūyatuh* ‘third person dual . . .’

· *ūyuh* ‘third person plural . . .’

1. This optional replacement is applicable only before a *LIT* affix marked with *K*. It can, thus, not be availed by *uvāya* and *uvayitha* which are derivates of *tiP* and *siP*. Refer to the appendix for derivational details.

2. The word *asya* refers to the *y* (of *vay*) whose *samprasāraṇa* is negated. This interpretation also facilitates blocking of *samprasāraṇa* of a *v*. Patañjali thinks that the *sūtra* should have been simply formulated as *anyatarasyāṇ kiti veñah*. That is, without *vaścāsyā*. For, the intended derivates can all be accounted for without using *vaścāsyā*. Refer to derivational details in the appendix.

#### 6.1.40 वेजः

*veñah*

/ *veñah* 6/1/

(*na samprasāraṇam* #37 *liṭi* #38)

'*veñ tantusantāne*'<sup>ity</sup> *asya dhātor liṭi parataḥ samprasāraṇam na bhavati*

Verbal root *veñ* 'to weave' does not go through *samprasāraṇa* when affix *LIT* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*vavau* 'third person singular active *LIT*-derivate of *veñ* (to weave)'

*vavatuh* 'third person dual . . .'

*vavuh* 'third person plural . . .'

1. This rule negates the *samprasāraṇa* made available by 6.1.15 *vacisvapiyaj* . . . before an affix marked with *K*. It also negates the *samprasāraṇa* made available by 6.1.17 *liṭy abhyāsasyobhayeṣām* in connection with *NaL* and *thaL*, replacements of *tiP* and *siP*, marked with *P*, respectively.

#### 6.1.41 ल्यपि च

*lyapi ca*

/ *lyapi* 7/1 *ca* φ/

(*na samprasāraṇam* #36 *veñah* #40)

*lyapi ca parato vyēñah samprasāraṇam na bhavati*

Verbal root *veñ* does not go through *samprasāraṇa* also when affix *LyaP* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*pravāya*

*upavāya*

1. This rule negates the provision of *samprasāraṇa* available to *veñ* from 6.1.15 *vacisvapiyajādīnām* . . . A separate formulation of this rule is made so that *lyapi* alone could be carried over subsequently. A joint formulation with the preceding rule would have also required the *anuvṛtti* of *veñ* in the succeeding rule.

## 6.1.42 ज्यरच

*jyāś ca**/jyah 6/1 ca 1/1/**(na samprasāraṇam #37 lyapi #41)*

'*jyā vayohānau*' ity asya dhātor lyapi parataḥ samprasāraṇam na bhavati  
 Verbal root *jyā* 'to grow old' also does not go through *samprasāraṇa*  
 when affix *LayP* follows.

EXAMPLES:

*prajyāya**upajyāya*

1. This negation of *samprasāraṇa* is made against the positive provision of 6.1.16 *grahijyāvayi*. . . Why did Pāṇini not formulate this rule as: *lyapi vyo jyāś ca*. This way he did not have to formulate three rules with additional use of two *ca*. First of all, *lyapi* cannot be brought here because it separately negates the *samprasāraṇa* of *veñ*. Bringing *lyapi* here would also necessitate bringing *veñ* which is not desired. Secondly, an optional *samprasāraṇa* allowed for *vyeñ* is not allowed for *jyā*. Thus, all these separate formulations are intended for subsequent rules.

## 6.1.43 व्यरच

*vyaś ca**/vyah 6/1 ca φ/**(na samprasāraṇam #37 lyapi #41)*

'*vyen saṁvarane*' ity etasya dhātor lyapi parataḥ samprasāraṇam na bhavati  
 Verbal root *vyeñ* 'to cover' also does not go through *samprasāraṇa* when  
 affix *LyaP* follows.

1. A separate formulation of this rule is intended for blocking the *anuvṛtti* of *jyah* in subsequent rules.

*pravyāya**upavyāya*

## 6.1.44 विभाषा परे:

*vibhāṣā pareḥ**/vibhāṣā 1/1 pareḥ 5/1/**(na samprasāraṇam #37 lyapi #41 vyah #43)*

*parer uttarasya* '*vyen*' ity etasya dhātor lyapi parato vibhāṣā samprasāraṇam  
 na bhavati

Verbal root *vyeñ* used with the preverb *pari* does not go through  
*samprasāraṇa*, optionally, when affix *LyaP* follows.

## EXAMPLES:

*parivīya yūpam* ‘having wrapped around’  
*parivyāya* ‘ibidem’

1. Given *pari* + *vye* + (*Ktvā*→*LyaP*) = *pari* + *vy*(*e*→*ā*; *ātva*; 6.1.45 *ād eca upadesे* . . .) + *ya* = *pari* + *v(y*→*i*) *ā* + *ya* = *pari* + *v(i* + *ā*→*i*); *pūrvarūpa*) = *pari* + *v(i*→*i* (*dirgha*; 6.4.2 *halah*), we get *parivīya*. We will get *parivyāya* when the option of applying *samprasāraṇa* is not accepted. Note also that when the option of *samprasāraṇa* is availed, *tUK* of 6.1.71 *hrasvasya piti krti tuk* becomes applicable after *pūrvarūpa*. But this *tUK* is blocked in favor of application of 6.4.2 *halah* since it is subsequent in order (*para*; 1.4.2 *vipratisedhe param kāryam*).

## 6.1.45 आदेच उपदेशोऽशिति

*ād eca upadesे' śitि*  
*/āt 1/1 ecaḥ 6/1 upadeśe 7/1 asīti 7/1 = sa cāsau it ca = śit (karmadhāraya);*  
*na śit = asīt, tasmin (nañ tat. with int. karm.)/*  
*(dhātoḥ #8)*

*ejanto yo dhātūr upadeśe tasyākārādeśo bhavati śitि tu pratyaye na bhavati*  
A verbal root which, in *upadeśa*, ends in sounds denoted by the abbreviative term *eC*, is replaced with *ā*, but not when an affix marked with *S* as an *it* follows.

## EXAMPLES:

*glātā* ‘*trC*-derivate of *glai* ‘to be weary’’  
*glātum* ‘*tumUN*-derivate . . .’  
*glātavyam* ‘*tavya*-derivate . . .’  
*niśātā* ‘*trC*-derivate of *ni-śo* ‘to cut’’  
*niśātum* ‘*tumUN*-derivate . . .’  
*niśātavyam* ‘*tavyaT*-derivate . . .’

1. Note that *dhātoḥ* must be brought close to the context of this rule as a predicate (*vidheya*). If *dhātoḥ* is not brought via *anuvṛtti*, then, in the absence of a predicate, *tadantavidhi* interpretation of *eC*, as a substituendum for *ā*, will not be possible to comprehend. We will then interpret the rule as: ‘*ā* comes in place of an *eC* in *upadeśa*’. Of course, with *dhātoḥ* in place via *maṇḍukāpluti* ‘frog’s leap’ from 6.1.8 *līti dhātor* . . ., we get the interpretation: ‘*ā* comes as a substitute in place of an *eC*final root in *upadeśa*’. Rule 1.1.51 *alo’ ntyasya* will then order *ā* as a replacement in place of *eC*.

2. Why is this substitution applicable to *eC*only. So that it does not apply in deriving *kartā* and *hartā* where the roots end in *r*. A condition of *upadeśa* is imposed so that *cetā* and *stotā*, where *e*and *o* are replacements of the original *i* and *u*, could be kept out of the scope of this rule.

What is the purpose of *asiti* ‘when an affix not marked with Š follows’? So that ā can be blocked, for example in *glai* + ŠaP+ (*LAT*→*tiP*) and *mlai* + ŠaP+ (*LAT*→*tiP*), where ŠaP follows. Recall that *glāyati* and *mlāyati* derive by replacing *ai* with *āy*.

3. It is stated that this replacement is not allowed when an affix not marked with Š as an *it* follows (*asiti*). How does this replacement apply in *jagle* and *mamle*. The word *sit* of *asiti* is not interpreted as a *bahuvrīhi*, paraphrased as *skāra id yasya* ‘that whose *it* is a Š’. It is interpreted as a *karmadhāraya* paraphrased as: *śa eva it* ‘(when) Š itself is an *it*'. A *tatpuruṣa* interpretation will make this specification refer to the sound Š (*varṇagrahāṇa*). Once *varṇagrahāṇa* is accepted, *asiti* will negate an operation with reference to Š as an *it* at the beginning of affixal right context (*paribhāṣā* (PŚ 34): *yasmin vidhīs tadādāv algrahaṇe*). Thus, the negation of *asiti* applies only when the affix begins with Š as an *it* (*tadāditva*; *śidādau pratyaye prativedhah*). Deriving *jagle* and *mamle* from *glai* + *LIT* and *mlai* + *LIT* where *LIT* is replaced with *eŚ*, via the *ātmanepada* affix *ta*, now becomes easier. For, the negation of *asiti* cannot apply since *eŚ*, does not begin with Š. A *bahuvrīhi* interpretation cannot block this negation from applying since *eŚ* will still be marked with Š as an *it*.

4. What is the nature of negation (*prativedha*) in *asiti*? Is it *paryudāsa* or *prasajya*? A *paryudāsa* interpretation will yield the interpretation of *tadbhinnatatsadrīśa* ‘that which is not that but is similar to that’. That is, *sītah anyāḥ = asiti; tasmin asiti* ‘that which is other than (but similar to) one marked with Š as an *it*; when that follows’. This *paryudāsa* interpretation will then be limited only to contexts where an affix followed. It will be difficult to derive *suglah* and *sumnah* without the ā-replacement of *ai* of these roots since there will be no *Ka* affix to follow. For, affix *Ka* (3.1.136 *ātāś copasarge*) cannot be introduced where the roots ended in ā. We will be caught in a situation where one will be dependent upon the other (*itaretarāśrya*). A *prasajya* interpretation will negate *sit* only. The ā-replacement will take place even without the introduction of *Ka* (*Kāś: asītīti prasajyaprativedho* ‘yam tenaitad ātvam anaimittikam prāg eva pratyayotpatter bhavatīti’). This is how *suglānah* and *sumlānah* with *yuc* (3.3.128 *āto yuc*) can also be derived.

To sum up, *asiti* will be interpreted as *itsamjñakaśakārādau pratyaye na bhavati* ‘does not apply when an affix with Š as an *it* at its beginning follows’. Recall that this interpretation will also take recourse to *varṇagrahāṇa* and *tadāditva* as explained earlier.

4. The *anuvṛti* of āt is valid up to 6.1.57 *nityam smayateḥ*.

#### 6.1.46 न व्यो लिटि

*na vyo liṭi*  
*/ na φ vyah 6/1 liṭi 7/1/*  
*(ādeca upadeśe #45)*

*'vyeñ'ity etasya dhātor li̤ti parata ākārādeśo na bhavati*

Verbal root *veN* does not go through a replacement in *ā* when affix *LIT* follows.

EXAMPLES:

*samvivryāya* 'having securely covered'

*samvivryayitha* 'you have wrapped it well'

1. Note that rule 6.1.17 *lity abhyāsasyobhayeśām* orders the *samprasāraṇa* replacement for *y* of the *abhyāsa* (6.1.14 *pūrvo' bhyāsaḥ*). That is, we get *sam* + *vye* + *vye* + *NaL* → *sam* + *v(y→i)e* + *vye* + *a→sam* + *v(i+e→i)* + *vye* + *a* after *samprasāraṇa* (6.1.17 *lity abhyāsasyobhayeśām*) and *pūrvarūpa* (6.1.108 *samprasāraṇāc ca*). The *e* of *vye* is replaced with *ai*, its *vṛddhi* counterpart (7.2.115 *aco' nñiti*), under the condition of *NaL*. This *ai* is then replaced with *āy* before *a*. The dual and plural forms corresponding to *samvivryāya* will be *samvivyatuh* and *samvivyuh*, derivates of *atus* and *us*, respectively. These both will go through reiteration of the form resulting after *samprasāraṇa*. A replacement in *yaN* will be subsequently required by 7.4.82 *er anekācaḥ*. Augment *iT* in *samvivryayitha* is introduced by 7.2.66 *id atty-artti-vyayatīnām*.

2. Can *na* be construed with *li̤ti* to give the meaning of *ali̤ti* 'when something other than a *LIT* follows'. No, because this will be against desired derivational goals. Besides, such a negation can apply only to a restrictive (*nityama*) provision such as: *li̤ti vyāḥ* 'ā comes as a replacement only when *LIT* follows'.

3. *Kāśikā*, for reasons that this rule does not offer anything new to dual and plural forms, offers only singular as examples. That is, given *ve* + *atus* → *ve* + *ve* + *atus*, there would not be any difference in form whether iteration applies with or without *ātva*. This no difference in form will result because both the *dhātu* as well as the *abhyāsa* will go through iteration.

Why not apply *samprasāraṇa* before *dvitvā*? This still would not make any difference in forms, especially under the condition of *kīti*. Of course, we will get a difference in form with *NaL*. *Kāśikā* does not offer additional examples because there will not be any difference of forms in the context of *ajādi* 'vowel-initial' affixes *atus*, *us*, etc.

#### 6.1.47 स्फुरतिस्फुलत्योर्धेजि

*sphuratisphulatyor ghañi*

/ *sphurati-sphulatyoh* 6/2 (itar. dv.); *ghañi* 7/1/

(ādecaḥ #45)

'*sphur-sphul calane*' ity etayor dhātvor ecaḥ sthāne ghañi parata ākārādeśo bhavati

The *eC* of verbal roots *sphur* 'to throb' and *sphul* 'ibidem' is replaced with *ā* when affix *GHaN* follows.

EXAMPLES:

*bisphārah* ‘*GHaṄ*-derivate of *vi-sphur* ‘to tremble’’

*bisphālah* ‘. . . of *sphul* ‘to throb’’

*bisphārah* ‘ibidem’

*bisphālah* ‘ibidem’

1. Note that *sphur* and *sphul* do not have any *eC* in *upadeśa*. The word *upadeśa* is thus not carried here. Elsewhere in subsequent rules, *upadeśa* will be carried if cited roots qualify for the condition of *eC*. Commentators state that *ā*, since there is no *eC* in *upadeśa*, comes as a replacement for the *o* (an *eC*) of these roots which, in turn, is gotten after application of *guṇa* (7.3.86 *pugantalaghūpadhasya ca*). An optional *s* (*satva*) results from the application of 8.3.76 *sphuratisphulatyor*. . . . Incidentally, the examples are all derivates of *GHaṄ* introduced by 3.3.121 *halaś ca* with the denotatum of *bhāva* ‘root-sense’, *karaṇa* ‘instrument’ or *adhikaraṇa* ‘locus’.

### 6.1.48 क्रीद्यजीनां णौ

*krīñjīnām* *ṇau*

/ *krīñjīnām* 6/3 = *krī ca iñ ca jiś ca* = *krīñjayah* (itar. dv.), *teśām*; *ṇau* 7/1 / (*ādecaḥ* #45)

‘*dukrīñ dravyavinimaye*’, ‘in *adhyayane*’, ‘*ji jaye*’ ity *eteśām dhātūnām ecaḥ sthāne* *ṇau parata ākārādēśo bhavati*

An *ā* comes as a replacement for the *eC* of verbal roots *krī* ‘to barter’, *iṄ* ‘to study’ and *ji* ‘to win’ when affix *NiC* follows.

EXAMPLES:

*krāpayati* ‘. . . has someone barter something’

*adhyāpayati* ‘. . . teaches; . . . has someone study’

*jāpayati* ‘. . . has someone win’

1. This rule offers *ā* as a replacement for the *eC* of verbal roots *DUkrīṄ* ‘to buy, barter’, *iṄ* ‘to study’ and *ji* ‘to win’ provided when *NiC* follows. This rule begins replacements with no condition of *upadeśa* (PM: *anupadeśartha ārambhah*). Note that forms such as *krāpayati*, *adhyāpayati* and *jāpayati* can be derived from verbal roots *krap* ‘to find fault, move’, *jap* ‘to speak out’ and *āpl* ‘to pervade’. This rule uses three specific verbal roots to exclude other roots and corresponding forms, in addition to excluding the non-*NiC* forms of the three cited roots. Why can we not interpret *DUkrīṄ* and *iṄ* as *kṛṄ* ‘to do’ and *iṄ* ‘to go’? To interpret *DUkrīṄ* as *kṛṄ* is not possible because of the requirement of *eC*. *Kāśikā* reads *ecaḥ sthāne* in the *vṛtti*. Verbal root *iṄ* can also be ruled out since, verbal root *ji*, a root ending in a short vowel, is used in association (*sāhacarya*). An *iṄ* with a short *i* is to be preferred. Why can we not interpret *iṄ* as *iṄ* with a long vowel on the basis of its associated use

with *DUkriñ*, also ending in a long vowel. An *iN* with short *i* can be acceptable on the basis of *vipratiṣedha?* Besides, it is listed in the same group (*ekagāṇiya*). Or else, interpretation of the learned remains our only recourse (*vyākhyānam eva śaram*). Refer to derivational details in the appendix.

### 6.1.49 सिद्धतेरपारलौकिके

*sidhyater apāralaukike*  
*/sidhyateḥ 6/1 apāralaukike (nañ. tatp.) 7/1/*  
*(ādecaḥ #45 nau #48)*

‘*śidhu himsāsamrādhyoḥ’ity asya dhātor apāralaukike’ rthe  
 vartamānasyaicah sthāne ṣau parata ākārādēśo bhavati*

An *ā* comes in place of the *e* of verbal root *ŚidhU* when it is used in the sense of something *apāralaukika* ‘not pertaining to an accomplishment relative to the world beyond’, and affix *NiC* follows.

EXAMPLES:

*annam sādhayati* ‘he has the food cooked’  
*grāmam sādhayati* ‘he has village built’

1. The condition of *apāralaukike* is imposed to that *śidhU* of examples such as *tapas tāpasam sedhayati* ‘penance has the ascetic become established’ does not come under the scope of this rule. Verbal root *śidhU* is used here in the sense of ‘accomplishing some special knowledge (*jñānaviśeṣa*)’. The *tapas* ‘penance’ is serving as the instigator for the ascetic. Incidentally, the *paraloka* of *apāralaukika* generally means ‘another birth’ (*janmāntara*), although it could also mean heaven and hell (*svarga; naraka*).

How come *ātva* is not negated in this example: *annam sādhayati brāhmaṇebhyo dāsyāmi* ‘he cooks food (thinking) that he will give it to the brāhmaṇas’. Why ‘giving to the brāhmaṇas’ which, in turn, would result in some *pāralaukika* gain, could not block *ātva*. Commentators explain that *śidh* is here used in the sense of *nispatti* ‘bringing about the cooking’ where *anna* is its *prayojana* ‘purpose, cause’. A gift of *anna* to the brāhmaṇas certainly entails benefits in the world beyond. However, the condition of *apāralaukikatva* must be relatable directly to the action. Since ‘cooking’ here cannot accomplish anything *pāralaukika*, *ātva* cannot be blocked.

2. Note that *sidhyateḥ* has *śidhU* referenced with *ŚyaN*. This has been done in view of blocking any reference to *śidh* ‘to move’ of the *bhvādi*.

### 6.1.50 मीनातिमिनोतिदीडं ल्यपि च

*mīnātiminotidiñāñ lyapi ca*  
*/mīnāti-minoti-diñāñ (itar. dv.) 6/3; lyapi 7/1 ca φ/*  
*(ādeca upadeśe #45)*

‘*mīn kṣaye*’, ‘*ḍumiñ prakṣepaṇe*’, ‘*dīn kṣaye*’ity *eteśāṁ dhātūnāṁ lyapi viṣaye cakārād ecaś ca viṣaye upadeśa eva prāk pratyayotpatter alo’ ntyasya sthāne ākārādeśo bhavati*

The final sound segment of *mī* ‘to injure’, *miÑ* ‘to scatter’ and *dīN* ‘to decay, perish’ is replaced with *ā* when *LyaP* and *eC* find their scope.

#### EXAMPLES:

\*The examples are all derivates of *ṭṛC/tumUN/tavyaT/LyaP*

*pramātā*  
*pramātum*  
*pramātavyam*  
*pramāya*  
*nimātā*  
*nimātum*  
*nimātavyam*  
*nimāya*  
*upadātā*  
*upadātum*  
*upadātavyam*  
*upadāya*

1. Note that the root-final *i* is replaced with *ā* right at the outset provided affix *LyaP*, or a vowel denoted by the abbreviatory term *eC*, finds its scope subsequently in the derivation. Thus, these roots do not receive affixes marked by their terminal *i*. Instead, they receive affixes marked by *ātva* since *ātva* is applied to them in *upadeśa* (*Kāś*: *upadeśa evātvavidhānād ivarṇāntalakṣaṇāḥ pratyayo na bhavati, ākārāntalakṣaṇāś ca bhavati*). Thus, *upadāyah* ‘giving away’ and *udapānam* ‘drinking of water’ have their *dī* replaced with *dā* in *upadeśa*. Consequently, these derivates involve affixs *GHaÑ* (3.3.18 *bhāve*; *upa + dā + GHaÑ*) and *yuC* (3.3.128 *āto yuc*; *upa + dā + yuC*). That is, the roots are not allowed affixes *aC* (3.3.56 *er ac*) and *KHaL* (3.3.126 *ışadduhsusu . . .*).

The *ā*, in *upadeśa*, comes as a replacement for the final sound segment (1.1.52 *alo’ ntyasya*). This *āT*-replacement is also accomplished in anticipation of a subsequent *eC*, for example one which will appear through *guna* before affixes *ṭṛC* and *tumUN*. These affixes can thus be viewed as having the scope of *eC*. Recall that *eC* will not find its scope in the context of affixes marked with *K* and *N* as an *it*. For, replacement in *vṛddhi* and *guna* will be negated.

#### 6.1.51 विभाषा लीयते:

*vibhāṣā līyateh*  
*/ vibhāṣā 1/1 līyateh 6/1/*  
*(ādeca upadeśe #45 lyapi #50)*

*īyater dhātor lyapi ca ecaś ca viṣaye upadeśa eva alo' ntyasya sthāne vibhāṣā ākārādeśo bhavati*

The final sound segment of verbal root *lī* ‘to embrace, stick’ is optionally replaced with *ā* in *upadeśa* when *LyaP* is to follow or *eC* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

*vilātā*  
*vilātum*  
*vilāya*  
*vilātavyam*  
*viletā*  
*viletum*  
*viletavyam*  
*vilīya*

\*Derivates of *lī* with *trC/tumUN/tavyaT/LyaP*

1. A reference here with *lī* is made to both the *divādi* and *kryādi* verbal roots *līN* and *lī*, respectively. The word *eC* and *ādeca upadeśe* are also understood here. The *ātva* will here again take place before *LyaP*, or in anticipation of an *eC*. That is, *lī* will yield the form *le* through *guṇa*. This *e* will be replaced with *ā* in anticipation. Refer to the appendix for further details.

2. A *vārtika* proposal negates *ātva* of verbal roots *mī*, *mi* and *lī* before affixes *KHaL* (3.3.126 *īsadduḥsuṣu* . . .) and *aC* 3.3.56 (*er ac*, 3.1.134 *nandigrahi-pacādy* . . .). Thus we will get *īsatpramayah*, *īsannimayah* and *īsadvilayah*, etc. Note that negation of *ātva* amounts to *guṇa* in *e* and its subsequent replacement with *ay*.

3. Note that the option (*vibhāṣā*) is here interpreted as *vyavasthita-vibhāṣā*. It is thus to be understood as involving specific situations. Verbal root *lī*, when used with *NiC*, goes through *ātva* obligatorily, provided the signification is *pralambhana* ‘deceiving’ and *śālinīkarana* ‘showing respect’. That is, *ātva* applies obligatorily only when *pralambhana* and *śālinīkarana* are denoted. Elsewhere, it just does not apply. This is what the fixed option (*vyavasthita-vibhāṣā*) means. Incidentally, the negation of *ātva* in connection with *lī* can be gotten via *vyavasthita-vibhāṣā*. The *vārtika* proposal should then be understood in connection with other verbs.

## 6.1.52 खिदेश्चन्दसि

*khideś chandasī*  
*/khidēḥ 6/1 chandasī 7/1/*  
*(ādecaḥ #45 vibhāṣā #51)*  
*'khid dainye' ity asya dhātor ecaḥ sthāne chandasī viṣaye vibhāṣā ākāra ādeśo bhavati*

An ā optionally comes in place of the final eC of verbal root *khid* ‘to be glum’ when the usage is Vedic.

EXAMPLES:

*cittam cikhāda* ‘made sad’

*cittam cikheda* ‘ibidem’

1. In the classical language we find: *cittam khedayati*. The e resulting from *guna* of i (7.3.86 *pugantalaghūpadhasya ca*) is replaced with ā in deriving *cikhāda*.

It is argued that this *sūtra* should not be formulated. For, *cikhāda* and *cikheda* can be derived from *khād* ‘to eat’ and *khid* ‘to be sad’. Denotational differences in roots should create no difficulty since roots denote various meanings (*anekārtha*) anyway. Nyāsa observes that if *khād* and *khid* were to be synonymous, it will be impossible to formulate this rule.

### 6.1.53 अपगुरो नमुलि

*apaguro ḡnamuli*

/ *apagurah* 6/1 *namuli* 7/1 /

(ādecaḥ #45 *vibhāṣā* #51)

‘*gūn udyamane’ity asya dhātor apapūrvasya ḡnamuli parata ecaḥ sthāne vibhāṣā ākāra ādeśo bhavati*

An ā optionally comes in place of the final eC of *gurī* ‘to strive, exert’ used with the preverb *apa*, when affix *NamUL* follows.

EXAMPLES:

*apagāramapagāram* ‘brandishing their swords they fight’

*apagoramapagoram* ‘ibidem’

1. This rule offers optional ātva when *NamUL* follows verbal root *gurī* used with the preverb *apa*. We will get *apa + gur + (N→∅) am (UL→∅) = apa + gur + am→apa + g(u→o)r + am→apa + g(o→ā)r + am = apagāram* through *guna* and ātva. This same can be doubled up to produce *apagāramapagāram* with the signification of *ābhikṣṇya* ‘repetition, over and over again’ (3.4.22 *ābhikṣṇye ḡnamul*; also vt.: *ābhikṣṇye dve bhavataḥ* (ad 8.1.12 *prakāre gunava-canasya*). A non-application of ātva will produce *apagoramapagoram*, through *guna* and repeat occurrence of the derivate in *ābhikṣṇya*. Yet another set of *NamUL* derivates can be gotten without *ābhikṣṇya* by introducing the affix by 3.4.53 *dvitīyāyām ca*. We can thus get *apagāram* and *apagoram* as in *asyapagāram yudhyante* ‘they are fighting with raised swords’ and *asyapagoram yudhyante*. These derivates require *NamUL* to be introduced after verbal root *gur*, used with the preverb *apa*, under the cooccurrence condition of a *pada* ending in *dvitīyā* (accusative).

### 6.1.54 चिस्फुरोणीं

*cisphuror nau*

/ *cisphuroḥ* 6/2 = *ciś ca sphur ca* (itar. dv.); *nau* 7/1/

(ādecaḥ #45 vibhāṣā #51)

'*ciñ, sphur’ity etayor dhātvor nau parata ecaḥ sthāne vibhāṣā ākārādēśo bhavati*

An ā optionally comes in place of the eC of verbal roots *ciṄ* ‘to heap’ and *sphur* ‘to quiver, throb’ when affix *NiC* follows.

EXAMPLES:

*cāpayati* ‘he has someone heap something’

*cāyayati* ‘ibidem’

*sphārayati* ‘makes someone quiver’

*sphorayati* ‘ibidem’

1. Note that these roots could not be covered under the provision of rule 6.1.48 *kṛṇijñānāṁ nau*, because that provision is obligatory. Of course, this ātva is optional.

2. An option of ātva will produce *cāpayati* where augment *pUK* will be introduced by 7.3.36 *artihīnvīnī*. . . . Thus, *ci* + *NiC* → *c(i→ai)→cai* + *pUK* + *i→c(ai→ā)* + *p+i*, where 7.2.115 *aco* ‘*ññiti* replaces the *i* of *ci* with its *vṛddhi* counterpart. An introduction of *LAT* → *tiP* and *ŚaP*, with *guṇa* of the *i* of *cāpi* subsequently replaced with *ay* will produce *cāpayati*. Note that *pUK* will be introduced prior to ātva on the basis of being subsequent, as well as internally conditioned (*paratvādantaraṅgatvāc ca*).

A non-option of ātva will produce *c(i→ai→āy) + i + ŚaP + (LAT→tiP)→cayayati*, with no *pUK* and ātva. Why can we not replace the *i* of *ci* with *guṇa* (7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārddhadhātukayoh*), as against *vṛddhi*. The application of *vṛddhi* will be treated as ‘internally conditioned (*antaraṅga*)’, based upon *pūrvopasthiti* ‘prior placement’, of *ci+NiC*. One can similarly derive *sphārayati*, with *ātva*, and *sphorayati* with a *guṇa* replacement for the short penultimate vowel denoted by *iK* (*laghūpadha-guṇa*; 7.3.86 *pugantalaṁghūpadhasya ca*).

### 6.1.55 प्रजने वीयते:

*prajane vīyateḥ*

/ *prajane* 7/1 *vīyateḥ* 6/1/

(ādecaḥ #45 vibhāṣā #44 nau #54)

'*vi gati prajanakāntyasanakhādaneṣu* ity asya dhātoḥ *prajane* vartamānasya *nau* parato vibhāṣā ākārādēśo bhavati

An ā optionally comes in place of the final eC of verbal root *vī* ‘to conceive, be pregnant’ when affix *NiC* follows.

EXAMPLES:

*purovāto gāḥ pravāpayati* ‘easterly winds have cow’s become pregnant’

*purovāto gāḥ pravāyayati* ‘ibidem’

1. Note that *vī*, an *adādi* root, is used with meanings such as ‘to go’, ‘to conceive’, ‘to eat’ and ‘to desire’. The provisions of this rule are limited to *vī* when meaning ‘to conceive’. Here again *ātva* is followed by augment *pUK*. A non-option of *ātva* will require *vṛddhi* as explained earlier in connection with *cāyayati*. Thus, we get *pravāpayati* and *pravāyayati*. The word *prajana* is explained as *janmana upakramo garbhagrahaṇam* ‘onset of the process of bringing someone into existence; conceiving’.

### 6.1.56 विभेदेतुभये

*bibheter hetubhaye*

/ *bibheteḥ* 6/1 *hetubhaye* 7/1 = *hetor bhayam* = *hetubhayam* (*pañc. tat.*),  
*tasmin/*

(ādecaḥ #45 vibhāṣā #51 ṣau 54)

*hetubhaye vartamānasya ‘nibhī bhaye’ ity asya dhātor ṣau parato nityam  
ākārādeśo bhavati*

An *ā* optionally comes in place of the *eC* of verbal root *Nibhī* ‘to be afraid’, when action denoted by the root has *hetu* as source of fear, and when *NiC* follows.

EXAMPLES:

*munḍo bhāpayate* ‘he, the one with shaven head, causes fear’  
*munḍo bhīṣayate* ‘ibidem’

1. The word *hetu* is here used in the sense of *prayojaka* ‘instigator’ of the *svatantrakartṛ* ‘independent agent’ (1.4.56 *tatprayojako hetus ca*). The word *hetubhaye* is thus used to specify that an *ātva* is accomplished when the source of fear (*bhaya-hetu*) is *hetu*, i.e., the instigator of the independent agent, itself. That is, the boy of our example, i.e., *svatantra-kartṛ* ‘independent agent’, must have *munḍa* ‘the man with shaven head’, i.e., *hetu* ‘instigator’, as source of fear (*bhaya*). This optional *ātva* is not allowed elsewhere. Here again *ātva* will involve *pUK*. Thus, we get *bhāpayate* and *bhīṣayate* with *ātmanepada* ‘middle’ (1.3.68 *bhīṣmyor hetubhaye*). Verbal root *bhī* receives augment *sUK* (7.3.40 *bhiyo hetubhaye ṣuk*). This augment is not available with the option of *ātva* since 7.3.40 *bhiyo hetubhaye ṣuk* specifies the root as *bhī*. That is, one can get *sUK* only when *ī* is heard in *bhī*.

Why *bhaya-hetuḥ*? Observe, *kuñcikayā enaṁ bhāyayati devadattah* ‘Devadatta frightens him with the broom’. The source of fear here is the broom, a *karaṇa* ‘instrument’. That is, it is not Devadatta.

### 6.1.57 नित्यं स्मयते:

*nityam smayateḥ*

/ *nityam* 1/1 *smayateḥ* 6/1/  
(ādecaḥ #45 *hetubhaye* #56)

*'smiñ̄ iśadd hasane' ity asya dhātor hetubhaye' rthe nau parato nityam ākārādeśo bhavati*

An ā comes obligatorily in place of eC of verbal root *smiN* ‘to smile’, when action denoted by the root entails *hetu* as source of fear, and when affix *NiC* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*mundo vismāpayate* ‘he whose head is shaven makes (him) frightened’  
*jaṭilo vismāpayate* ‘he whose hair is matted makes (him) frightened’

1. Here again we find the same meaning of *hetu*. The word *nityam* cancels the *anuvṛtti* of *vibhāṣā*. That is, ātva is now obligatory. Verbal root *SmiN* is used in the sense of *iśaddhasana* ‘smile’. The association of *smi* with *bhī* enables us to also infer *hetusmaye* ‘when source of fear is a smiling instigator of an independent agent’ as a condition, parallel to *hetubhaye*.

Deriving *vismāpayate* with ātva, pUK and ātmanepada offers nothing new.

#### 6.1.58 सृजिद्वशोऽर्जल्यपक्षिति

*srijid̄śor jhaly am akiti*

/ *sriji-dṛśoh* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*); *jhaly* 7/1 *am* 1/1 *akiti* 7/1 (*nañ. tat.*) /

*'srja visarge', 'drśir prekṣane' ity etayor dhātvor jhalādāv akiti pratyaye parato'*  
*am āgamo bhavati*

Augment *aM* is introduced to verbal roots *sj* ‘to release, project’ and *dṛśIR* ‘to look’ when an affix which begins with a *jhaL* (Ss 7–14), but is not marked with *K* as an *it*, follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*sraṣṭā* ‘tr̄C-derivate of *sraj*’

*sraṣṭum* ‘tumUN-derivate . . .’

*sraṣṭavyam* ‘tavyaT-derivate . . .’

*draṣṭā* ‘tr̄C-derivate of *dṛṣ*’

*draṣṭum* ‘tumUN-derivate . . .’

*draṣṭavyam* ‘tavyaT-derivate . . .’

*asrākṣit* ‘third singular active LUṄ-derivate of *sj*’

*adrākṣit* ‘third singular . . . of *dṛṣ*’

1. Augment *aM* is here introduced as an exception to the *guṇa* substitute of 7.3.86 *pugantalaghūpadhasya ca*. This specific provision (*viśeṣa*) blocks the general provision (*sāmānyavidhāna*) of *guṇa* in a manner similar to the specific provision (*viśeṣavidhāna*) of *takra* ‘buttermilk’ to *Kaundinya*, a particular brāhmaṇa, blocking the general provision of yogurt (*dadhi*) given to all brāhmaṇas (*dadhi brāhmaṇebhyo diyatām takram kaundinyāya*).

2. *Kāśikā* states that *vrddhi*, in aorist examples such as *asrākṣit* and *adrākṣit*, is accomplished by rule 7.2.1 *sici vṛddhiḥ parasmaipadeṣu* after augment *aM* is

introduced. That is, it is blocked initially (*pūrvam tu bādhyate*). This blocking is similar to the blocking of *laghūpadhaguna* by *aM*. Note, however, that once *aM* is introduced, the condition for applying *laghūpadhaguna* is removed (*nimittasya vihatatratvāt*). Consequently, *laghūpadhaguna* is blocked forever. This, however, does not happen in case of *vṛddhi*. It applies after *aM* is introduced since condition for its application still remains (*punah prasāngavijñānāt*). It is also stated that *aM* blocks *vṛddhi* because of its obligatory (*nitya*) nature. Additional derivational details can be found in the appendix.

### 6.1.59 अनुदात्तस्य चर्दुपथस्यान्यतरस्याम्

*anudāttasya ca ṛdupadhasyānyatarasyām*  
*/amudāttasya 6/1 ca φ ṛdupadhasya 6/1 = ṛkāra upadhā yasya sa (bv.),*  
*tasmin; anyatarasyām 7/1/*  
*(upadeśe #45 jhalī am akiti #58)*  
*upadeśe anudāttasya dhātora ṛkāropadhasya jhalādāv akiti pratyaye parato'*  
*nyatarasyām am āgamo bhavati*

Augment *aM* is optionally introduced to a verbal root which, in *upadeśa*, is *anudātta*, and which also contains *ṛT* in its *upadhā*, provided an affix beginning with *jhL*, but not marked with *K* as an *it*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

*traptā* ‘third person singular *LUT*-derivate of *tṛp* with no *aM* and no *iT*’  
*tarpitā* ‘. . . with *iT* and *aM*’  
*tarptā* ‘. . . with *aM* but no *iT*’  
*draptā* ‘third person singular active *LUT*-derivate of *dṛp* with no *aM* and no *iT*’  
*darpitā* ‘. . . with *aM* and *iT*’  
*darptā* ‘. . . with *aM* but no *iT*’

1. Note that verbal roots *tṛp* ‘to be satisfied, pleased’ and *dṛp* ‘to glow, kindle, release’ are both marked with *anudātta* and also have *ṛ* in their *upadhā* ‘penultimate position’. Recall that *aM* is more like an exception to *laghūpadhaguna* ‘a short penultimate replacement in *guṇa*’. But since this rule makes *aM* optional, roots covered by this rule will go through *laghūpadhaguna* if the option of *aM* is not availed. Verbal roots *tṛp* and *dṛp* will also receive augment *iT* optionally (7..2.45 *radhādibhyaś ca*). Thus, we will get *traptā* and *draptā* (with *aM*, but no *guṇa* and no *iT*); *tarptā* and *darpitā* (with *guṇa*); *tarpitā* and *darptā* (with *guṇa* and *iT*).

2. A condition of *anudāttasya* is necessary so that a root such as *bṛhŪ* ‘to strive, raise’, because of its *udātta* in *upadeśa*, can be kept out of the scope of this rule. That is why 7.2.44 *svaratisūti . . .* applies on the basis of *U* as an *it* (*udit*). Note that there are only eight roots (*dah-dih-duh-nah-nih-ruh-lih-vah*) which end in *h* and are marked with *anudātta*. Verbal root *bṛh* is not one of

them. Consequently, it receives augment *iT* optionally (7.2.44 *svaratisūti* . . .).

### 6.1.60 शीर्षशब्दसि

*śīrṣamś chandasī*

/ *śīrṣan* 1/1 *chandasī* 7/1 /

'*śīrṣan*' iti śabdāntaram śīrahśabdena samānārtham chandasī viṣaye nipātyate  
The word *śīrṣan* 'head' is derived in the Vedic via *nipātana*.

EXAMPLES:

*śīrṣṇā hi tatra somaṁ kṛitam haranti* 'they carry the soma bought there  
on their head'

1. Note that *śīrṣan* is derived separately, via *nipātana*. It is not a replacement of *śiras*, via *nipātana*. For, *śiras* is also used in the Vedic. Our examples *śīrṣṇā* and *śīrṣṇah* are instrumental and genitive forms, respectively. The *a* of *śīrṣan* gets deleted by 6.4.134 *allopo' nah*.

### 6.1.61 ये च तद्विते

*ye ca taddhite*

/ *ye* 1/3 *ca* φ *taddhite* 7/1 /

(*śīrṣan* #60)

*yakārādau taddhite parataḥ* 'śīraḥ' śabdasya 'śīrṣan' ādeśo bhavati

The word *śīrṣan* comes in place of *śiras* when a *taddhita* affix beginning with *y* follows.

EXAMPLES:

*śīrṣanyah* 'principal'

1. Note that this rule accepts *śīrṣan* as a replacement for *śiras*. Rule 4.3.55 *śārīrāvayavāc ca* introduces affix *yaT* within the general provision of 4.3.53 *tatra bhavah*, parallel to *śirasi bhavah* 'principal; . . . born, or found, on head'.

A *vārttika* recommends *śīrṣan* as an optional replacement in the context of *keśa* 'hair' (vt. *vā keśesu*). Thus we get: *śīrṣanyah* *kesāḥ* and *śirasyāḥ* *kesāḥ* 'hair on head'.

### 6.1.62 अचि शीर्षः

*aci śīrṣah*

/ *aci* 7/1 *śīrṣah* 1/1 /

(*śīrṣan* #6 *taddhite* #61)

*ajādau taddhite śirasah* *śīrṣaśabda* ādeśo bhavati

The word *śīrṣa* comes in place of *śiras* when a *taddhita* affix beginning with a vowel follows.

## EXAMPLES:

*sthaulasīrṣam* ‘pertaining to one whose head is big’  
*hāstiśīryā* ‘a female descendant of Hastiśīrṣa’

1. Deriving *hāstiśīrṣi* ‘male descendant of Hastiśīrṣa’ from *hastiśīrṣa* + *Nas* + *iṄ* (4.1.96 *bāhvādibhyaś ca*) does not offer any difficulty. A replacement in *śīrṣa* followed by initial *vṛddhi*, assignment of the term *bha* (1.4.18 *yaci bham*; 6.4.129 *bhasya*) and deletion of *a* will yield *hasti(śīras→śīrṣa)* + *Nas* + *iṄ* → *hastiśīrṣa* + *i* → *h(a→ā) stīrṣa* + *i* → *hāstiśīrṣ(a→ϕ)* + *i* = *hāstiśīrṣi*. Our next derivate *sthaulasīrṣa* is similarly derived from *sthūlaśīras* + *Nas* + *aṄ*, where *aṄ* is introduced under the meaning condition of 4.3.120 *tasyedam* = *sthūlaśīrasah idam* = *sthaulasīrṣam* ‘this belongs to one who has a big head’.

Deriving *hāstiśīryā* to denote a female descendant of *hāstiśīrṣi* would require *SyaṄ* to replace *iṄ* (4.1.78 *aniñor anāṛṣayoh*). But we run into problem here. Our replacement *śīrṣa* may be accepted as *śīras*, the form it replaced, through *sthānivadbhāva*. This may occasion an application of 6.1.61 *ye ca taddhite*, whereby *śīrṣan* may come as a replacement for *śīrṣa*. The condition of a following *taddhita* affix beginning with *y* can be met by way of *sthānivadbhāva*. Of course, with the understanding that *SyaṄ* is a replacement for the *taddhita* affix *iṄ*. This will produce a wrong derivate *hāsti(śīrṣa→śīrṣan)* + (*S*) *ya(N)* = *hāstiśīrṣan* + *ya* + (*C*) *ā(P)* = *hāstiśīrṣan* + *ya* + *ā* = *hāstiśīrṣan* + *y(a→ϕ)* + *ā* = *hāstiśīrṣa(n→n)* + *y* + *ā* = \**hāstiśīrṣanyā*. Incidentally, *CāP* will be introduced by 4.1.74 *yanaś cāp*. How could one block this undesired result. One ought to make some special effort. The *Mahābhāṣya* suggests that *SyaṄ* should not be accepted as a replacement (*ādeśa*) of *iṄ*. It should instead be accepted as a *taddhita* affix (*pratyaya*) introduced after the base ending in *iṄ* (*iñanta*). One can then delete the *i* of *iṄ* by 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*. Accepting the affixal status (*pratyayapakṣa*) of *SyaṄ*, as against one of replacement (*ādeśapakṣa*), blocks undesired results. That is, this deletion (*lopa*) will be treated as *i*, via *sthānivadbhāva*, when one has to perform an operation on what precedes (*pūrvavidhau kartavye*; 1.1.57 *acah parasmin pūrvavidhau*). Thus, *śīrṣan* cannot replace *śīrṣa* because the condition of an immediately following *taddhita* affix beginning with *y* cannot be met. The *i* of *iṄ*, brought via *sthānivadbhāva*, will intervene (*Kāś: . . . kartavyo'tra yatnah. anīñantād vā parah pratyayah syañāśrayitavyah, tatra yasyetilopasya sthānivadbhāvād vyavadhānam*).

2. A question is also raised in connection with the derivation of *sthaulasīrṣam*. Why do we have to accept *śīrṣa* as a replacement when *śīrṣan* of the preceding rule could already account for the derivate. A replacement ending in *a*, as against *an*, is desired since the derivate will be ending in *a*. A replacement ending in *an* (*śīrṣan*) will cause the derivate to end in *an*. For, *an* must then be retained under the dictates of rule 6.4.168 *ye cābhāvakaṁnoḥ*.

## 6.1.63 पहनोमास्हनिशासन्यूषन्दोषन्यकञ्चकनुदन्नासञ्जस्पभृतिषु

*paddannomāshṛṇniśasanyūṣandoṣanyakañchakannudannāsañ chasprabhr̄tiṣu*

/pad-dan-nas-mās-hṛt-niś-asan-yūṣan-doṣan-yakan-śakan-udan-āsan (each with deleted 1/1) śasprabhr̄tiṣu 7/3 = śas prabhr̄tiḥ yeṣām te (bv.), teṣu/ (chandasī #60)

'pāda, danta, nāsikā, māsa, hṛdaya, niśā, asṭj, yūṣa, doṣa, yakṛt, śakṛt, udak, āsana' ity eteṣām śabdānām sthāne śasprabhr̄tipratyayeṣu parataḥ 'pad, dat, nas, mās, hṛt, niś, asan, yūṣan, doṣan, yakan, śakan, udan, āsan-ity ete ādeśā yathāsamkhyam bhavanti

Forms such as *pad*, *dat*, *nas*, *mās*, *hṛt*, *niś*, *asan*, *yūṣan*, *doṣan*, *yakan*, *śakan*, *udan*, and *āsan* come as replacements, in the Vedic, for *pāda*, *danta*, *nāsikā*, *māsa*, *hṛdaya*, *niśā*, *asṭj*, *yūṣa*, *doṣa*, *yakṛt*, *śakṛt*, *udaka*, and *āsana*, respectively, when affixes Śas, and the like, follow.

## EXAMPLES:

*nipadaś caturo jahi*  
*padā varttaya goduham*  
*yā dāto dhāvāte tasyai śyāvadān*  
*sūkarastvākhanannqāsā*  
*māsi tvā paṣyāmi cakṣuṣā*  
*hṛdā pūtaṁ manāsā jātavedq*  
*amāvāsyāyām niśi yajeta*  
*āsikto' snā' varohati*  
*yā pātrāni yūṣna ḥsecānāni*  
*yatte doṣṇo daurbhāgyam*  
*yakno' vadyati*  
*śakno' vadyati*  
*udno dīvyasyā nō dehi*  
*āsani kim labhe madhūni*

- Some here carry the *anuvṛtti* of *chandasī*. Others do not wish to qualify these replacements. Consequently, these become valid for both the Vedic as well as classical (*bhāṣa*) usages. Yet others carry the *anuvṛtti* of *anyatarasyām* from 6.1.59 and consider these replacements optional. After all, we do get *pad*, etc., in classical usages:

*vyāyāmaṅkṣuṇnagātrasya padbhyām udvartitasya ca  
vyādhayo nōpasarpani vainateyam ivoragāḥ*

'he who has become strong-limbed with exercise, and also one who receives foot-massage, diseases do not approach him as snakes do not approach Garuḍa.'

- This rule offers thirteen replacements for an equal number of corre-

sponding substituenda when a nominal ending enumerated beginning after *Śas*, and the like (*śasprabhṛtiṣu*), follow. That is, a replacement enumerated here will not apply in examples such as *pādau te pratipīdyau* ‘... your feet are to be massaged one by the other’ and *nāsike te kr̥ṣe* ‘your nostrils are smaller’. An interpretation of *prabhṛti*, of *śasprabhṛtiṣu*, as *prakāra* ‘kind’ allows such replacements to also occur before other affixes. Thus, we get *dōṣa* replaced with *dūṣan* before *au*, as in *kakuddoṣanī yācate mahādevah* and *śalādoṣanī yācate mahādevah*. Some say that *kakud* *dōṣanī* and *śalā* contain forms where *dōṣa* is replaced with *dōṣan* before *au*. The *au*, after the replacement, is replaced with *Śi* (7.1.19 *naḍumṣakāc ca*). Others say no. These contain *dōṣanī*, a form ending in *NiP* (4.1.5 *rnnebhyo nīp*).

*Kāśikā* accepts *āsan* as the replacement for *āsana*. Bhāṭṭoji accepts *āṣya* as the correct substituendum and declares *Kāśikā*'s reading as carelessness (*prāmādika*; SK228: *paddanomās* ... (6.1.63): *yat tu āsanaśabdasya āsannādeśa iti kāśikāyām uktam tat prāmādikam*). The 'Tattvabodhinī' glosses *āṣya* as *mukha* 'mouth'.

3. The following *vārttika* proposals must also be noted in connection with these replacements:

- (i) *māṃsa*, *pṛtanā* and *sānu* should also be replaced with *māṇs*, *pṛt* and *snu* (vt: *māṃsapṛtanāsānūnām* ...). We thus get *māspacanyāḥ*, *pṛtsu* and *adhisnuṣu* for *māṃsapacanyāḥ*, *pṛtanāsu* and *adhisānuṣu*, respectively.
- (ii) *nas* should replace *nāsikā*, when occurring followed by *yaT* (5.1.6 *śārīrāvayavād yat*), *tasIL* (5.4.45 *apādāne cāhīyaruhoh*) and *kṣudra*, to account for *nasyam*, *nastāḥ* and *nahksudrah*, respectively.
- (iii) A replacement in *nas* is not allowed when *nāsikā* occurs before *yaT* used with the signification of *varṇa* 'sound' and *nagara* 'city'. Thus, *nāsikyo varṇāḥ* 'a nasal sound' and *nāsikyam nagaram* 'a city named Nāsikya'.

Refer to derivational details in the appendix.

#### 6.1.64 धात्वादेः षः सः:

*dhātvādeḥ saḥ saḥ*

/ *dhātvādeḥ* 6/1 = *dhātor ādiḥ* = *dhātvādih* (*saṣ. tat.*), *tasya*; *saḥ* 6/1 *saḥ* 1/1/

(*upadeśa* #45)

*dhātor ādeḥ sakārasya sthāne sakārādeśo bhavati*

The initial *s* of a verbal root in *upadeśa* is replaced with *s*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*sahate* 'third singular present indicative middle of *saḥ* 'to endure'  
*siñcati* 'third singular present indicative active of *śic* 'to water'

1. A rule to replace root-initial *s* with *s* will no longer be needed if such roots were listed with initial *s* to start with. But not formulating this rule would create problems elsewhere. Consider rule 8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoḥ* which, additionally to requiring an affixal replacement, also requires a root-initial *s* to be replaced with *s*, provided this *s* happened to be a replacement of *s* in *upadeśa*. Rule 8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoḥ* must specify exactly what root-initial *s* should be replaced with *s*. That is, if rule 6.1.64 *dhātvādēḥ saḥ saḥ* is not formulated to do so with brevity (*lāghava*). For, to specify such roots in the context of rule 8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoḥ* will certainly be prolix (*gaurava*). A specification such as the following must be read with the provision of 8.3.59:

A root-initial *s* when it occurs before a vowel (*aC*), or a dental sound, is replaced with *s*, provided this *s* was an original *s* in *upadeśa*, of course, occurring before an *aC* or a dental sound.

Verbal roots *smiṄ* ‘to smile’, *svidI* ‘to perspire’, *svadI* ‘to taste, relish’, *svañjI* ‘to embrace’ and *svapI* ‘to recline, sleep’, where there is no following *aC* or dental sound, are also viewed as covered by the *s*-replacement of the original *s*, and further replacement with *s*. This *s*→*s*→*s*-replacement, however, should not be allowed in connection with roots such as *srpl* ‘to crawl’, *sjJ* ‘to create’, *stṛṄ* ‘to cover’, *styai* ‘to gather in a heap’, *sek* ‘to move’ and *sr* ‘to go’ which are followed by an *aC*, or a dental sound.

Obviously, formulating 6.1.64 *dhātvādēḥ saḥ saḥ* is more economical than adding a lengthy specification to rule 8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoḥ* with regard to what *s* of a root can be replaced with *s*.

2. The condition that *s* must occur initially as part of a root is needed so that nominals such as *śoḍaśa*, *śaḍika* and *śaṇḍa* could be blocked from availing the replacement in *s*. Roots which may have medial *s* can similarly be blocked from receiving this replacement because of the requirement of initial *s*. Thus, *kṛṣati*, *kṛṣati* cannot avail it.

3. A *vārtika* proposal is made to disallow *s*→*s*-replacement in contexts where a denominative in general, or verbal roots *śhivU* and *śvaśka* in particular, are involved. We can get two forms of *śhivU*, i.e., *teṣṭhīsyate* and *teṣṭhīsyate*, derived via doubling. The *s* of a root with *th* (*śhivU*) is replaced with *s*. The *s* of a root with *th* (*śhivU*) will cause retroflexion (*śutva*). For denominative exceptions, consider *śodiyate* and *śaṇḍiyate*.

### 6.1.65 नो नः:

*ño nah*

/ *nah* 6/1 *nah* 1/1/

(*upadeśe* #45 *dhātvādēḥ* #64)

*dhātoraḥ āder ṇakārasya nakāra ādeśo bhavati*

The initial *n* of a verbal root in *upadeśa* is replaced with *n*.

## EXAMPLES:

*nayati* ‘third person singular present indicative active of *ni* ‘to lead’  
*namati* ‘third singular present indicative active of *nam* ‘to bow down, bend’

1. Note that provisions of this rule are very similar to those offered by the preceding rule. Roots covered by this rule are marked with *N* in *upadeśa* for reasons similar to those marked with *Ś* in *upadeśa*. The condition of *dhātvādeḥ* is still valid so that a root such as *añ* could be kept outside the scope of this rule. Here again the denominatives are treated as exceptions. Rule 8.4.14 *upasargād asamāse' pi . . .*, though with some qualifications, allows *n→n*-replacement for roots covered by this rule. This citation of roots with *n* in *upadeśa* applies to all roots beginning with *n*, except for *nṛī* ‘to dance’, *nandi* ‘to be joyous, prosperous’, *nardī* ‘to sound’, *nakkA* ‘to destruct’, *nātī* ‘to drip, ooze’ and *nāthr/ nādhr* ‘to beg, bless, prosper’.

## 6.1.66 लोपो व्योवहितम्

*lopo vyor vali*

/ *lopah* 1/1 *vyoh* 6/2 *valih* 1/1 /

*dhātor adhātos ca vakāra-yakārayor vali parato lopo bhavati*

A *y* and *v* is replaced with *LOPA* when an affix beginning with a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *vaL* (Ś. 5–14) follows.

## EXAMPLES:

*didivān* ‘form of *div* + *LIT*→*KvasU*; ‘he has sported’

*didivāmsau* ‘they (two) have sported’

*didivāṣah* ‘they (all) have sported’

*ūtam* ‘*Kta*-derivate of *ūyī* ‘to weave’

*knūtam* ‘*Kta*-derivate of *knūyī* ‘to be wet, noisy’

*gaudherah* ‘lizard’

*paceran* ‘third person plural benedictive *LIN*-derivate of *pac* ‘to cook’

*yajeran* ‘. . . of *yaj* ‘to perform sacrifice’

*jīradānuḥ* ‘*jīv* + *radānuK*; he who lives’

*āsremāṇam* ‘derivate of *manIN*; he who moves; that which becomes dry’

1. Note that the deletion provision of this rule is applicable to both root (*dhātu*) and non-root (*adhātu*) forms. The *anuvṛtti* of *dhātoḥ*, carried from 6.1.8 *liṭi dhātor . . .*, got suspended in view of specification by *dhātu* of 6.1.8 *dhātvādeḥ ṣah sah* (Kāś.: *dhātor iti prakrtam yat tad dhātvāder iti punar dhātugrahaṇān nivṛttam. tena dhātor adhātos ca vakārayakārayor vali parato lopo bhavati*). Refer to the appendix (II:418-20) under 1.1.60 *adarśanam lopah* for derivational details of some examples:

2. It is stated that *kāryin* ‘operand, object of operation’ should be speci-

fied in a rule prior to its related *kārya* ‘operation’. Our present rule states operation (*lopah*) first followed by the operand (*vyor vali*). Why did Pāṇini not formulate the rule as *vyor vali lopah*. This way one would also make half a mora less articulatory effort in reading this rule. The *o* of *lopa* equals two moras as opposed to the *ah* of *lopah* which equals only one and one-half. Why did he use *lopah* first? Did he have any special purpose in mind? Perhaps he used *lopah* to indicate that this deletion takes precedence over other operations in conflict (PM ad Kāś.: *vidhyantarāt pūrvam evāyam lopo bhavati*).

Consider, for example, the derivation of *kandūh* and *lolūh* from (*kandūya + (K) v(IP) + sU*)) and (*lolūya + (K) v(IP) + sU*)), where subsequent to deletion of final *a* of *kandūya* and *lolūya*, rules 6.1.65 *lopo vyor vali* and 6.1.67 *ver aprktasya* both become applicable. The first rule requires deletion of *y*, of *kandūy* and *lolūy*, as against the second which demands deletion of *v* of (*K*) *v(IP)*. The deletion of *y*, as indicated by means of prior placement of *lopah* in this rule, takes precedence over the deletion of *v*. This deletion of *y* is internally conditioned (*antaraṅga*) as against deletion of *v* which comes externally conditioned (*bahirāṅga*).

What if one finds a conflict in the application of rule 6.1.67 *ver aprktasya* and 6.4.48 *ato lopah*? Here again the internally conditioned deletion of *v* (*kviblopa*) will take precedence over the deletion of *y*. What if one applies 6.4.48 *ato lopah* prior to the deletion of *v*, based upon interpretation of *saptamī* ‘locative’ of *ārdhadhātuke* (carried in 6.4.48 *ato lopah*) as *visayasaptamī* ‘locative of domain’? But this will still not remove conflict of application between deletion of *v* (*kviblopa*) and *y* (*valilopa*). For deletion of *v*, because of being *para* ‘subsequent’ and *nitya* ‘obligatory’, will apply first. But this deletion of *v* will remove the condition under which the deletion of *y* could apply. That is, there will not be any *v* to follow. This deleted *v* cannot be brought back, via *sthānivadbhāva*, since deletion of *y* is an operation with *aL* ‘sound segment’ as its focus (*alāśrayavidhi*; 1.1.58 *na padāntadvirvacana . . .*). The deletion of *y* thus will become impossible to accomplish. It is in view of this, as the preplacement of *lopah* in this rule suggests, that *valilopa*, i.e., deletion of *y*, takes precedence over deletion of *v*, i.e., *aprktalopa*.

3. Why can the *v* of *vraścakah* and *vraścanah* not be deleted before *r*, a sound included within the signification of *vali*. Commentators state that this *v* cannot be deleted since it is part of initial citation of the root in the *DP* (*aupadeśika*). For, a deletion, if accomplished, will render the initial citation as vacuous (*vyartha*). The argument that since this *v* can still be heard elsewhere, i.e., in *vṛścati* and *vavrāśca*, and hence, the initial citation of *v* will not become vacuous, is not acceptable. For, *samprasāraṇa* in *vṛścati* is externally conditioned (*bahirāṅga*), based upon its dependency on an affix (*Śa*) marked with *N* (*nit*; 1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit*). Similarly, *halādiśesa* (7.4.60 *halādi śeṣah*) in *vavrāśca* is externally conditioned because of its dependency on *abhyāsa* (6.1.4 *pūrvo' bhyāsaḥ*). The deletion of *v*, because of its dependency on a

sound segment (*varnāśrayatvāt*), is internally conditioned (*antarāṅga*). The *v* thus should be considered *aupadeśika* and hence not be deleted.

4. Jinendrabuddhi believes that preplacement of *lopah* in this rule is simply done in view of *lāghava* ‘economy’. He strongly objects to accepting the reversal of order of operand (*kāryin*) and operation (*kārya*) as an indicator for preplacement of *lopah* (*Nyāsa ad Kāś.: anyas tu pūrvam kāryinirdeśo yuktaḥ paścāt kāryanirdeśa iti pūrvam vyor grahaṇe kartavye kimartham lopagrahaṇam kriyata iti pūrvapakṣam varnayati sa cāyuktah*).

Refer to the appendix for derivational details.

### 6.1.67 वेरपृक्तस्य

*ver apr̥ktasya*

/ *veh* 6/1 *apr̥ktasya* 6/1/

(*lopah* #66)

*apr̥ktasya veh lopo bhavati*

*LOPA* comes in place of a *vi* termed *apr̥kta*.

EXAMPLES:

*brahmahā* ‘killer of a brāhmaṇa’

*bhrūṇahā* ‘killer of a fetus’

*ghṛtaspr̥k* ‘one who sips ghee’

*tailaspr̥k* ‘one who sips oil’

*arddhabhāk* ‘one whose share is one-half’

*pādabhāk* ‘one whose share is one-fourth’

*turiyabhāk* ‘ibidem’

1. Rule 1.2.41 *apr̥kta ekāl pratyayah* assigns the term *apr̥kta* to an affix constituted by a single *aL*. The *vi* of *veh* is used to make a general reference to all affixes which share a *vi* and which, after deletion of their *it* elements, are reduced to the form of a single *aL*. Thus, we get affixes *KvIP* (3.2.87 *brahma-bhrūṇavṛtreṣu kvip*), *KvIN* (3.2.58 *spr̥śo' nudake kvin*), *NvI* (3.2.62 *bhajo nviḥ*), *vIT* (3.2.67 *janaśanakhanakrama . . .*) and *vIC* (3.2.73 *vijupe chandasi*), all with a common *vi*. Refer to the appendix (II:446–48) under 1.2.41 *apr̥kta . . .* for derivational details of most examples.

Note that these affixes are introduced after verbal roots (*dhātoḥ*) and, when termed *apr̥kta*, are deleted in toto. Their derivates are then termed nominal stems (*prātipadika*) by rule 1.2.46 *kṛttaddhitasamāśāś ca*, under the provision of 1.1.52 *pratyayalope pratyayalakṣaṇam*.

### 6.1.68 हल्न्याभ्यो दीर्घात्सुतिस्यपृक्तं हल्

*halnyābbhyo dīrghāt sutisyaaprktam hal*

/ *halnyābbhyah* 5/3 = *hal ca nī ca āp ca* = *halnyāp* (itar. dv.), *tebhyaḥ*;

*dīrghāt* 5/1 *sutisi* 1/1 = *suś ca tiś ca siś ca* = *sutisi* (sam. dv.) *apṛktam* 1/1  
*hal* 1/1/  
*(lopah* #66)

*halantād nyantād ābantāc ca dīrghāt param ‘su, ti, si’ ity etad apṛktam hal lupyate*

A *sU, ti* and *si*, termed *apṛkta*, when occurring after an item which ends in a *hal*, or in a long *i* and *ā* of the feminine affixes *Nī* and *āP*, is deleted by *LOPA*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*rājā* ‘nominative singular of *rājan* ‘king’

*takṣā* ‘... of *takṣan* ‘carpenter’

*ukhāsrat* ‘nominative singular of *ūkhāsrans*’

*parṇadhvat* ‘nominative singular of *parṇadhvans*’

*kumāri* ‘girl’

*gaunī* ‘fair’

*śāringaravī* ‘Śiva’s consort’

*khaṭvā* ‘cot’

*bahurājā* ‘a city with many kings’

*kāriṣagandhyā* ‘a name; she who smells like a dried cow-dung’

*abibhar bhavān* ‘you supported, sir’

*ajāgar bhavān* ‘you remained awake’

*abhino’ tra* ‘derivate of *bhid* (*LAṄ→siP*)’

*acchino’ tra* ‘derivate of *chid* (*LAṄ→siP*)’

1. The word *lopah* here is explained as *lupyate asau lopah* ‘that which is deleted’, a passive interpretation made via object serving as means (*karma-sādhana*) of accomplishing deletion. This, of course, following the popular interpretation of *lopah*. A technical interpretation will require *lopa* to refer to *adarśana* ‘non-appearance’, the process as a means (*bhāvasādhana*). If the word *lopa* is interpreted in its technical meaning of *adarśana* then its syntactic coordination (*sāmānādhikaranya*) and, consequently, its coreferentiality with *hal* will be impaired. The technical term *LOPA* means *adarśana* ‘non-appearance’. How could a consonant (*hal*) be called *adarśana* ‘non-appearance’. One cannot, looking at the nominative of *hal*, interpret the *pañcamī* ‘ablative’ of *halnyābbhyah* (1.1.67 *tasmād ity uttarasya*) as *śaṣṭhi* ‘genitive’ (1.1.49) *śaṣṭhi sthāneyoga*. One cannot even subject the nominative of *hal* to be transformed into genitive to thereby establish a connection with *lopah*. Such a transposition of inflectional endings (*vibhaktivipariṇāma*) is improper.

A qualifier-qualified relationship (*viśeṣana-viśeṣyabhāva*) between *lopah* and *hal* can be established when *lopah* is interpreted as denoting *karmān* ‘object’. The word *sutisi apṛktam* also becomes a qualifier to the same *hal*. The word *dīrghāt* is also interpreted as a qualifier to *nyābbhyah*. How do we know that

*dīrghāt* is a qualifier to *nyābbhyah*? By interpreting it as a qualifier based upon two requirements of *sambhava* ‘possibility’ and *vyabhicāra* ‘deviation’. A form which ends in *Nī* and *āP* may meet the *sambhava* ‘possibility’ requirement of ending in a *dīrgha* ‘long vowel’. A deviation from this ‘possible’ termination in a long vowel is also witnessed when the long vowel of these affixes is shortened via, for example, *pumvadbhāva* ‘masculine transformation’. The word *dīrgha* cannot be treated as a qualifier to *hal* for the obvious reason of impossibility (*asambhava*).

2. Note that *ti* and *si*, for lack of their introduction after items ending in *Nī* and *āP*, are not related to *nyābbhyah*. The question of deleting *ti* and *si* will thus arise when they occur after a base ending in a consonant (*hal*). The nominative singular *sU* will be construed with nominal stems ending in a consonant. It will also be construed with bases ending in feminine affixes *Nī* and *āP*. Thus, we get *rājan + sU*, (*ukhāsrans + KvIP*) + *sU*), (*parṇadhvans + KvIP*) + *sU*)) and *kumārī + sU*, (*khaṭvā + ṬāP*) + *sU*)), (*kāriṣagandhya + āP* + *sU*), etc.

3. Why do we need this rule to delete *sU* after a base which ends in a consonant? Why can we not delete it by 8.2.23 *samyogāntasya lopah*? That is, with the understanding that *a* of *rājan* will be replaced with long *ā* of 6.4.8 *sarvanāmāsthāne cāsambuddhau* and the *n* will be deleted by 8.2.7 *nalopah prātipadikāntasya*. But this derivation of *rājā* will run into problems in connection with deletion of *n*. Rule 8.2.23 is subsequent (*para*) in the *tripādī* ‘the last three quarter chapters’ and hence, as per 8.2.1 *pūrvatrāśitldham*, deletion of *s* will be suspended in view of deletion of *n*. We will still end up with a wrong form *\*rājān*. The question of deleting *n* will not arise here since *n* will then not be occurring at the end of a nominal stem termed *pada*. Similar problems will be encountered in deriving *ukhāsrat* and *parṇadhvat* from (*ukhāsrans + KvIP*) + *sU*) and (*parṇadhvans + KvIP*) + *sU*) where *n* of *srans* and *dhvans* will be deleted by 6.4.27 *aniditām hal . . .* to yield *ukhāsras* and *parṇadhvas*. Given the strings *ukhāsras + sU* and *parṇadhvas + sU*, rule 8.2.23 *samyogāntasya lopah* will delete the *s* of *sU*, thereby producing *ukhāsras* and *parṇadhvas*. Now consider 8.2.72 *ksusransudhaṁsvanađuhāṁ dah* which will replace the final *s* of *ukhāsras* and *parṇadhvas* with *d*. But since this replacement must take place at the end of a *pada*, and also since 8.2.72 *ksusransu . . .* is subsequent to 8.2.23 *samyogāntasya lopah*, rule 8.2.72 will be treated as suspended (*asiddha*) in view of deletion of *s*. The strings will still be considered as *ukhāsras* and *parṇadhvas*. That is, the final *s* cannot be replaced with *d*.

Let us now consider *abhinah* ‘second person singular past imperfect active’ of *bhid* ‘to split’ as in *abhino*’ tra, where *utva* of 6.1.113 *ato ror aplutād aplute* will be blocked. That is, given *bhid + (LUṄ→siP)→bhid + ŚnaM + si→bhinad + si→a(T) + bhinad + s(i→Φ) = abhinad + s→abhina (d→r; 8.2.75 daś ca) + s = abhinar + s*, 8.2.23 *samyogāntasya lopah* cannot apply to delete the

final *s*. For, *r* could then not be changed to *u* to finally derive *abhino' tra*. The deletion of *s* will be accepted as suspended (*asiddha*). An example such as *abibharbhavān* would not even involve *s*-deletion after *r* since 8.2.24 *rāt sasya* will restrict the deletion to apply only to *s* used after *r*. The following verse summarizes the preceding:

*samyogāntasya lope hi nalopādir na siddhyati//  
rāttu te naiva lopah syād halas tasmād vidhīyate//*

Refer to further derivational details in the appendix.

### 6.1.69 एङ्गस्वात्सम्बुद्धेः:

*en̄ hrasvāt sambuddheḥ*

/ *en̄hrasvāt* 5/1 = *en̄ ca hrasvaś ca* = *en̄hrasvam* (sam. dv.), *tasmāt; sambuddheḥ* 6/1/

(*lopah* #66 *hal* #68)

*enantāt prātipadikād hrasvāntāc ca paro hal lupyate sa cet sambuddher bhavati*  
A consonant (*haL*) which occurs after a nominal stem ending in a vowel, either denoted by the abbreviatory term *eṄ*, or else, termed *hrasva* ‘short’, is replaced with *LOPA*, provided the consonant happens to be that of *sambuddhi*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*he agne* ‘O Agni’

*he vāyo* ‘O Vāyu’

*he devadatta* ‘O Devadatta’

*he nadi* ‘O nadi’

*he vadhu* ‘O vadhu’

1. Note that *sambuddhi* refers to the nominative singular ending *sU* when used with the denotatum of *sambodhana* ‘address’ (2.3.49 *ekavacanam sambuddhiḥ*, read with 2.3.47 *sambodhane ca*).

This rule carries the *anuvṛtti* of both *lopah* and *hal*. The word *apṛkta* is explicitly used in the preceding *sūtra* to indicate that the *anuvṛtti* of *apṛkta* is canceled. For, there is no point in explicitly stating *apṛkta* when 6.1.67 *ver apṛktasya* already has it.

The word *hal* must be carried. For, in its absence, *en̄hrasvāt* will then qualify *sambuddhi* to yield the following interpretation:

*enantād hrasvāntāc ca parasyāḥ sambuddher lopah* ‘a *sambuddhi* which occurs after a nominal stem ending in a vowel denoted by *eṄ*, or ending in a *hrasva*, is deleted by means of *LOPA*.’

This interpretation, however, will make deriving *he kuṇḍa* impossible. For, given *kuṇḍa + s(U)*, deletion by this rule and replacement of *sU* by *am* (*ambhāva*; 7.1.24 *ato' m*) both become applicable. If 7.1.24 blocks deletion

at the strength of being subsequent (*paratva*) then the *a* of *am*, in view of 1.1.54 *ādeḥ parasya*, also qualifies for deletion. The deletion of *a* of *am*, in the absence of *hal* in this rule, will obtain on account of its occurrence after the short *a* of *kunḍa*. An undesired form, i.e., \**kunḍa* + (*a*→∅) *m* = *kunḍa* + *m*→*kunḍ* (*a*→∅) + *m* = \**kunḍām* will then result with the application of 7.3.102 *supi ca*. To sum up: *hal* must be carried to this rule.

If one carries *hal*, and still qualifies *sambuddhi* with *enhrasvāt*, then *sambudhi* will qualify *hal* to yield the following interpretation:

*enantād hrasvāntāc ca parā yā sambuddhiḥ tasyāḥ hal lupyate* ‘the *haL* of a *sambuddhi* which follows a nominal stem ending in *eṄ*, or one ending in a short vowel, is deleted by means of *LOPA*.’

This interpretation will create difficulties similar to *kunḍa* + *s(U)* where, after the deletion of *a* in *kunḍa* + *s*, *s* cannot be deleted due mainly to the preceding base not ending in a vowel. It is for this reason that *hal* alone is to be qualified by *enantāt hrasvāntāt* and *sambuddheḥ*. The nominal inferred via *sambuddhi* will then be interpreted as ‘ending in a vowel either denoted by *eṄ*, or termed short’, in consonance with *tadantavidhi* ‘treating a specification made with *x* as also ending in *x'*. The *hal* qualified by *sambuddheḥ* will be interpreted as part of *sambuddhi* because of its genitive (*śaṣṭhi*) denoting *avayava* ‘part of a whole’.

2. Kāśikā offers *he agne* ‘O! Agni’ and *he vāyo* ‘O! Vāyu’ as examples for bases ending in *eṄ*. Thus, we get *agn(i→e) + s(U→∅) = agne + s* and *vāy(u→o) + s(U→∅) = vāyo + s* after *it*-deletion and *guna* by 7.3.108 *hrasvasya gunāḥ*. This rule then deletes *s*. The deletion of *s* prior to *guna* is not accomplished since *guna* is considered stronger than deletion (*LOPA*). Kāśikā thus states: *engrahaṇaṇ kriyate sambuddhiguṇabalañyastvāt* ‘*en* is used to indicate that *guna* before *sambuddhi* is stronger (than deletion)’. Examples for deletion after bases ending in a short vowel are: *he devadatta* and *he nadi*, *he vadhu* and *he kunḍa*. The deletion after *nadi* and *vadhu* of *he nadi* and *he vadhu* is accomplished after shortening of *i* and *ū* of *nadi* and *vadhu* by 7.3.107 *ambārthanadyor hrasvah*. Kāśikā also states that deletion in *he kunḍa* applies only to the *m* of *am* gotten by first replacing *sU* with *am* by 7.1.24 *ato' m* and then replacing the sequence *a + a* with *a* via *pūrvarūpa* ‘a form similar to the preceding’ of 6.1.107 *ami pūrvah* (Kāś.: *kunḍasabdād' ato' m' ity am*, ‘*ami pūrvah*’ iti *pūrvative kṛte halmātrasya makārasya lopah’). Why this dual application of 7.1.24 *ato' m* and 6.1.107 *ami pūrvah* when we can easily delete *s* occurring after *kunḍa*, a base ending in *hrasva*. The newly derived *kunḍa* where its final *a* is a *pūrvarūpa* of *a + a* may not even be viewed as ending in *a*. For, this rule requires the base to end in a short vowel. What ends in a short vowel in this newly derived *kunḍa* is *kunḍ* and not *kunḍa*, the base ending in a short *a*. For, the single *a*-replacement becomes final to what precedes (*pūrvam praty antavadbhāvāt*), and not to the base. I omit further details of this argument because of its*

complexity. Suffice it to say that getting *pūrvarūpa* and then deleting *m* is an excercise in vain. One should accomplish deletion without replacement in *am*. Our last example, *he katarat*, involves *at*, i.e., *adD*, as a replacement for *sU*. The final *a* of *katarā* is deleted by 6.4.143 *teh* because the affixal replacement is marked with *D*. The *t* of *at* in *katar + at* cannot be deleted since the base does not end in a short vowel. That is, it ends in a consonant. The deletion of *sambuddhi* is thus blocked.

3. Note that this rule offers deletion of the *sU* of *sambuddhi*. But 8.2.84 *dūrādd hūte ca* also replaces the *ti* of the sentence with a *PLUTA*. That is, when the *ti* of *he rāma!* is replaced with *pluta*, we will not find *rāma* terminating in a *hrasva* ‘short’. This will block the deletion of *sU*. Recall that this situation will arise only when one relies upon the doctrine of *vākyasamṣkārapakṣa*. For, it is here alone that the required ‘termination in short’ (*hrasvāntata*) is impaired. Commentators offer examples which, in turn, show their acceptance of the *padasaṃskārapakṣa*.

### 6.1.70 शः छन्दसि बहुलम्

*śeś chandasī bahulam*

/ *śeh* 6/1 *chandasī* 7/1 *bahulam* 1/1 /

(*lopah* #66)

‘śi’ity etasya bahulam chandasī viṣaye lopo bhavati

*LOPA*, in the Vedic, comes variously in place of Śi.

*yā kṣetrā* ‘the fields which . . .’

*ya vanā* ‘the forests which . . .’

*yāni kṣetrāṇi* ‘. . .’

*yāni vanāni* ‘. . .’

1. Note that *śeh* refers to the Śi-replacement of *Jas* ordered by rule 7.1.20 *jaśśasoh śih*, under the condition of a neuter base (*napumṣaka*). A deletion of Śi by this rule will still facilitate introduction of *nUM* (7.1.72 *napumṣakasya jhal acah*). Thus, *yad + (Jas→Śi)* = *yad + i* → *yad + (i→Φ)* → *yad + n(UM→Φ)* = *yad + n* = *ya(d→a) + n*, where *d* is replaced with *a* (7.2.102 *tyadādināmah*). Rule 6.1.97 *ato guṇe* reduces the sequence *a + a* to *a* to yield *y(a + a→a) + n* = *yan*. The short *a* is then lengthened (6.4.8 *sarvanāmsthāne cāsambuddhau*) and the *n* gets deleted (8.2.7 *nalopah prātipadikāntasya*). A non-deletion of Śi, under the provision of *bahulam*, will yield *yāni* where deletion of *n* will be blocked. Similar derivational consequences are involved in deriving *kṣetrā*/*kṣetrāṇi* and *vanā*/*vanāni*.

2. Haradatta (*PM*) claims that *yā* can be derived as follows, particularly by replacing *i* of *ya + i* with *Dā*:

*yad + (Jas→(Śi)i;* 7.1.20 *jaś śasoh śi;* *yad + i* →  
*yad + (y(a→a);* 7.2.102 *tyadādināmah;* *ya + a + i* →

$y(a + i \rightarrow i)$  6.1.97 *ato gune*;  $ya + i \rightarrow ya + (i \rightarrow (D) \bar{a}) \bar{a}$ ;  
 7.1.39 *supāṁ suluk . . . ; = ya + ā \rightarrow y(a + ā \rightarrow \bar{a}) = y\bar{a}*;  
 6.1.102 *prathamayoh pūrvasavarṇah*

Haradatta indicates how other derivates can be also accounted for. This rule thus should not be formulated for Vedic (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: *ayam yogo śakyo' vaktum*).

### 6.1.71 ह्रस्वस्य पितिकृति तुक्

*hrasvasya pitī kṛti tuk*  
*/hrasvasya 6/1 pitī 7/1 kṛti 7/1 tuk 1/1/*  
*pitī kṛti parato hrasvāntasya dhātōḥ tug āgamo bhavati*

Augment *tUK* is introduced to a verbal root ending in a short vowel (*hrasva*) when an affix, either marked with *P* as an *it* or temed a *kṛt*, follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*agnicit* 'he who heaped the ritual fire'  
*somasut* 'he who pressed out soma'  
*prakṛtya* 'after having made'  
*prahṛtya* 'after having taken away'  
*upastutya* 'after having praised'

1. Note that *dhātōḥ* is inferred here at the strength of the *kṛt* affix marked with *P*. Read with *hrasva*, it yields the interpretation: *hrasvāntasya dhātōḥ* ' . . . a verbal root ending in a short vowel'. This, of course, is accomplished via *tadantavidhi*. Augment *tUK*, because it is marked with *K* as an *it*, is introduced at the end of the verbal root (1.1.46 *ādyantau ṭakitau*).

*Kāśikā* offers counter-examples *āluya* and *grāmaṇih* where *tUK* cannot be introduced because verbal roots *lū* and *nī* end in a long vowel. Examples such as *kṛtam* and *hṛtam* are offered to show that *tUK* cannot be introduced where a *kṛt* affix, namely *Kta*, marked with *K* follows. Similarly, *paṭutaraḥ* and *paṭutamah* are given to show that *tUK* cannot be introduced when affixes *taraP* and *tamaP* follow. For, they are marked with *P* but are not *kṛt*. They are *taddhita* affixes.

Note that *tUK* cannot be introduced in *grāmani brāhmaṇakulam* where the long *i* of *grāmani* is replaced with a short (1.2.47 *hrasvo napumsake . . .*). For, this shortening is externally conditioned (*bahirāṅga*) due mainly to its dependency on sound segments (*varnāśrayatvāt*) and hence it is suspended (*asiddha*). Consequently, *tUK* cannot be introduced because *i* of *grāmani* will still be viewed as its long counterpart. This is how the *paribhāṣā* (*PS* 51) *asiddham bahirāṅgam antarāṅge* intervenes to block *tUK*.

## 6.1.72 संहितायाम्

*samhitāyām*/ *samhitāyām* 7/1 /

*adhiकारो* यम् ‘*anudāttam padam ekavarjam*’ इति यावत्. *prāg etasmāt sūtrād ita ut्तरम् yad vak्ष्यामः samhitāyām* इति एवम् तद् वेदितव्यम्  
When *samhitā* ‘close proximity between sounds’ obtains . . .

EXAMPLES:

Refer to subsequent rules.

1. This domain of *samhitā* is valid up to 6.1.158 *anudāttam padam ekavarjam*.

2. The locative (*saptami*) in *samhitāyām* denotes *viṣaya* ‘domain’. Consequently, an operation (*kārya*) cannot be performed unless the operand (*kāryin*) and attendant conditions (*nimitta*) both fall within the scope of *samhitā* (PM: *kāryi-nimittayoh samhitāyām viṣayabhūtāyām vakṣyamāṇam kāryam bhavati*). Consider *dadhy atra* ‘there is yoghurt here’ and *madhv atra* ‘there is honey here’ where 6.1.77 *iko yan aci* applies to yield *dadh(i→y) + atra = dadhy atra* and *madh(u→v) + atra = madhv atra*. Rule 1.4.109 *parah sannikarsah samhitā* defines *samhitā* as ‘closest proximity between sounds’. The *i* and *u* of *dadhi* and *madhu* must share close proximity with *a* of *atra*. For, in its absence, we will end up with *dadhi atra* and *madhu atra* with no application of 6.1.77 *iko yan aci*. A pause between two sounds which exceeds the duration (*kāla*) of half of mora (*ardha-mātrā*) impairs *samhitā*.

## 6.1.73 छे च

*che ca*/ *che* 7/1 *va* φ /(hrasvasya tuk #71 *samhitāyām* #72)*chakāre parataḥ samhitāyām viṣaye hrasvasya tug āgamō bhavati*Augment *tuk* is also introduced to a short vowel when *ch* follows in *samhitā*.

EXAMPLES:

*icchatī* ‘. . . desires’*gacchatī* ‘. . . goes’

1. Note that *che* specifies the condition (*nimitta*) in consonance with which *tUK* is introduced. The locative singular form *che* has *cha* as its base. It is logical then to assume that *cha*, a form ending in *a*, forms the condition of introducing augment *tUK*. Commentators state that only *ch*, a form constituted by a single consonant, forms the condition. Why did Pāṇini specify it with *a*. For ease of articulation (*chakāre akāra uccāraṇārthaḥ*). This is in consonance with specifications found in 3.2.162 *vidibhidicchideḥ* and 7.4.41 *śācchor anyatarasyām*.

If Pāṇini intended a specification with *ch* he should have used *ch* in the locative, i.e., *chādau*. This being the case, (*PŚ* 34): *yasmin vidhau tadādāv . . .* would have yielded the interpretation, *chādau* ‘that which has *ch* at its beginning’. That is, many words with *ch* at their beginning could then have been included. This would have been prolix (*gaurava*), especially with reference to cognition (*jñāna*).

Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāśī*) explains two kinds of *adhikāras*: (i) *arthādhikāra* ‘domain relative to meaning’ and (ii) *śabdādhikāra* ‘domain relative to form’. The first focuses on the meaning of a specifying form, as opposed to the second which focuses on form. The word *hrasva*, for operational purposes specific to 6.1.71 *hrasvasya piti . . .*, was interpreted as ‘that which ended in a short vowel’. This was a meaning interpretation made possible via *tadantavidhi*. This rule resorts to a formal interpretation of *hrasva*. That is, for purposes of introducing augment (*āgama*) *tUK*, a short vowel (*hrasva*) will be treated as the *āgamī* ‘that which receives an augment’ (*hrasva evātrāgamī na tv adantah*). Incidentally, this *Kāśikā* statement should end with *na tadantah* ‘not ending in that’ as opposed to *na tv adantah* ‘and not ending in aT’. The question of a base ending in *a* does not arise here.

If *tUK* were to be introduced to a form ending in a short vowel then *tUK*, on account of being introduced to an *abhyāsa*, will become part of the *abhyāsa*. It will then be dropped by 7.4.60 *halādi śesah*. If a single short vowel is treated as the items receiving *tUK*, then *tUK* does not become part of the *abhyāsa* (*abhyāsāvayava*). How come a short vowel receiving *tUK* is not considered as part of the *abhyāsa*? *Kāśikā* states that part of a part does not become part of a whole (*nāvayavāvayavah samudāyāvayavo bhavati*). This is why *tUK* in *cicchidatuh* ( $\leftarrow$ *chi + tUK + chid + atus*) and *cicchiduh* ( $\leftarrow$ *chi + tUK + chid + us*) is not treated as part of *abhyāsa*. *Kāśikā* rightly remarks that *nāvayavāvayavah samudāyāvayavo bhavati* ‘part of a part cannot be accepted as part of a (larger) whole’.

But part of a part may, elsewhere, also be treated as part of a whole. Consider *sāṅgulir devadattah* ‘Devadatta has fingers’ where ‘finger’, a part of Devadatta’s hand, is treated as part of Devadatta. I omit further details of this argumentation for fear of expatiation.

#### 6.1.74 आङ्गुलिरेत्च

*āñmāñoś ca  
/āñmānoḥ 6/1 (itar. dv.) ca φ/  
(tuk #71 samhitāyām #72 che #73)  
āño nīta iṣadādiṣu caturṣu artheṣu vartamānasya mānaś ca pratiṣedha-  
vacanasya chakāre paratas tug āgamo bhavati*  
Augment *tUK* is also introduced to *āN* and *māN* when *ch* follows in *samhitā*.

## EXAMPLES:

$\bar{a}cchāyā$  'slight shade'  
 $\bar{a}cchādayati$  'covers . . .'  
 $\bar{a}cchāyāyāḥ$  ' . . . slight shade'  
 $\bar{a}cchāyam$  'up to the shade'  
 $mācchaisit$  'third singular *LUN*-derivate of *chid* used with *mā* 'not'  
 $mācchidat$  'third singular *LAN*-derivate of *chid* used with *mā*'

1. Note that  $\bar{a}N$  and  $māN$  with  $N$  as an *it* are specified for availing particular meanings. The first  $\bar{a}N$ , a particle (*nipāta*), is used with four meanings of *īśat* 'slight, a little', *kriyāyoga* 'in construction with that which denotes action', *maryādā* 'exclusive limit' and *abhividhi* 'inclusive limit'. An  $\bar{a}N$  which denotes *maryādā* and *abhividhi* is assigned the term *karmapravacanīya* (1.4.89  $\bar{a}n$  *maryādāvacane*). This leads to selection of *pañcamī* 'ablative' after the nominal in construction with  $\bar{a}N$  (2.3.10 *apñcamy apāñparibhīḥ*). The result with *tUK* is  $\bar{a}cchāyāyāḥ$ . The *mā* of  $māN$  is, of course, a negative particle (*nipāta*). An optional indeclinable compound (*avyayībhāvā*; 2.1.13  $\bar{a}n$  *maryādābhividhyoh*)  $\bar{a}cchāyā$ , paraphrased as *īśac chāyā* 'slight shade' and interpretable as both *maryādā* 'exclusive limit' and *abhividhi* 'inclusive limit', derives from  $\bar{a}N + sU chāyā + Nasl$ . The *t* of *tUK* introduced to  $\bar{a}$  is replaced with *c* (8.4.40 *stoś cunā ścuḥ*).

2. What is the purpose of qualifying  $\bar{a}$  and  $mā$  with  $N$ ? Consider  $\bar{a}chāyā/ \bar{a}chāyā$ ; and *pramāchandah/ pramācchandah*, where this rule cannot apply because  $\bar{a}$  is not a *karmapravacanīya*. Similarly, *pramā* has verbal root *mā* 'measure' used with the preverb *pra*. That is, *pramā* is used with *chandas*. The optional *tUK* in these examples is accomplished by 6.1.76 *padāntād vā*.

3. Refer to the appendix for derivational details.

## 6.1.75 दीर्घात्

*dīrghāt*

/ *dīrghāt* 5/1 /

(*tuk* #71 *samhitāyām* #72 *che* #73)

*dīrghāt paro yaś chakāras tasmin pūrvasya tasyaiva dīrghasya tug āgamo bhavati*

Augment *tUK* is introduced to that long vowel (*dīrgha*) which occurs before *ch*, provided when *ch* follows it in *samhitā*.

## EXAMPLES:

$hṛicchatī$  'third singular *LAT*-derivate of *hṛicch* 'to be bashful, ashamed''  
 $mlechhatī$  'third singular *LAT*-derivate of *mlech* 'to mutter, speak indistinctly''  
 $apacāchāyate$  'continually breaks; derivate of *yaN* in third singular middle *LAT* of *apa-chā*'  
 $vicāchāyate$  ' . . . of *vi-chā*'

1. Kāśikā offers a long paraphrase of this *sūtra* as follows:

- (i) *dīrghāt paro yaś chakāras* ‘the *ch* which occurs after a long vowel’
- (ii) *tasmin pūrvasya tasyaiva dīrghasya* ‘that long vowel which occurs before that (*ch*)’
- (iii) *tug āgamo bhavati* ‘*tUK* is introduced as an augment’

The locative (*saptamī*) of *che*, in association with the *pañcamī* ‘ablative’ of *dīrghāt*, and an anticipated *sāsthī* ‘genitive’ for the specification of an *āgamī* ‘that to which an augment is introduced’, may be interpreted as genitive. It is a general practice in the tradition to transform a locative (*saptamī*) into genitive (*sāsthī*) if the locative occurs after an ablative (*pañcamī*; cf. (PŚ: 71) *ubhayanirdeśe pañcaminirdeśo baḥyān*). Consequently, *tUK*, in view of 1.1.54 *ādeh parasya*, may be introduced to *ch*. This of course will be wrong. Kāśikā’s rather long paraphrase is intended to clear up any possible confusion. It is also intended to make clear that an augment becomes part of what it is introduced to. If it is introduced to a long vowel, it becomes part of the long vowel. That is, it does not become part of what the long vowel is part of (cf. *avayavāvayavah samudāyāvayavo na bhavati*). Refer to the appendix for derivational details.

### 6.1.76 पदान्ताद्वा

*padāntād vā*  
*/padāntāt 5/1 = padasya antah (ṣaṣ. tat.), tasmāt; vā φ /*  
*(tuk #71 saṃhitāyām #72 che #73 dīrghāt #75)*  
*padāntād dīrghāt paro yaś chakāras tasmin pūrvasya tasyaiva dīrghasya*  
*pūrveṇa nityam prāpto vā tug āgamo bhavati*  
 Augment *tUK* is optionally introduced to a *pada*-final long vowel when *ch* follows it in *saṃhitā*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*kuṭīchāyā* ‘shade of a hut’  
*kuṭīchāyā*  
*kuvalīchāyā* ‘shade of a particular tree’  
*kuvalīchāyā*

1. An optional *tUK* is offered against the obligatory provision of the preceding rule. This provision of *tUK* is not made relative to *padavidhi* ‘process of integrating fully inflected words’ (2.1.1 *samarthah padavidhī*). It can be best described as *padāntavidhi* ‘a process relative to the end of a *pada*’. The preceding rule introduces *tUK* before *ch*, obligatorily, to a non-*pada*-final long vowel. Our present rule makes that provision optional in case of a *pada*-final long vowel followed by *ch*. Thus observe: *tiṣṭhatu kumārīc chatram hara*

*devadattasya* ‘let the girl wait; carry the umbrella of Devadatta’. We can also get *kumāri chatram*, optionally.

Note that *tUK*, if introduced, will go through *ścutva* ( $t \rightarrow c$ ; 8.4.40 *stoś cunā ścuh*). Observe *kuṭīchāya* and *kuṭīchāyā*, where the second example lacks *tUK*.

2. A *vārttika* proposal is made for *viśvajana*, etc., to also receive an optional *tUK* in the Vedic (*vt.*: *viśvajanādīnāṁ chandasī vā . . .*). Thus, *viśvajana* ac *chatram*/*viśvajanachatram*. *Nyāsa* remarks that 6.1.73 *che ca* would have offered obligatory *tUK* in the absence of this statement. But since all operations are optional in the Vedic (*sarve vidhayāḥ chandasī vikalpyante*), we can still get this optional *tUK*. This statement is then intended for clarity.

### 6.1.77 इको यणचि

*iko yan aci*  
*/ikah 6/1 yan 1/1 aci 7/1/*  
*(saṃhitāyām #72)*

*aci parata iko yan ādeśo bhavati*

A sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *iK* is replaced by corresponding sounds denoted by the abbreviatory term *yaṄ* when a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *aC* follows in *saṃhitā*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*dadhyatra* ‘there is yoghurt here’

*madhvatra* ‘there is honey here’

*kartrartham* ‘for he who is doing’

*hartrartham* ‘for one who carries’

*lākṛtiḥ* ‘one who (which) has the shape of *ś*; Krṣṇa while playing his flute’

1. Note that *iK* and *yaṄ* denote four sounds each: *i, u, r, l* and *y, v, r, l*, respectively. Since the number of elements in these sets is equal (*saṃāna*), their equivalency must be assigned in consonance with order of their enumeration (1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhyam . . .*).

2. The locative (*saptami*) in *aci* is interpreted as *parasaptamī* ‘that which specifies what follows’. When interpreted in accord with the specification of 1.1.65 *tasminn iti nirdiṣṭe pūrvasya*, we conclude that sounds denoted by *iK* are replaced with corresponding sounds denoted by *yaṄ* when sounds denoted by *aC* immediately (*avyavahita*) follow. That is, an operation specified by that which ends in the locative obtains on that which immediately precedes.

Pāṇini also formulates 6.1.101 *akah savarne dīrghah* whereby a single homogeneous long vowel is ordered as a replacement for a sequence of two contiguous homogeneous vowels denoted by the abbreviatory term *aK*, i.e.,

*a, i, u, r, l*. Rule 6.1.77 *iko yan aci* has a wider right context denoted by *aC* which includes the denotata of *aK*. The *aK* of 6.1.101 *akah savarne dīrghah* also includes the denotata of *iK*. Now the question: what if an *iK* is followed by another homogeneous *iK* in *samhitā*? Rules 6.1.77 and 6.1.101 will both find their scope of application. Can one replace the prior *iK* with a corresponding *yaN*? Can one replace the sequence of two homogeneous vowels denoted by *iK* with a single long homogeneous vowel? The provision of a single long homogeneous vowel replacement for a sequence of preceding and succeeding homogeneous vowels will become vacuous (*vyarthā*) if 6.1.101 is not applied against 6.1.77. Thus, the use of *ekah pūrvaparayoh dīrghah* ‘a single long vowel in place of the sequence of a preceding and following vowel’ and *savarne* ‘when a homogeneous vowel follows in extreme proximity . . .’ makes it possible for 6.1.77 *iko yan aci* to carve out its domain of application without interfering with the scope of 6.1.101 *akah savarne dīrghah*.

This notion of extreme proximity is read in view of 1.1.66 *tasminn iti nirdiṣṭe pūrvasya*. A question may be raised here: why bring 1.1.66 *tasminn iti . . .* when *saṃhitāyām* itself can account for proximity. After all, two sounds in *saṃhitā* are not supposed to be separated (*vyavahita*) by a duration exceeding half a mora (*ardhamātrā*). It is argued that 1.1.66 *tasminn iti . . .* is brought into play to ensure contiguity (*aryavadhāna*). Consider *sudhi + upāsyah* where the duration of *dh* before *i* equals half a mora. If contiguity was not considered, the *i* of *dhi* may cause the *u* of *su* to be replaced with its counterpart in *yaN*. Thus, the notion of contiguity brought into play on the basis of 1.1.66 *tasminn iti . . .* alone can block this *yaN* of *u*.

2. The word *aci* carries through 6.1.108 *saṃprasāraṇāc ca*.
3. A *vārttika* proposal is made to allow *yaN* against *savarṇadīrgha* ‘homogeneous long vowel’, in contexts where a vowel denoted by *iK* and occurring after a *pluta* is followed by a homogeneous vowel denoted by *iK*. Thus, *bho3 i indram = bho3 (i→y) indram = bho3 yindram*.

### 6.1.78 एतोऽयवायावः:

*eco' yavāyāvah*

/ *ecah* 6/1 *ayavāyāvah* 1/3 = *ay ca av ca āy ca āv ca* = *ayavāyāvah* (itar. dv.) /

(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *aci* #77)

*ecah sthāne' ci parataḥ* 'ay, av, āy, āv' ity ete ādeśā yathāsaṃkhyam bhavanti  
A sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *eC* is replaced by *ay, av, āy, āv'*, respectively, when a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *aC* follows in *saṃhitā*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*cayanam* ‘heaping’  
*lavanam* ‘cutting’

*kayete* 'who are these'

*yayete* 'these people who ...'

*vāyāv avaraṇaddhi* 'blocked the two winds'

1. Here again, order of enumeration will determine the equivalency of equal number of items specified in two sets (1.3.10 *yathāsamkhyam* . . .). The other conditions of *samhitāyām* and *aci* remain the same. Can one apply 1.3.3 *halantyam* and 1.3.9 *tasya lopah* to delete the final consonants of *cay*, etc.? No. This *sandhi* provision will then become vacuous (*vyartha*).

### 6.1.79 वान्तो यि प्रत्यये

*vānto yi pratayaye*

/ *vāntah* 1/1 = *vakāro*' nte *yasya* (bv.); *yi* 7/1 *pratayaye* 7/1 /

(*samhitāyām* #72 *aci* #77 *ecah* #78)

*yo' Yam ecaḥ sthāne vāntādēśah, okārasya av, aukārasya av, sa yakārādau pratayaye parato bhavati*

A *v*-final replacement comes (in place of an *o* and *au*) when a *y*-initial affix follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*bābhṛavyah* 'descendant of Babhru'

*māṇḍavyah* 'descendant of Maṇḍu'

*śāṅkavyaṁ dāru* '... wood beneficial for spike'

*picavyah kārpāsaḥ* 'beneficial for cotton tree'

*nāvyo hradaḥ* 'a lake which can be crossed over by boat'

1. This rule covers two replacements ending in *v*, i.e., *av* and *āv*. Their corresponding substituenda will then be *o* and *au* (vt.: *odauś ceti ca vaktavyam*).

2. The locative in *yi*, when read in view of 1.1.72 *yena vidhis tadantasya*, will yield the interpretation: 'when that, an affix, which ends in *y* follows'. But this *tadantavidhi* 'an operation relative to that which may end in what specifies it' interpretation will be blocked in favor of a *tadādividhi* 'an operation relative to that which begins with what specifies it'. How do we know that *tadādividhi* should block *tadantavidhi*? We know it from the *vārttika* (cf. 1.1.72 *yena vidhis tadantasya*): *yasmin vidhis tadādāv algrahaṇe*. It specifies that *tadādividhi* is favored where a single *aL* 'sound segment' specifies the right context of an operation. Our *y* in *yi* is a single sound.

3. The rule is formulated so that a replacement in *av* and *āv* could be accomplished where a condition different from the *aci* of 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvah* may be involved.

4. Note that the three conditions of *vānta*, *yi* and *pratayaye* must be met. Consider *rai + am* which will involve a replacement in *āy*, as against *āv*. Thus, we get *rāyam* as in *rāyam icchatī* 'wishes for wealth'. A replacement for *o* and

*au* in *av* and *āv* cannot be allowed in *go + bhyām* and *nau + bhyām* either. For, the affixes here do not begin with *y*. Such replacements are also not allowed for *o* and *au* in *go + yānam* and *nau + yānam* because what follows with an initial *y* is not an affix.

5. Note that a *vārtika* proposal allowing *av* as a replacement for *o* of *go* in the Vedic is allowed before *yūti*. Thus, we get *gavyūtiḥ* ‘a herd of cows and bulls’, as against *goyūtiḥ* in the classical language. A proposal for replacing *o* with *av* before *yūti* is made for classical usage, only when what is signified is a measure of road (*adhvaparimāṇe ca*). Thus, we get *g(o→av) + yūti = gavyūti* ‘a distance of nearly four miles (*krośayugam*)’.

### 6.1.80 धातोस्तनिमित्तस्यैव

*dhātōs tannimittasyaiva*

/ *dhātōḥ* 6/1 *tannimittasya* 6/1 = *tad nimittam yasya* (*bu.*), *tasya; eva φ/* (*samhitāyām* #72 *ecah* #78 *vānto yi pratyaye* #79)

*dhātōr ya ec tannimitto yakārādipratyayanimittas tasya yakārādau pratyaye parato vāntādēśo bhavati*

A sound denoted by *eC* which is part of a verbal root (*dhātu*) conditioning an affix beginning with *y* is replaced with a substitute terminating in *v*, provided the affix beginning with *y* follows in *samhitā*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*lavayam* ‘ready to be cut’

*pavyam* ‘ready to be cleansed’

*avaśyalāvryam* ‘should indeed be cut’

*avaśyapāvym* ‘should indeed be cleansed’

1. The word *tannimitta* is explained as *sa* (*yādipratyayah*) *nimittam yasya* (*ecah*) ‘that (the *y*-initial affix) which constitutes the condition of that, i.e., *o* and *au* of *eC*. The elements whose *nimitta* is specified by the *bahuvrīhi* compound *tannimitta* are thus recognized as *o* and *au* of a *dhātu* ‘verbal root’. We know it from the genitive of *dhātōḥ* which, in turn, is used with the signification of *avayava* ‘part of a whole’. An affix beginning with *y* is thus recognized as a condition. This helps us understand the rule as follows: ‘a replacement ending in *v* comes in place of the *o* and *au* of a *dhātu*, provided these both are conditioned by an affix which begins with *y* (*yādi*) and follows in *samhitā*'. Consider *lū + yaT→l(ū→o) + yaT→l(o→av) + yaT = lavya + sU→lavayam*, a derivate of *yaT* (3.1.97 *aco yat*). We can similarly get *pavyam*. Our next two examples, i.e., *avaśyalāvryam* and *avaśyapāvym*, are compounds termed *upapada*. They derive by introducing affix *NyaT* (3.1.125 or *āvaśyake*) after verbal roots *lū* and *pū* under the condition of *avaśyam*, a conjoined *pada*. Thus, *avaśya + am + lū + NyaT→avaśya + l(ū→o→av) + NyaT→avaśya + l(av→av) + (N)yaT = (avaśya + lavya) + sU = avaśyalāvryam*. We similarly get

*avaśyapānyam*. Note that the compound is formed in consonance with 2.1.72 *mayūravyamsakādayaś ca*. The *m* of *avaśyam* gets deleted in accord with the statement *lumped avaśyamah krtye(?)*. Rule 7.2.115 *aco' nñiti* accomplishes the *vṛddhi* of *ū* which is subsequently replaced with *āv*. Recall here that *NyāT* conditions *vṛddhi* and under its condition we further get the *au* replaced with *āv*. The *au* for which we get *āv* is thus *tannimittaka*.

2. The condition of *tannimitta* is important so that a replacement ending in *v* is blocked when an affix beginning with *y* follows, but does not condition *o* and *au*. Consider for example the controlled derivation of *upoyate* from *upa + veṄ + (LAT→ta)* where affix *yaK* is further introduced under the condition of the following *ta*, a *sārvadhātu*. Our string *upa + ve + ya + ta* yields *upa + vo + ya + ta* through *samprasāraṇa* and *ātva* and a replacement for *a + u* in *o*. The *o* of *upo* cannot be replaced with *av* to finally derive, for example a wrong form *\*upavyate*, under the condition of the following *y*-initial affix *yaK*. For *yaK* did not constitute the condition for bringing about *o* as a replacement for *a + u*. A form such as *\*āvyata*, with a replacement in *āv* parallel to *āuyata* from *āT + veṄ + (LAT→ta)*, can also not be accomplished before *yaK* for similar reasons. The *taddhita* derivates *lauyamāniḥ* ‘descendant of Lūyamāna’ and *pauyamāniḥ* ‘descendant of Pūyamāna’ can also not have their *au* replaced with *āv* since affix *yaṄ* occurring after *lū* and *pū* of *luyamāna* and *puyamāna* does not condition the *vṛddhi*-replacement *au* for *ū*. This *vṛddhi* is conditioned by affix *iṄ* (4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam*; 4.1.95 *ata iṄ*), introduced after *luyamāna + Nas* and *puyamāna + Nas* by 7.2.117 *taddhitesu acām ādeḥ*. Refer to the appendix for further derivational details.

2. The word *eva* is used here to serve a restrictive purpose (*niyamārtha*). That is, it is used to restrict *av* and *āv* as replacements for *o* and *au* of a verbal root only when a *y*-initial affix conditions *o* and *au*. Thus, these replacements will apply in the context of a *dhātu* only when a *y*-initial affix conditions *o* and *au*.

Recall that the tradition generally believes in *yato evakārah tato' nyatra niyamah*. ‘a restrictive provision focuses on something other than the item after which *eva* is used’. This rule uses *eva* after *tannimittasya*. Consequently, the restrictive provision will focus on *dhātoḥ*. Notice that *dhātoḥ* and *tannimittasya* are both in the genitive. These are both qualifiers (*vīśeṣana*). The *eva* after *tannimittasya* will focus on *dhātu*, and hence, the restriction will apply to the *eC* of a *dhātu*. The notion of *tannimittakatva* will be brought as a qualifier. Thus, consider *oyate* which derives from *ā + veṄ + yaK + ta*. Recall that *yaK* is introduced with the denotatum of *karman*. Verbal root *veṄ* goes through *samprasāraṇa* and subsequent *pūrvarūpa* of *(v→u)e→v(u + e→u)*. The initial *ā* of the string alongwith resultant *u* then gets replaced with a single *guṇa*, i.e., *o* (6.1.87 *ād guṇah*). Note that *o* qualifies for *dhātoḥ* ‘of a verbal root’ but does not qualify for *tannimittakatva*. This restrictive provision will thus not apply. This restrictive provision will also not be available to

*bābhṛavya* where *eC* (*babhr(u→o)*) is conditioned by a *y*-initial affix but it belongs to a nominal stem. That is, it does not satisfy the condition of *dhātoḥ*.

### 6.1.81 क्षयजस्यौ शक्यार्थे

*ksayyajayyau śakyārthe*  
 / *kṣayya-jayyau* 1/2 (itar. dv.); *śakyārthe* 7/1 = *śakyaś cāsau arthah* (karm.),  
*tasmin/*  
 (*samhitāyām* #72 *yi pratyaye* #79 *dhātoḥ* #80)  
*'kṣi, ji' ity etayor dhātvor yati pratyaye parataḥ śakyārthe gamyamāne*  
*ekārasyāyādeśo nipātyate*  
 The *e* of verbal roots *kṣi* ‘to decay’ and *ji* ‘to win’ is replaced with *āy*, via  
*nipātana*, when the root is followed by affix *yaT* and derivates denote  
 the sense of *śakya* ‘possible’.

#### EXAMPLES:

*śakyāḥ kṣettum* = *kṣayyah* ‘that which is possible to decay’  
*śakyo jetum* = *jayyah* ‘that which is possible to win’

1. Note that *kṣayya* and *jayya* are derivates of *yaT* (3.1.97 *aco yat*), used with the signification of *śakyārtha* ‘possibility’. This rule offers *ay* as a replacement for *e*, via *nipātana*. The *e*, in turn, is a *guna* replacement for *i* of *kṣi* and *ji*. *Kāśikā* offers *kṣeyam pāpam* ‘sin to be destroyed’ and *jeyo vṛṣalah* ‘a lowly Śūdra who is to be tamed’ as counter-examples where, because the denotata of derivates is ‘necessity’ as opposed to ‘possibility’, *e* cannot be replaced with *ay*.

### 6.1.82 क्रयस्तदर्थे

*krayyas tadarthe*  
 / *krayyah* 1/1 *tadarthe* 7/1 = *tasya arthah* (saṣ. tat.), *tasmin*  
 (*samhitāyām* #72 *yi pratyaye* #79 *dhātoḥ* #80)  
*krīñāter dhātos tadarthe krayārtham yat tasminn abhidheye yati pratyaye parato'*  
*yādeśo nipātyate*

Verbal root *krī* ‘to barter’ receives a substitute in *ay* when an affix beginning with *y*, particularly *yaT*, follows and the derivate denotes something on sale.

#### EXAMPLES:

*krayyo gauḥ* ‘an ox on sale’  
*krayyah kambalaḥ* ‘a blanket on sale’

1. Note that *krayya* is a derivate of *yaT* introduced after verbal root *DUkrīN* ‘purchase, barter’. The derivate meaning here is: *tadarthe* ‘in the sense of that, i.e., verbal root’. Commentators explain that the meaning of the base

(*prakṛti*) is principal (*pradhāna*) here. The word *krayya* is explained as *krayārthaḥ yaḥ prasāritah* ‘that which is put out for sale’. Consider now a counter-example: *kreyo no dhānyam na cāsti krayyam* ‘this grain we wish to purchase is not for sale’. Here again, the *e* resulting out of *guṇa* is replaced with *ay*.

### 6.1.83 भय्यप्रवय्ये च च्छन्दसि

*bhayya-pravayye ca cchandasi*  
*/bayya-pravayye 7/1 (itar. dv.) ca φ chandasi 7/1/*  
*(samhitāyām #72 yi prataye #79 dhātoḥ #80)*  
*bibheter dhātor prapūrvasya ca ‘vi’ ity etasya yati prataye paratas chandas*  
*vिषये’ yādeśo bhavati*

Forms such as *bhayya* and *pravayya* are derived, via *nipātana*, in the Vedic.

#### EXAMPLES:

*bhayyam kila āśit* ‘that was indeed frightening’  
*vatsatān pravayyā* ‘a young cow ready for impregnation’

1. Note that *bhayyaḥ* is derived with *yaT* signifying *aḍādāna* (3.3.113 *kṛtyalyuṭo . . .*). The word *pravayyā* is derived, via *nipātana*, only in the feminine. One can derive it from: *pra + (aj→vī) + yaT* or *pra + vī + yaT*, where, in the first string, *aj* gets replaced with *vī* (2.4.56 *ajer vy aghañapoh*). Verbal root *vī* in the second string is used with the signification of *gati* ‘movement’ and *prajanana* ‘giving birth’, etc. The *yaT* is, of course, introduced by 3.1.97 *aco yat*.

### 6.1.84 एकः पूर्वपरयोः

*ekah pūrvaparayoh* •  
*/ekah 1/1 pūrvaparayoh 6/2 (itar. dv.)/*  
*(samhitāyām #72)*  
*adhikāro’ yam ‘khyāt parasya’ iti prāg etasmāt*  
*sūtrād ita uttarām yad vaksyāmas tatra pūrvasya parasya dvayor api sthāne*  
*ekādeśo bhavatīty etad veditavyam*

One comes in place of both the preceding as well as the following when *samhitā* obtains.

#### EXAMPLES:

*khaṭvendrah* ‘best among cots’  
*mālendraḥ* ‘best among garlands’

1. This is an *adhikāra* valid through rules enumerated prior to 6.1.112 *khyāt parasya*.

The word *pūrvaparayoh* specifies a sequence of two contiguous elements as *sthānī* ‘items to be replaced’, simultaneously (*yugapat*). There may be confusion as to what should be replaced, for example, under the provision of 6.1.87 *ād gunah*. That is, if *pūrvaparayoh* is not specified. It is stated that the locative (*saptamī*) of *aci*, occurring after the ablative (*pañcamī*) of *āt*, will be transformed into *saśhī* ‘genitive’ similar to 8.3.29 *dah si dhuṭ* where locative *si* is transformed into genitive and receives augment *dhUT*. This way, 6.1.87 *ād gunah* will have *aci* transformed into *acah*, a genitive, and there will not be any confusion as to what should be replaced. But this will only make clear that an *aC* occurring after *āT* will be replaced with *guna*. It will not make clear that the *guna* vowel will come in place of the preceding *ā* and the vowel which follows. The word *pūrvaparayoh* must then be stated to facilitate a replacement in place of two contiguous vowels.

This single replacement must also come in place of two contiguous vowels simultaneously (*yugapat*). Some argue that *ekah*, especially in view of 6.1.85 *antādivac ca*, should account for a single replacement for two contiguous vowels simultaneously. Hence, we do not need *pūrvaparayoh*. If this is acceptable then *pūrvaparayoh* must be viewed as used for ease of comprehension (*sukhapratipat�artham*). But since proper understanding of this rule without *pūrvaparayoh*, though with the help of 6.1.85 *antādivac ca*, is possible only via a locative occurring after an ablative transformed into genitive, use of *pūrvaparayoh* is still economical. Doing without *pūrvaparayoh* is prolix (*gaurava*).

2. This rule includes *ekah* so that two separate replacements for the preceding and following contiguous sound segments can be blocked. For one may expect two replacements corresponding to two items to be replaced. Such an expectation can be justified in view of rule 8.2.42 *radābhyaṁ niṣṭhāto nah . . .*, whereby the *t* of a *niṣṭhā* suffix, when occurring after *r* and *d*, is replaced with *n*. Additionally, the preceding *d* is also replaced with *n*. The *Mahābhāṣya* finds the use of *ekah* as unnecessary.

### 6.1.85 अन्तादिवच्च

*antādivac ca*

/ *antādivat* φ = *antaś ca ādiś ca* (itarr. dv.), *tābhyaṁ tulyam; ca φ/*  
*(saṃhitāyām #72 ekaḥ pūrvaparayoh #84)*

‘*ekah pūrvaparayoh*’ iti yo’ yam *ekādeśo vidhīyate sa pūrvasyāntavād bhavati*  
*parasyādivād bhavati*

A replacement in place of the preceding and following sound segments in *saṃhitā* is treated as final (*anta*) of what precedes and initial (*ādi*) of what follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*brahmabandhūḥ* ‘a contemptible brāhmaṇa’

*vṛksau* ‘nominative/accusative dual of *vṛksa* ‘tree’

1. A replacement coming in place of two contiguous sound segments is treated as final of what precedes and the initial of what follows. The words *anta* and *ādi* denote *avayava* ‘part’. It is only natural that we understand them in view of their *avayavin*, the whole (*samudāya*) with reference to which they are parts. What is this *avayavin*, especially in this context of a single replacement in place of a preceding and a following sound? There are three possibilities.

- (i) This extension applies to the preceding (*pūrva*) and following (*para*) sound segments for which *ekah* specifies a single replacement.
- (ii) This extension applies to entities which, prior to a single replacement, preceded the prior sound segment and followed the subsequent sound segment, with the understanding that prior and subsequent segments will be simultaneously replaced with a single sound segment.
- (iii) This extension applies to a form which contained the prior sound segment as its final, and to another form which contained the subsequent sound segment as its initial.

The first interpretation is not acceptable because prior and subsequent sound segments would be removed by a single replacement. How could one talk about *antādi* when prior and subsequent segments themselves are missing. The second interpretation is also problematic. Consider *vṛksa + au*, where *a + au* are replaced by a single replacement in *a*. This *a* is a single replacement in place of a non-*sUP* (*asup*) and a *sUP*. It cannot, because of there being nothing to follow the *sUP*, become the initial of what follows. It is in view of this that the third interpretation is accepted. This interpretation is also not trouble free. Consider, for example, *brahmabandhūḥ*, derived from *brahmabandhu + ū* → *brahmabandhū + sU*, where a single long replacement comes in place of the final *u* of a nominal stem and the *ū* of the feminine affix *ūN*. For, the prior *u* is removed. The final *dh* of *brahmabandh* cannot be treated as the substituenda (*sthāni*) of the replaced *u* since it was not the *sthāni* to start with (*anārambhāt*). This same is also applicable to the following items to be replaced. This extension will therefore apply to forms which preceded and followed the two sounds as their final and initial. A single replacement will be treated as final of the form which precedes it, the same way the sound it replaced was its final. This single replacement will also be considered as initial of what follows it, the way the item it replaced was its initial. Consider *brahmabandhūḥ* which derives from (*brahmabandhū + sU*). The final *ū* of *brahmabandhū* is a single replacement in *ū* for the final *u* of *brahmabandhu* and the initial *ū* of affix *ūN*. Now, a *sU* is introduced after a

nominal stem, or a form that ends in the feminine affixes characterized with *Nī* and *āP*. Since *brahmabandhū* is not a nominal stem, and also since *āN* is not one of the feminine affixes covered by *Nī* and *āP*, *sū* cannot be introduced by 4.1.2 *saujasmaut*. . . . How can one then derive *brahmanabandhūḥ* from *brahmabandhu + sU*? This rule makes it possible for *ū*, a replacement of *u + ā*, as final of *brahmabandhu*, the nominal stem. A *sU* can now be introduced to derive *brahmabandhūḥ*.

2. Note that this *antavadbhāva* ‘treatment as final of the preceding and initial of the following’ is not desired where an operation is to be performed relative to a sound segment. Consider *khaṭvābhīḥ* ← *khaṭvā + bhis*, where *bhis* cannot be replaced with *ais* (7.1.9 *ato bhis ais*). For, the *ā* of *khaṭvā*, gotten from homogeneous long replacement (*savarṇadīrgha*) of *a + ā* of *kohaṭva + ā*, cannot be treated as final of *khaṭvā*, a form ending in *aT*. The instrumental plural of *khaṭvā* will thus be *khaṭvābhīḥ*. Now consider third singular perfect of *hueṄ→hvā* (4.1.45 *ādeca upadeśe . . .*), i.e., *juhāva*, where given *juhu + ṾaL*, 7.1.34 *āt au Ṿalah* cannot be applied. For, *hvā* goes through *samprasāraṇa* (6.1.33 *abhyastasya ca*) and produces *hu* with *pūrvarūpa*. This *u* happens to be a single replacement for the vocalic sequence *u + ā* ← *h(v→u)ā*. Note that *NaL* cannot be replaced with *au*, understanding that *hu* ended in *ā* based on *u* being a single replacement for *u + ā*. A *vṛddhi* replacement gotten from 6.1.88 *vṛddhir eci* is not considered as initial of what followed, in applying 6.1.109 *eñah padāntād ati*. Consider *asyai + aśvah* where *asyai* derives from *idam + (Ṅ)e* = *idam + e* with augment *syāT* (7.3.114 *sarvanāmnaḥ syād . . .*) and deletion of *id* (7.2.113 *hali lopah*). This gives us *am + syā + e* which yields *a + syā + e*, where *m* of (*id→∅*) *am + syā + e* gets replaced with *a* (7.2.102 *tyadādināmah*). The *a + (m→a)* = *a + a* is then replaced with a single *a* (6.1.97 *ato gunē*) to offer *a + syā + e* = *asyā + e*. Rule 6.1.88 *vṛddhir eci* will now apply to produce *asy(ā + e→ai)* = *asyai*. We cannot now apply 6.1.109 *eñah padāntād ati* on *asyai + aśvah* to produce a single replacement similar to the preceding *e* for *ai + a* of *asyai* and *aśvah*, respectively. For, *ai* cannot be viewed as *e*.

Some argue that 1.1.56 *sthānivad ādeśo’ nalvidhau* itself can account for what this rule provides. Hence this rule is unnecessary. Others argue back that extensional provision of this rule is *ānumānika* ‘presumed’, because it is based upon part of a replacement (*avayatva*). It is not a direct (*pratyakṣa*) replacement as may be required by the word *ādeśa* of 1.1.56 *sthānivad*. . . . It is for this ‘presumed’ status of the replacement that we need this extension rule. I omit details of these two positions for fear of expatiation.

### 6.1.86 षत्वतुकोरसिद्धः:

*satvatukor asiddhah*  
*/satva-tukoh 7/2 (itar. dv.); asiddhah 1/1 (nañ. tat.)/*  
*(saṃhitāyām #72 ekah pūrvaparayoh #84)*  
*satve tuki ca kartavye ekādeśo’ siddho bhavati*

A single replacement in place of the preceding and the following sound segments in *samhitā* is treated as if suspended (*asiddha*) when operations relative to a replacement in *s* (*satva*) and augment *tUK* are to be performed.

EXAMPLES:

*ko' sicut* 'who watered . . .'  
*ko'sya* 'who is this person's . . .'  
*yo'sya* 'he who is of this person's . . .'  
*ko'smai* 'who is this person to whom . . .'  
*yo'smai* 'he to whom . . .'  
*adhītya* 'having studied . . .'  
*pretya* 'having returned . . .'

1. This rule suspends a single replacement (*ekādeśa*) of two contiguous sound segments when a replacement in *s*, or introduction of augment *tUK*, is to be accomplished. That is, a replacement is treated as not having taken effect (*asiddha*) when these two operations (*satva* and *tUK*) are to be performed. To sum up: this suspension negates operations characteristically conditioned by a single replacement (*kṛtaikādeśa-nimittaka-pratiṣedha*). It favors application of a characteristic operation conditioned by a substituendum (*sthāni-lakṣaṇa-kārya*).

What is the purpose of this provision of *asiddhatva*? Is it needed for creating 'absence' (*abhāva*) of a single replacement? Or else, it is needed for indicating inability of replacement to perform what it is supposed to perform. For, what is *siddha* can be treated as *asiddha* if it does not do what it is supposed to do. That is, it is similar to ~ son (*putra*) who can be treated as a non-son (*aputra*) if he does not perform the duties of a son (*putrakāryakaraṇeśāmarthyāt*). A replacement can similarly be treated as a non-replacement. If this 'statement of suspension' (*asiddhavacana*) tries to realize the absence of a single replacement, then *adhītya* cannot be derived with augment *tUK*. Why? Because the short *i* will already be removed by the replacement? A short vowel cannot be brought about if it has been removed by a single replacement. Killing the killer of Devadatta cannot bring Devadatta back to life' (*na hi devadattasya hantari hate punar devadattasya prādurbhāvo bhavatīty . . .*). The 'absence' interpretation of *asiddhatva* thus has to be abandoned.

This *asiddhatva* must then be interpreted as 'incapability of affecting an operation (*kāryāśāmarthyā*)'. One considers a *sthāni* as not having been displaced when its corresponding *ādeśa* is treated as *asiddha* 'not having taken affect'. Let us consider *kah asicat*, where *kim* of *kim + s(U)* is replaced with *r(U)* of 8.2.66 *sasajuṣo ruh*. The *r* is then changed to *u* (6.1.113 *ato ror . . .*). Rule 6.1.87 *ād guṇah* will then apply on *kau + asicat* to offer a single *guṇa* replacement for *au + a*. Rule 6.1.109 *eñah padāntād ati* will then require a single replacement for the *pada*-final *eñ*, i.e., *e, o*, and the *a*, of *asicat*, thereby

yielding *k(o + a→o) sicat = ko' sicat*. Rule 8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoh* cannot apply to replace the *s* of *asicat* with *s* (*satva*), because our present rule will make *o* suspended. That is, *s* of *sicat* will be occurring after *a* of *asicat*, a sound not covered by the abbreviatory term *iN*. One can also cite *ko' sya*, *yo' sya*, *ko' smai* and *yo' smai* as additional examples, where *satva* is negated based upon *asiddhatva* of a single replacement.

Kāśikā offers *adhiya* and *pretya* as examples where *tUK* is allowed based upon *asiddatva*. Given (*adhi + i + (Ktvā→LyaP)*) and (*pra + i + (Ktvā→LyaP)*), the two *i* vowels are replaced with a single long *ī* (6.1.100 *akah savarne dirghah*). The *a + i* sequence of *pr(a + i) + ya* is replaced with a single *guna* vowel *e*. Rule 6.1.71 *hrasvasya piti kṛti tuk* cannot introduce *tUK* if single replacements are not treated as *asiddha* ‘suspended’. For, replacement vowels are not short (*hrasva*). If replacement vowels both are treated as *asiddha*, augment *tUK* can be introduced to verbal root *i* ‘to go’.

2. A question against the formulation of this rule is also raised with reference to *paribhāṣā* (PŚ: 51) *asiddham bahirāṅgam antaraṅge*. That is, a single replacement will be treated as *bahirāṅga* ‘externally conditioned’ since it applies with reference to two words. The application of *satva* and *tUK* will be considered as *antaraṅga* ‘internally conditioned’ because they apply relative to a single word. What is the need for this rule when the *bahirāṅga* provision of a single replacement will automatically become suspended (*asiddha*). Commentators inform that this rule serves a restrictive purpose with regard to this interpretive rule (*paribhāṣā*). It indicates that the *bahirāṅga-paribhāṣā* does not apply where contiguous vocalic sequences of a *bahirāṅga* or *antaraṅga* operation are involved. Consequently, in *akṣadyūḥ*, a replacement in *yaN* is treated as *siddha* ‘accomplished’ on account of the *asiddhatva* of externally conditioned *ūTH* (6.4.132 *vāha ūḥ*). This same also becomes a *jñāpaka* ‘indicator’ for existence of another *paribhāṣā* (PŚ: 52) *nājānantaryam bahis*. . . .

3. A *vārttika* recommends that *asiddhatva* in connection with *saṃprasāraṇa*, locative singular ending *Ni*, and the first singular *ātmanepada* ending *iT*, should be disallowed. Given *śaka + Śas + hu + KvIP*, we get *śakahū*, through *saṃprasāraṇa* (6.1.15 *vacisvapi . . . ; h(v→u)e*), *ātva* (6.1.45 *ādeca upadeśe . . . ; (hu(e→ā))*, *pūrvavarūpa* (6.1.108 *saṃprasāraṇāc ca; h(u+ā→u=hu)* and *dirgha* (6.4.2 *halah; h(u→ū=hū)*). The application of 8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoh . . .* for replacing the locative plural affixal *s* in *śakahū + su* to produce *śakahūsu* is facilitated by this *vārttika* proposal. That is, the single replacement is treated as *asiddha* because the ending is not locative singular. But consider *vrkṣe chatram* where the *e* is considered as *siddha* because *Ne* is locative singular. This can then allow optional *tUK* of 6.1.76 *padāntād vā*. We thus get *vrkṣe chatram* and *vrkṣe chatram*. The first singular *ātmanepada* form *apace* illustrates how *e* of *aT + pac + (ŚaP + (LUN→iT)) = apac + (a + i→e) = apace* can also be treated as *siddha*. Consequently, given *apace chatram*, we will get optional *tUK*. Thus, *apace chatram* and *apace chatram*.

## 6.1.87 आद्युणः:

*ād gunah**/ āt 5/1 gunah 1/1/**(samhitāyām #72 aci #77 ekaḥ pūrvaparayoh #84)**avarṇāt paro yo'c, aci ca pūrvo yo' varnah, tayoḥ pūrvaparayor avarṇācoḥ  
sthāne eko gunādeśo bhavati*

A single replacement in *guṇa* comes in place of both, a vowel (*aC*) which follows *a* and the *a* which precedes that vowel, in *samhitā*.

## EXAMPLES:

*khaṭvendrah = khaṭvā + indrah**mālendraḥ = mālā + īndraḥ**tavehate = tava + īhate**khaṭvehate = khaṭvā + īhate**tavodakam = tava + udakam**khatvodakam = khaṭvā + udakam**tavarṣyah = tava + ṛṣyah**khaṭvarṣyah = khaṭvā + ṛṣyah**tavalkārah = tava + lkārah**khaṭvalkārah = khaṭvā + lkārah*

1. Of course, the *a* here also refers to its homogeneous (*savarṇa*; 1.1.69 *anudit savarṇasya . . .*) counterparts. Note that a sequence of *a* followed by *a* gets a single ā replacement of 6.1.100 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*. A sequence of *a* followed by *e, o, ai* or *au* is similarly subject to a single replacement in *vṛddhi* (6.1.88 *vṛddhir eci*). This rule allows a single replacement for a sequence of *a* followed by *i, u, r* or *l*. Rule 1.1.2 *adeñ gunah* defines *guṇa* as *aT, e* and *o*. Given *tava + idam* and *khaṭvā + indraḥ*, we get *tav (a + i → e) dam = tavedam* and *khatv (ā + i) ndram = khaṭvendram*. A single replacement in *e* is chosen, based upon its similarity of place of articulation (*sthāna*) with *a + i*, throat (*kanṭha*) and palate (*tālu*). A *guṇa*-replacement in *a*, of *l*, is required to be followed by *l*, similar to a replacement of *r* which is required to be followed by *r* (1.1.51 *ur an raparah; Kāśikā: lkārasya sthāne yo' ḷ tasya laparativam iṣyate*). For, a specification of *l* is considered as included within the specification of *r*.

## 6.1.88 वृद्धिरेचि

*vṛddhir eci**/ vṛddhiḥ 1/1 eci 7/1/**(samhitāyām #72 ekaḥ pūrvaparayoh #84 āt 87)**avarṇāt paro ya ec eci ca pūrvo yo' varnah tayoḥ pūrvaparayor avarṇācoḥ  
sthāne vṛddhir ekādeśo bhavati*

A single replacement in *vṛddhi* comes in place of both, a sound de-

noted by the abbreviatory term *eC* (*e*, *o ai*, *au*) which follows *a* and the *a* which precedes *eC*, in *samhitā*.

EXAMPLES:

*brahmaidakā* = *brahma* + *edakā*  
*khaṭvaidakā* = *khaṭvā* + *edakā*  
*brahmaitikāyanah* = *brahma* + *aitikāyanah*  
*khaṭvaitikāyanah* = *khaṭvā* + *aitikāyanah*  
*brahmaudanaḥ* = *brahma* = *odanaḥ*  
*khatvaudanaḥ* = *khaṭvā* + *odanaḥ*  
*brahmaupagavah* + *brahma* + *aupagavah*  
*khaṭvaupagavah* = *khaṭvā* + *aupagavah*

1. This rule is an exception to the preceding (*ādgūṇasyāpavādah*). A sequence of sounds with *a*, followed by *e*, *o*, *ai* or *au*, is replaced with a corresponding single *vṛddhi* vowel. Here again, similarity of place of articulation helps select corresponding replacements. Recall that *taparakanara* in 1.1.1 *vṛddhir ādaic* is not intended for blocking *ā* from also denoting its homogeneous counterparts. For, *ā* is not included within *aN* (1.1.69 *aṇudit savarnasya cāpratyayah*). Instead, it is used for constraining *aiC*. Consequently, a replacement is limited in duration. That is, we always get replacements in *dirgha* (*ā/ai/au*) and not in *pluta*. Incidentally, a replacement in *ā* may also be followed with *r* (6.1.91 *upasargād ṛti dhātau*).

### 6.1.89 एत्येधन्त्यूरुत्सु

*etyedhatyūt̥hsu*  
*/ etyedhatyūt̥hsu 7/3 = etiś ca edhatiś ca ūt̥ ca = etyedhatyūt̥hah* (itar. dv.),  
*teṣu/*  
*(samhitāyām #72 aci #77 ekaḥ pūrvaparayoh #84 āt 87 vṛddhir eci #88)*  
*avarṇāt paro ya in gatau ity etasya ec, edha vṛddhau ūt̥ ity etayoś ca yo'c,*  
*eteṣu ca pūrvo yo' varṇas tayoḥ pūrvaparayor varṇācoh sthāne vṛddhir ekādeśo*  
*bhavati*

A single replacement in *vṛddhi* comes in place of both, the *a* which precedes a sound denoted by *eC* and the *eC* which follows this *a*, provided *samhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

*upaiti* = *upa* + *eti*  
*upaisi* = *upa* + *esi*  
*upaimi* = *upa* + *emi*  
*upaidhate* = *upa* + *edhate*  
*praiddhate* = *pra* + *edhate*  
*praśṭhauhah* = *praśṭha* + *ūhah*

*praṣṭhauhā* = *praṣṭha* + *ūhā*  
*praṣṭhauhe* = *praṣṭha* + *ūhā* + *Ne*

1. Note that *vṛddhi*, *eci* and *āt* are all carried over. The word *eci* can only qualify *eti*. A qualifier must be capable of being removed, or else, be deviating (*vyabhicāra*). Such a deviation is not possible (*sambhava*) in connection with *edhA* since it is always found as beginning with *eC*. There is no sense in saving an *edhA* which begins with *eC*. This qualification of *eC*, in case of *ūTH*, is impossible (*asambhava*). The *i* of *iN* may, or may not, yield an *e*. This *e* can then be specified by *eci*. A *tadādividhi* interpretation (*paribhāṣā* (34): *yasmin vidhau tadādāv algrahane*) will yield the following meaning: . . . when *a* occurs followed either by the *eC* of *iN*, or by the *aC* of *edh* or *ūth*.

Thus, consider *upa* + *eti* → *upaiti*, *upa* + *edhate* → *upaidhate* and *praṣṭha* + *ūhā* → *praṣṭhauhā*. This rule is an exception to 6.1.94 *eni pararūpam*, whereby a sequence of prefixal *a*, or *ā*, followed by the root-initial *e*, or *o*, is replaced with a single form similar to the following. It can, however, not be accepted as an exception to 6.1.95 *omānoś ca* which also orders *pararūpa*, under fairly similar conditions. For, this rule is a prior exception (*purastāpavāda*) and hence, *purastāpavādā anantarān vidhīn bādhante nottarān* (PS: 60) ‘prior exceptions block most immediate provisions and not any subsequent’.

Now consider *praṣṭhauhā*, where affix *NvI* is introduced after *vah*, used in conjunction with *praṣṭha*. We thus get *praṣṭha* + *vah* + (*NvI* →  $\emptyset$ ), where affix *NvI* gets deleted after *vṛddhi*, yielding *praṣṭha* + (*v(a* → *āh*) + (*NvI* →  $\emptyset$ )) = *praṣṭhavāh*. Rule 6.4.132 *vāh ūth* orders *samprasārana* and related operations on a string, for example, *prauṣṭhavāh* + (*N*) *as*, yielding *praṣṭha* (*v* → *ū*(*TH*) *āh*) + *as* → *praṣṭha* (*ū* + *ā* → *ū*) *h* + *as* = *praṣṭha* + *ūh* + *as*. Of course, we get a single long *ū* to replace the sequence *ū* + *ā*, through application of 6.1.107 *samprasārāṇāc ca*. Our present rule can now order the sequence *a* + *ū* to be replaced with a single *vṛddhi* substitute. We will thus get *prasth* (*a* + *ū* → *au*) *h* + *as* = *praṣṭhauhas*. Deriving *praṣṭhauhā* with *rutavavisarga* of *s* at the end of *praṣṭhauhas* is easy. We will similarly get *praṣṭhauhā* and *paṣṭhauhe* with nominal endings *Tā* and *Ne*, respectively.

2. This rule is an exception to *guṇa*, in the context of *ūth*, and of *pararūpa*, a replacement similar to the following (6.1.94 *eni pararūpam*), in the context of *e* of *eti* and *edhati*.

Why do we have to qualify *iN* as *ej(ādi)* ‘*eC*-initial’ for accomplishing *vṛddhi*? Consider *upetah*, derived with a single *e*-replacement for *a* + *i*, of *upa* + *itah*, where *itah* could be a derivate of *i* ending in *Kta* or *tas* (*LAT* → *tas*), third dual active. Our present rule could have ordered a single *vṛddhi*-replacement, instead. The result would have been a wrong form: *up(a + i → ai) ta* = \* *upaita*. This is why a qualified *iN* is required.

This same is also true of a qualified *edhA* in *pr(a + i → e) dhidhat* → *predidhat*, a *LUN*-derivate of causal *edhA*, used, for example in *mā bhavān predidhat* ‘please

sir do not cause it to grow'. Our present rule cannot order *vṛddhi* to yield a wrong form \**praividhat*, because *edhA* does not begin here with *e*. The negation of *mā* is used to indicate that augment *āT* is blocked here (6.4.74 *na mānyoge*).

3. The following are some *vārttika* proposals:

- (i) A single *vṛddhi* vowel comes as a substitute when *akṣa* follows *ūhini*. Thus, *akṣauhīṇī*.
- (ii) Also when *sva* is followed by *īra*, *īriṇā* and *īriṇī*. Thus, *svairam/ svairiṇī*, etc.
- (iii) A *vṛddhi* is also a single substitute when *pra* is followed by *ūḍha*, *ūḍhi*, *eṣa* and *eṣya*. Thus, *prauhah*, *prauḍhah*, *prauḍhīh*, *praisah*, *praiṣyah*.
- (iv) A *vṛddhi* is also a single substitute when an *a*-final word is followed by *rta*. Thus, *sukhena + ṛtah = sukhenāṛttah*, as against *sukhena + itah + sukhenetah*.
- (v) A single *vṛddhi* substitute is also desired when *r̥na* follows *pra*, *vatsatara*, *kambala* and *vasana*. Thus, *pra + r̥nam → prārṇam*, *vatsatara + r̥nam = vatsatarārṇam*, etc.
- (vi) Also when *r̥na* and *daśa* are followed by *r̥na*. Thus, *r̥nārṇam* and *daśārṇam*.

### 6.1.90 आटच

*āṭaś ca*

/ *āṭah* 5/1/ *ca* φ /

(*samhitāyām* #72 *aci* #77 *ekah pūrvaparayoh* #84 *vṛddhiḥ* #88)

*āṭah paro yo' c aci ca pūrvo ya āt, tayoḥ pūrvaparayor āḍacoh sthāne vrddhir ekādeśo bhavati*

A single *vṛddhi* vowel comes in place of both, a vowel which follows *āT* and the *āT* which precedes that vowel, when *samhitā* finds its scope.

#### EXAMPLES:

*aikṣiṣṭa* 'third person singular active *LUN*-derivate of *ikṣ* 'to see'

*aikṣata* 'third person singular active *LAṄ*-derivative of *ikṣ* 'to see'

*aikṣiṣyata* 'third person singular middle *LRṄ*-derivate of *ikṣ*'

*aubhīt* 'third singular active *LUN*-derivate of *ubh* 'to fill'

*ārdhnot* 'third singular active *LAṄ*-derivate of *rdh* 'to grow'

*aubjīt* 'third singular active *LUN*-derivate of *ubj* 'to press down, subdue'

1. Note that *eci* is no longer carired. The *āT* of *āṭah* refers here to augment *āT*, introduced by 6.4.72 *āḍ ajāḍinām*. A single *vṛddhi* substitute replaces the *ā*, of *āT*, and a vowel which may follow *āT*. Consider *aikṣiṣṭa*, *aikṣata* and *aikṣiṣyata*, forms of verbal root *ikṣ* 'to see' in *LUN*, *LAṄ* and *LRṄ*, respectively.

tively, where augment *āT* is introduced by 6.4.72 *ād ajādinām*. We get the initial *ai* of these forms as a single replacement of *ā* of *āT* and the *i* of *iks*. Refer to many derivates of *LUN*, *LAN* and *LRN* under the appendix of volumes II-III for additional details. A similar *vṛddhi* replacement of *ā + u* is found in *aubhīt* and *aubhīt*. A *vṛddhi* replacement in *ār* is found in *ārdhnot*, a *LUN* derivate of *ṛdhU* ‘to go’. All these examples would have gotten a replacement in *guṇa* if we did not have this rule.

2. The *ca* is not intended for attracting *vṛddhi* to this rule. It is for something additional (*adhikavidhānārtham*). It is used for blocking a single replacement similar to what follows (cf. 6.1.95 *omānoś ca* and 6.1.96 *usy apadāntāt*). We get *ausṛiyat*, *aukāriyat* and *audhīyat*.

### 6.1.91 उपसर्गादृति धातौ

*upasargād ṛti dhātāu*  
*/ upasargāt 5/1 ṛti 7/1 dhātāu 7/1 /*  
*(saṃhitāyām #72 aci #77 ekah pūrvaparayoh #84 āt #87 vṛddhih #88)*  
*avarṇāntād upasargād ṛkārādau parataḥ pūrvaparayoh sthāne vṛddhir ekādeśo bhavati*

A single *vṛddhi* replacement comes in place of both, an *a* at the end of a preverb and a *ṛ* at the beginning of a verbal root, when *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

#### EXAMPLES:

*upārcchati* = *upa + ṛcchati*  
*prārcchati* = *pra + ṛcchati*  
*upārdhnoti* = *upa + ḥdhnoti*

1. This rule allows a single *vṛddhi*-replacement for the final *a* of a preverb and initial *ṛ* of a verbal root. This is an exception to 6.1.87 *ād gunah*.

2. What is the purpose of stating *upasargāt* ‘after a preverb’? Consider *khaṭvā + ṛcchati* → *khaṭvarcchati* and *mālā + ṛcchati* → *mālarcchati*, where we find *guṇa* with a following *r* (*rapara*) since there is no preverb. Now consider *prarcchakah* of *prarcchako deśaḥ*, paraphrased as *pragātā ṛchakā asmād deśāt* ‘a place from where bears have departed’. There is no *vṛddhi* here. For, an *upasarga* is viewed as an *upasarga* in relation to a verb with which it is used. The *pra* of *prarcchakah* is related to *gam* of *gata* and not to *ṛch*. The *ṛ* of *ṛchaka* cannot facilitate *vṛddhi*.

The condition of a root beginning with *ṛ* is also necessary. Consider *upa + itaḥ* → *upetaḥ* where, because of a lack of *ṛ*, we do not get *vṛddhi*. The *taparakaraṇa* in *ṛti* is used to block *vṛddhi* in examples such as *upa + ṛkāriyatī* → *uparkāriyatī*. A *ṛ* qualified with *taparakaraṇa* in short (*hrasva*). The *ṛ* or *ṛkāriyatī* is long (*dīrgha*).

3. Why is the word *dhātāu* stated explicitly when it can be easily under-

stood in view of *upasargāt*. It is argued that *dhātau* is explicitly used so that an optional *prakṛtibhāva* ‘the state of originally was; non-sandhi’ of 6.1.128 *rtyakah* could be blocked. That is, the *prakṛtibhāva* of Śākalya will be blocked in the context of *r* of a *dhātu*.

### 6.1.92 वा सुप्यापिशले:

*vā supy āpiśaleḥ*  
*/vā ḡ supi 7/1 āpiśaleḥ 6/1/*  
*(saṃhitāyām #72 aci #77 ekaḥ pūrvaparayoh #84 āt #87 vṛddhiḥ #88*  
*upasargāt rti dhatau #91)*  
*subantāvayave dhātāv ṛkārādau parato' varṇāntād upasargāt pūrvaparayor*  
*āpiśaler ācāryasya matena vā vṛddhir ekādeśo bhavati*  
 A single *vṛddhi* replacement, in the opinion of Āpiśali, optionally comes in place of both, the final *a* of a preverb and the initial *r* of a verbal root, when *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

*uparsabhiyati* = *upa* + *ṛṣabhiyati*  
*upāṛṣabhiyati* = *upa* + *ṛṣabhiyati*  
*upalkāriyati* = *upa* + *lṛkāriyati*  
*upālkāriyati* = *upa* + *lṛkāriyati*

1. The word *āpiśali*, especially in view of *vā*, is used to denote respect (*pūjārtham*). For, it cannot denote option which *vā* already does.
2. Since a *dhātu* cannot be *subanta* ‘that which ends in a *sUP*’, the word *subanta* is interpreted as *dhātāvayava* ‘part of a verbal root’. Thus, we get the meaning *subantāvayave dhātau* ‘... when a *subanta* contained within a *dhātu* follows ...’. We get *ṛṣabha iva ācarati* = *ṛṣabhiyati* and *upa* + *ṛṣabhiyati* → *uparṣabhiyati* (*guna*) and *upāṛṣabhiyati* (*vṛddhi*). Similar interpretations apply to other examples.
3. A homogeneous relationship (*sāvarnya*) between *r* and *l* is again invoked here. That is, a reference with *r* also includes a reference to *l*. A replacement of *l*, similar to one of *r* followed by *r* (*rapara*), is also followed by *l* (*lapara*) in accord with the *Mahābhāṣya* (ad 1.1.50 *sthāne’ taratamah*).

### 6.1.93 औतोऽप्तसो:

*auto’ ḡ śasoh*  
*/ā (deleted 1/1) otah 5/1 amśasoh 7/2 (itar. dv.)/*  
*(saṃhitāyām #72 aci #77 ekaḥ pūrvaparayoh #84)*  
*oto’ mi śasi ca parataḥ pūrvaparayor ākāra ādeśo bhavati*  
 A single *ā* comes in place of both, the *o* which *am* and *Śas* follow and the *a* of *am* and *Śas* which follow *o*, when *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

## EXAMPLES:

*gām paśya* ‘see the cow’

*gāḥ paśya* ‘see cows’

*dyām paśya* ‘look towards heaven’

*dyāḥ paśya* ‘... heavens’

1. This rule allows a sequence of *o*, plus the *a* of *am* and *Śas*, to be replaced with *ā*. The *am*, because of its associated usage (*sāhacaryāt*) with *Śas* ‘accusative plural’, and also because of the *anuvṛtti* of *supi*, is interpreted as accusative singular. Consider *acino + am* and *asuno + am*, where, in deriving *acinavam* and *asunavam* ‘first person singular past imperfect active’ (*LĀN*) forms of *ciṄ* ‘heap’ and *suṄ* ‘to press out juice’, we get *am* as a replacement of *miP* ‘first person singular active’ (3.4.101 *tasthasthamipām* ...). We do not get a single replacement in *ā* because *am* is not the accusative singular nominal ending. Our proper examples will be *gām paśya* and *gāḥ paśya*, from *go + am* and *go + Śas*, respectively.

Now consider the pronominal *dyo* which also ends in *o*. An affix termed *sarvanāmasthāna* (1.1.43 *sud anapūmsakasya*) which may occur after it is desired to be marked with *N* as an *it* (7.1.90 *goto nit*). This *Nit* status would cause *vṛddhi*. Our present rule blocks this anticipated *vṛddhi* in favor of a replacement in *ā*. How come the *vṛddhi* of 7.1.90 *goto nit* does not block this *ātva* on the basis of *paratva* (1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe param kāryam*)? This rule will be left without any scope (*niravakāśa*) of application if *ātva* is blocked by *vṛddhi*.

## 6.1.94 एङ्गं पररूपम्

*eni pararūpam*

/ *eni* 7/1 *pararūpam* 1/1/

(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *ekāḥ pūrvaparayoh* #84 *āt* #87 *upasargād dhātau* #91)

*avarṇāntād upasargād enādau dhātau pūrvaparayoh pararūpam ekādeśo bhavati*

A single replacement, similar to the second of a vocalic sequence, comes in place of both the final *a* of a preverb and the initial *eṄ* (*e*, *o*) of a verb root, when *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

## EXAMPLES:

*upelayati* = *upa + elayati*

*prelayati* = *pra + elayati*

*uposati* = *upa + oṣati*

*prokhati* = *pra + okhati*

1. Note that *āt* and *upasargād rti dhātau* are carried over. This rule orders a replacement similar to the following of a vocalic sequence. It thus consti-

tutes an exception to 6.1.88 *vṛddhir eci*. Consider *elayati*, of *upelayati* and *prelayati*, where *il* ‘to inspire’ of the *curādi* group is used with causal *NiC* in the present (*LAT*). Thus, *il* + *NiC*→*eli*; *eli* + (*LAT*→*tiP*)→*eli* + *ŚaP* + *tiP*→*el(i→e→ay)* + *a* + *ti* = *elayati*. A single replacement in *o* can be seen in *up(a+o→o) śati* = *upośati* and *up(a+o→o) khati* = *upokhati*.

2. Some also carry *vā supy āpiśaleḥ*, via *anuvṛtti*. A single sentence interpretation (*ekavākyatā*), with *vā supy āpiśaleḥ* brought via *anuvṛtti*, will block a single substitute outside the context of *supi*. This, of course, is not desired (*iṣṭa*). A split interpretation (*yogavibhāga*) is therefore recommended. The first split rule will offer a single substitute obligatorily where the root is not a denominative. The second will make a single substitute optional where a denominative is involved. The first split rule will obviously not include the *subdhātāu* interpretation facilitated by the *anuvṛtti*. One must remember here that getting these two interpretations via *yogavibhāga* is not easy. Interpretation of the learned alone is our recourse (*vyākhyānam eva śrāṇam*).

3. Haradatta states that *pararūpa* in this rule is used for subsequent rule (*uttarārtha*). For this rule, *enī* itself is enough. The use of the word *rūpa* does not make sense (*cintya*). Consider 6.1.107 *ami pūrvah* where *pūrvaparayoh pūrvah* itself accounts for a single substitute similar to what precedes in a sequence. That is, with no use of *rūpa* (*PM ad Kāś.: sūtre pararūpagrahaṇam uttarārtham. iha tv enīty eva siddham-enī parata ekādeśo bhavatīti. rūpagrahaṇam cintyaprayojanam, tathā ca ‘ami pūrvah’ ity atra rūpagrahaṇam na kṛtam*).

4. Following *vārttika* proposals are made in the *Mahābhāṣya* in connection with *pararūpa*:

- (i) A *pararūpa*, as against *savarṇadīrgha*, is desired in *śaka + andhuh = skandhuh*, etc.
- (ii) A similar application is to be followed in deriving *sīmantah* from (*sīma (n→∅) + anta*) = *sīmanta* + *sU*, when the signification is ‘hair’.
- (iii) A following *eva* also goes through *pararūpa* when the sense is not *niyama* ‘restrictive provision’. Thus, *iha + eva→iheva* ‘here’, as against *ihaiva bhava* ‘be here (and not any place else)’.
- (iv) An optional *pararūpa* is ordered in compounds when *otu* and *oṣṭha* follow. Thus, *sthūlotuh/ sthūlautuh* ‘a fat cat’ and *bimboṣṭhi/ bimbauṣṭhi* ‘a female with her lips as red as Bimba fruits’.
- (v) A *pararūpa* should also be stated when *eman*, etc., follow in the Vedic. Thus, *apāṁ tvā + eman→apāṁ tveman* and *apāṁ + tvā + odman→apāṁ tvodman*.

### 6.1.95 ओमाङ्गोश्च

*omāñōś ca*

/ *omāñoh* 7/2 = *om ca āñ ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoh; ca φ/*

(*samhitāyām* # 72 *ekah pūrvaparayoh* #84 *āt* #87 *pararūpam* #94)

*avarṇāntād omi āni ca parataḥ pūrvaparayoh sthāne pararūpam ekādeśo bhavati*

A single replacement similar to the second of a vocalic sequence comes in place of both, the *a* which precedes and the *o* of *om* or the *ā* of *āN* which follow, when *samhitā* finds its scope.

#### EXAMPLES:

*kom ity avocat* 'said, 'kā + om = kom'

*yom ity avocat* 'said, 'yā + om = yom'

*odhā* = ā + ūdhā

*adyodhā* = adya + odhā

*kadodhā* = kadā + odhā

*tadodhā* = tadā + odhā

1. This rule carries the *anuvṛtti* of *āt*. Thus, a sequence of *a* followed by *o* of *om* and *ā* of the preverb *āN* is replaced with a single vowel similar to what follows (*pararūpa*). Consider *k(ā→o→o) m)*) = *kom ity avocat* 'who said Om' and *(ā + ū→o) dhā*) = *odhā*; *ady(a + o→o) dhā*) = *adyodhā*, etc., which are exceptions to 6.1.88 *vṛddhir eci*. Now consider *adya + arṣyāt* = *adyarṣyāt*, an exception to 6.1.100 *akah savarne dirghah*. A specification with *āN* is needed so that *pararūpa* is not blocked by *savarṇadirgha*.

#### 6.1.96 उस्यपदान्तात्

*usy apadāntāt*

/ *usi 7/1 apadāntāt 5/1 = padasya antah; na padāntah* (nañ. with int. *sas. tat.*), *tasmāt/*

(*samhitāyām #72 ekah pūrvaparayoh #84 āt #87 pararūpam #94*)

*avarṇād apadāntād usi pūrvaparayor ādgunāpavādah pararūpam ekādeśo bhavati*

A single replacement similar to the second of a vocalic sequence comes in place of both, a non-*pada* final *a* which precedes and the following *u* of *us* which follows, when *samhitā* finds its scope.

#### EXAMPLES:

*bhindyuḥ* = *bhindyā + us*

*chindyuḥ* = *chindyā + us*

*aduḥ* = *adā + us*

*ayuḥ* = *ayā + us*

1. Note that *us* refers here to the *Jus*-replacement of *jhi* 'third plural active ending' (3.4.108 *jher jus*, 3.4.110 *ātah*, etc.). This *pararūpa* is an exception to *guṇa* (6.1.87 *ād guṇah*).

2. The word *apadāntāt* qualifies *āt*. Thus, this replacement will be avail-

able when *a* will not be the final sound of a *pada*. Consider, *kā + usrā* and *kā + usitā* where *us* occurs after an *ā* which is occurring at the end of a *pada*. We thus get *guṇa*, in *kosrā* and *kośitā*, instead. The use of *apadāntāt* does not make much sense, especially when one considers *us*. What is this *us*? If it is an affixal replacement of *jhi* (3.4.108 *jher jus*), then it must be occurring at the end of a non-*pada*. Thus, the negation of *apadāntāt* does not make much sense. If *us* is something else, for example the syllable *us*, then a counter-example such as *kośitā* makes sense. May be *apadāntāt* is used for subsequent rules.

### 6.1.97 अतो गुणे

*ato guṇe*

/ *ataḥ* 5/1 *guṇe* 7/1/

(*samhitāyām* #72 *ekah pūrvaparayoh* #84 *pararūpam* #94 *apadāntāt* #96)  
*akārād apadāntād guṇe parataḥ pūrvaparayoh sthāne pararūpam ekādeśo bhavati*

A single replacement similar to the second of a vocalic sequence comes in place of both, a non-*pada* final *a* which precedes and a *guṇa* vowel which follows the *a*, when *samhitā* finds its scope.

#### EXAMPLES:

*pacanti* 'third person plural LAT-derivate of *pac* 'to cook'

*yajanti* '... *yaj* 'to sacrifice'

*pace* 'first singular middle LAT-derivate of *pac*'

*yaje* '... of *yaj*'

1. The first two examples, i.e., *pac + a + anti* → *pacanti* and *yaj + a + anti* = *yajanti*, illustrate that this rule is an exception to *savarṇadīrgha* (6.1.100 *akah savarṇe dīrghah*). The next two, i.e., *pac + a + e* = *pace* and *yaj + a + e* → *yaje*, illustrate that it is also an exception to *vṛddhi* (6.1.88 *vṛddhir eci*).

2. A question is raised against treating this rule as an exception to *savarṇadīrgha*. For, this exception rule (*apavāda*) falls in between (*madhye*) 6.1.88 *vṛddhir eci* and 6.1.101 *akah savarṇe dīrghah*. That is, an exception placed in between must block a prior provision and not any subsequent ((PŚ 61): *madhye pavādāḥ pūrvān vidhīn bādhante nottarān*). This rule should be treated as an exception to *vṛddhi* alone. Commentators explain that an explicit mention of *guṇe* in this rule enables it to also become an exception to 6.1.100 *akah savarṇe dīrghah*. For, if *guna* was not mentioned for blocking 6.1.100 *akah savarṇe dīrghah*, this rule should then have been formulated simply as *ato padāntāt*. A single substitute in *e* for the vocalic sequence of *a + e* could then have been accomplished by bringing *eni*, via *anuvṛtti*. The next rule could have been then formed as *jusi ca* to account for instances of *Jus* with the *anuvṛtti* of *apadāntāt*. This then would have covered everything. Note

that formulations such as these would also be economical. But Pāṇini, with explicit use of *guṇe*, chose otherwise.

Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita invokes *purastāpavādanyāya* in connection with this rule. He thinks that a prior exception (*purastāpavāda*), for example this rule, should block only an immediately following (*anantara*) provision, i.e., 6.1.100 *akah savarṇe dīrghaḥ*. It can then, in view of *purastāpavāda*, not be an exception to 6.1.101 *prathamayoh . . .* (SK: *purastāpavādā anantarān vidhīn bādhante nottarān iti nyāyena 'akah savarṇa' ity asyaivāpavādo na tu 'prathamayoh . . . ' ity asyāpi*).

3. Why do we require a non-*pada*-final (*apadānta*) short *a*? So that *pararūpa* does not apply in *yānti*, etc., where *ā* of *yā + anti*, is long. The condition of a following *guṇa* is necessary so that *pararūpa* can be blocked in examples such as *apaca + i → apace*. The word *pace* derives via a single *guṇa* replacement of 6.1.87 *ād guṇah*.

Why is a *guṇa* vowel required to occur after a non-*pada*-final *a*? So that this *pararūpa* could be blocked in favor of *savarṇadīrgha*. Consider *dāṇḍa + agram → dāṇḍāgram*, where the *a* of *dāṇḍa* is treated as occurring at the end of a *pada*, via *pratyayalakṣaṇaṇa* (1.1.62 *pratyayalope pratyayalakṣaṇam*).

### 6.1.98 अव्यक्तानुकरणस्यात् इती

*avyaktānukaraṇasyāt itau*  
*/avyaktānukaraṇasya 6/1 = na vyaktah = avyaktah; avyaktasya anukaraṇam (śaṣ. tat.), tasya/*  
*(samhitāyām #72 ekaḥ pūrvaparayoh #84 pararūpam #94)*  
*avyaktānukaraṇasya yo' c chabdas tasmād itau pūrvaparayoh sthāne para-*  
*rūpam ekādeśo bhavati*

A single replacement similar to the second of a sequence comes in place of both, the *at* of an inaudible imitation (echo; *avyaktānukaraṇa*) which precedes and the *i* of *iti* which follows, provided *samhitā* finds its scope.

#### EXAMPLES:

*paṭat iti = paṭiti*  
*ghaṭat iti = ghaṭiti*  
*jhaṭat iti = jhaṭiti*

1. The word *avyakta* of *avyaktānukaraṇa* is explained as *aparisphuṭ* ‘not clearly articulated’. Of course, that barely articulated form will become articulated when imitated. For example, *paṭat* was articulated as an imitation of a barely audible *paṭat*. This *at* when followed by *iti* will, with the following *i*, be replaced with *i* to yield *paṭ(at + i → i)ti = paṭiti*. We similarly get *jhaṭ(at + i)ti = jhaṭiti*.

Why do we have the condition of *avyaktānukaraṇāt*? Consider *jagat + iti =*

*jagad iti*, where *at + i* cannot be replaced with *i* because *jagat* is not an inarticulate expression. Why after *at*? Consider *maraṭ + iti*→*marad iti* where *i* occurs after *at*. Similar purpose is served by the following *iti*. Consider *paṭat + atra* where the absence of *iti* disallows this replacement.

A *vṛttika* proposes that an *avyaktānukarāṇa* which consists of more than one vowel alone should be allowed for purposes of this rule. Thus, *srat + iti* should not be allowed to yield *sriti*. Why do we not allow *pararūpa* in *ghaṭad iti* of *ghaṭad iti gambhiram ambudair naditam* ‘*ghaṭad* was thus a deep sound made by clouds?’ Because this *anukarāṇa* does not have *at*. It has *ad*, instead.

### 6.1.99 नाम्रेडितस्यान्त्यस्य तु वा

*nāmreditasyāntasya tu vā*

/ *na* φ *āmreditasya* 6/1 *antyasya* 6/1 *tu* φ *vā* φ /

(*samhitāyām* #72 *ekah pūrvaparayoh* #84 *pararūpam* #94 *avyaktānukarāṇasyāta itau* #98)

*avyaktānukarāṇasyāmreditasya yo' c chabda itau tasya pararūpam na bhavati*

A single replacement similar to the second of a sequence does not come in place of both, the preceding *at* of an inaudible imitation termed *āmredita* and the *i* of *iti* which follows, provided *samhitā* finds its scope. The final *t* of the *āmredita*, instead, goes through optional single replacement similar to what follows in the sequence.

#### EXAMPLES:

*paṭatpaṭad iti* = *paṭatpaṭa* (*a + i*→*i*) *ti* =

*paṭatpaṭ* (*a + i*→*e*) *ti* = *paṭatpaṭeti karoti*

*paṭatpaṭad iti karoti*

1. This rule first negates the provision of the preceding rule in the context of an *āmredita*, the following *pada* of a repeated sequence (8.1.2 *tasya paramāmreditam*; 8.1.1 *sarvasya due*). It then allows an optional single replacement for the final *t* with *iti*. Thus, we get *paṭat iti*→*paṭat + paṭa(t + i*→*i)* *ti* = *paṭatpaṭa + ti*→*paṭatpaṭ* (*a + i*→*e*) *ti* = *paṭatpateti paṭatpaṭa* (*t*→*d*) + *iti* + *paṭatpataditi*. Note that iteration is allowed by 8.1.4 *nityavīpsayoh*. We will get the first derivate through the application of *pararūpa* and 6.1.87 *ādgunāḥ*. We will get *paṭatpaṭad iti*, through *jaśtva* (*t*→*d*; 8.2.39 *jhalāṁ jas' nte*), if the option of *pararūpa* is not availed.

2. Note, however, that an imitation of a combination of words, for example *paṭatpaṭat*, cannot be allowed this option. Such combinations will be covered by the preceding rule to yield *paṭatpaṭa iti*→*paṭatpateti*.

3. Note that what the *Kāśikāvṛtti* lists as rule 6.1.100 *nityam āmreditē dāci* is a *vṛttika* (PM ad *Kāś.*: *vṛttikam evedam. vṛttikṛtā sūtrarūpena paṭhitam*). This *vṛttika* offers obligatory (*nitya*) *pararūpa* for the *t* of an echo such as *paṭat*, when an *āmredita* followed by *DāC* follows. Thus, given *paṭat + paṭat + (D) ā(C)*

= *paṭat* + *paṭat* + ā we get *paṭa*(*t* + *p*→*p*) *aṭat* + ā. This, through the application of *ti*-deletion (6.4.143 *teḥ*) of the final *at*, produces *paṭapaṭ* (*at*→∅) + ā = *paṭapata* as in *paṭapata karoti*. ‘. . . sounds *paṭapata*’. An additional example is: *damadama* *karoti*. It is important to remember that deletion of *ti* should follow iteration. That is, iteration is accomplished in anticipation of *DāC*, and *ti*-deletion follows after *pararūpa*. The locative of *dāci*, in the *vārtika* proposal, is consequently interpreted as denoting *viṣaya* ‘domain’. Incidentally, *DāC* cannot be allowed if the echo word is followed by *iti*.

Recall that 5.4.57 *avyaktānukaranād dvyajavarārdhād anitau dāc* introduces *DāC* where, in consonance with *dāci vivakṣite due bahulam*, we also get doubling.

### 6.1.100 अकः सवर्णे दीर्घः

*akah savarne dīrghāḥ*

/ *akah* 6/1 *savarne* 7/1 *dīrghah* 1/1/

(*samhitāyām* #72 *aci* #77 *ekah pūrvaparayoh* #84)

*akah savarne' ci parataḥ pūrvaparayoh sthāne dīrgha ekādeśo bhavati*

A single vowel comes as a replacement in place of both, a vowel denoted by the abbreviatory term *aK* and a vowel homogeneous (*savarṇa*) with it that follows, when *samhitā* finds its scope.

#### EXAMPLES:

*dandāgram* = *dandā* + *agram*

*dadhindrah* = *dadhi* + *indrah*

*madhudake* = *madhu* + *udake*

*hotṛṣyah* = *hotṛ* + *ṛṣyah*

1. This rule provides for a single long replacement for both, a preceding vowel denoted by the abbreviatory term *aK* (*a/i/u/ṛ/l*) and the homogeneous (*savarṇa*) vowel which follows. The condition of *akah* is required so that, given *agni* + (*N*) *e*→*agni*(*i*→*e*) + *e* = *agne* + *e*, through *it*-deletion and application of 7.3.111 *gher niti* (read with 1.4.7 *śeṣo ghy asakhi*), we get *agn(e→ay)* + *e* = *agnaye*, through the application of 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvah*. That is, a single long replacement cannot take place here because *e* falls outside the denotata of *aK*. A sequence of two words, for example *dadhi* + *atra*, will yield *dadh(i→y)* + *atra* = *dadhyatra* through application of 6.1.77 *iko yan aci* since *i* of *dadhi* is not homogeneous with the *a* of *atra*. This shows why we need the condition of *savarne*. The condition of *aci* is imposed so that the application of this rule could be blocked in examples such as *kumārī* + *śetew* where 1.1.10 *nājjhalau* is brought to block homogeneous relationship between a vowel and a consonant.

2. Some claim that 1.1.10 *nājjhalau* can still not be able to block homogeneous relationship between *i* and *ś*. For, rule 1.1.69 *anuditsavarṇasya*

*cāpratyayah*, read with 1.1.9 *tulyāsyaprayatnam savarnam*, allows a sound denoted by *aN*, i.e., *a/i/u/r/l/e/o/ai/au/h/y/v/r/l* to denote sounds homogeneous with them. The homogeneity (*sāvarṇya*) between *i* and *ś* thus cannot be impaired. It is argued that a *vākyā*, here a rule, cannot apply within its specified scope unless the scope is fully cognized. The scope of application of 1.1.69 *anuditsavarnasya . . .* still remains to be cognized at the time when 1.1.9 *tulyāsyaprayatnam savarnam* is cognized. Consequently, 1.1.69 *anuditsavarnasya cāpratyayah* cannot block the provision of 1.1.9 *nājjhalau*. Besides, the *ac* of 1.1.9 *nājjhalau*, for reason of its cognitive association with the inventory of sounds (*varṇasamāmānāya; Śivasūtras 1–14*), will denote only nine vowels, *a/i/u/r/l/e/o/ai/au*, as listed. Rule 1.1.69 *anuditsavarnasya cāpratyayah* will then have to apply, leaving aside the scope of application of 1.1.9 *nājjhalau*. Furthermore, note that *sāvarṇya* is specified with *aC*. Consequently, *aci* is read (via *anuvṛtti*) in the wording of this rule. For, in its absence, a long replacement will find its scope in *kumārī śete* where *i* and *ś* can be accepted as homogeneous.

This rule is an exception to 6.1.84 *ād gunāḥ*, insofar as *a* is concerned. Elsewhere, it is an exception to 6.1.74 *iko yañ aci*.

2. A *vārttika* proposal allows a replacement in long *r̥* optionally with *rr̥*, a special sound, when a short *r̥* is followed by its homogeneous counterpart (*savarnadīrghatve ṛti rr̥ vā vacanam*). Thus, *hotr̥ + ṛkārah*→*hotṛkkārah* and *hotṛkkārah*.

A similar *vārttika* proposal also allows for optional *l̥* when *l̥* follows. Thus we get *hotr̥ + lkārah*→*hotllkārah*. A long replacement is not possible because *l̥* does not exist.

Incidentally, what is provided by these *vārttika* proposals consists of the duration of two moras (*mātrā*) each. There are two *r* and *l* sounds in the middle with 1/2 *mātrā* each. The vowels on each side carry 1/2 mora each. Refer to the *SK* ('*ṛti rr̥ vā*', '*l̥ l̥ vā*'ity *ubhayatrāpi vidheyam varnadvayam dvimātram. ādyasya madhye dvau rephau, taylor ekā mātrā. abhito' jbhakter aparā. dvitīyasya tu madhye dvau lakārau śeṣam prāgvat*) for additional details. Such usages are very rare.

### 6.1.101 प्रथमयोः पूर्वसवर्णः:

*prathamayoh pūrvasavarṇah*

/ *prathamayoh* 7/2 *pūrvasavarṇah* 1/1 = *pūrvasya savarnah* (śas. tat.)

(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *aci* #77 *ekah pūrvaparayoh* #84 *akah dīrgah* #100)

*prathamāyām dvitīyāyām ca vibhaktāv aci akah pūrvaparayoh sthāne pūrvasavarṇadīrga ādeśo bhavati*

A single long vowel, homogeneous with what precedes, comes in place of both—a vowel denoted by *aK* and an *aC* of *prathamā* ‘first triplet, nominative’ and *dvitīyā* ‘second triplet, accusative’ that follows this *aK*, when *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

## EXAMPLES:

*agnī*  
*vāyū*  
*vṛkṣāḥ*  
*vṛkṣān*

1. The word *prathamayoh* is interpreted as a compound parallel to *prathamā* *ca prathamā ca = prathame*, where only one *prathamā* is retained (*ekaśeṣa*). The first *prathamā*, of course, refers to the first triplet of nominal endings *sU, au, Jas*. The next *prathamā* is interpreted as referring to first among remaining triplets of nominal endings. Thus, *prathame* of *prathamayoh* refers to *prathamā* and *dvitīyā* nominal endings: *sU, au, Jas* and *am, auT, Śas*, respectively. The dual in *prathamayoh* also brings *dvitīyā* within the denotatum of *prathamā*, by association (*sāñacarya*). Or else, as Haradatta (*PM ad Kāś*) suggests, *supi* of 6.1.92 *vā supy āpiśaleḥ* should be carried to make *prathame* to refer to *sU, au, Jas* and *am, auT, Śas*, the first two triplets of *sUP*.

2. Why does 6.1.97 *ato guṇe* not apply to cause a single substitute similar in form to the following *a* of *Jas* and *Śas* in *vṛkṣāḥ* and *vṛkṣān*, the nominative and accusative plural forms of *vṛkṣa* ‘tree’. Commentators explain that a prior exception (*purastāpavāda*), such as the *pararūpa* of 6.1.96 *ato guṇe*, can only block the most immediate provision such as the *savarṇādirgha* of 6.1.100 *akaḥ savarne dirghah* and not any subsequent, for example, the *pūrvasavarṇādirgha* of this rule (*PS: 60*) *purastāpavādā anantarān viḍhīn bādhante nottarān*. Our present rule will block the application of 6.1.100 *akaḥ savarne dirghah* on the basis of *niravakāśatva* ‘no scope of application’.

The word *pūrva* is used in this rule to block a replacement similar to what follows (*parasavarṇa*), in an example such as *agni + au*. The condition of *aci* ‘when *aC* follows’ is required to exclude *vṛkṣa + sU → vṛkṣāḥ* and *plakṣa + sU → plakṣāḥ*, where *s* of *sU* is not a vowel. The condition of *akaḥ* ‘after a sound denoted by *aK*’ is also required so that given *nau + au*, where *au* of *nau* is not included within the denotatum of *aK*, a single replacement is blocked. We thus get *n(au → āv) + au → nāvau* through 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvah*. The word *dirghah* is required so that a corresponding *pluta* ‘extra-long’ vowel homogeneous with what precedes can be blocked from coming as a single substitute.

## 6.1.102 तस्माच्छसोः नः पुण्सि

*tasmāc chaso nah puṇṣi*  
*/ tasmāt 5/1 śasah 6/1 nah 1/1 puṇsi 7/1/*  
*(samhitāyām #72 pūrvasavarṇāḥ #101)*  
*tasmāt pūrvasavarṇādirghād uttarasya śaso' vayavasya sakārasya puṇsi*  
*nakārādeśo bhavati*

The *s* of Šas which occurs after a long vowel replacement homogeneous with what precedes is replaced with *n* in the masculine.

**EXAMPLES:**

*vṛkṣān* ‘accusative plural of *vṛkṣa* ‘tree’’

*agnin* ‘... *agni* ‘fire’’

*vāyūn* ‘... *vāyu* ‘wind’’

*kartṛn* ‘... *kartṛ* ‘doer’’

*śandakān* ‘... *śandaka* ‘eunuch’’

*sthūrakān* ‘... *sthūraka* ‘man’’

1. Note that *tad* of *tasmāt*, a variable, refers to the single replacement accomplished by our preceding rule. For, that alone could be the most proximate antecedent available. The genitive in *śasoh* is interpreted as denoting *avayava* ‘part of a whole’. That is, *n* comes in place of a part of Šas. Actually, the *n* will come in place of the *s* of Šas because the *a* of Šas, as in *vṛkṣa* + (Ś) as → *vṛkṣ(a + a→ā)s* = *vṛkṣās*, would have already been replaced as part of a single long replacement in *ā*. We will thus get *vṛkṣ(s→n)* = *vṛkṣān*. Words such as *vṛkṣān*, *agnin*, *vāyūn*, *kartṛn*, *hartṛn*, *śandakān*, and *pañdhakān* offer additional examples, all with their denotatum qualified with masculine (*pum̄si*). The condition of *tasmāt* is required so that *n*-replacement does not apply in an example such as *etān carato gāh paśya* ‘look at these grazing bulls’. In the absence of stating *tasmāt*, we will get a replacement in *n* (*natva*) in masculine, whenever, in the context of *ekāḥ pūrvaparayoh*, a replacement in *ā* (6.1.93 *auto'ṁśasoh*) is to be accomplished. We will not get *natva* if *tasmāt* is read in relation to *pravasavarnadīrgha* ‘a long replacement homogeneous with what precedes’.

The word *pum̄si* is interpreted here in two ways: (i) a replacement in *n* is allowed only when multiplicity (*bahutva*) of males (*puruṣa*) is denoted; a replacement in *n* is allowed when multiplicity is denoted by Šas, introduced after a base in masculine? There are problems in both views. The first will not allow a replacement in *n* in *bhrukumṣān* where *bhrukumṣa* denotes a male dancer dressed like a woman. For, Šas then will not be denoting plurality of men. Worse yet, the first view will also allow a replacement in *cañcāḥ* ‘scarecrow’ where *cañcā* is a derivate of *kaN* (5.3.96 *ive pratikṛtau*), subsequently deleted by 5.3.98 *lupi manusye*. A deletion by *LUP* will occasion the application of 1.2.51 *lupi yuktavad vyaktivacane*. We can still not get rid of feminine even though the denotatum is masculine.

The second view is not free of problems either. Consider *sthūrakān* parallel to *sthūrāyāḥ apatyāni bahūni* where *sthūrā* is feminine ending in *TāP*. Affix *yaṄ* (4.1.105 *gargādibhyo yaṄ*) of *sthūrā* + *Nas* + *yaṄ* gets deleted by 2.4.64 *yaṄañoś ca*. Affix *TāP* is also deleted subsequently by 1.2.49 *luk taddhitāluki*. The word *sthūra* is still feminine. Hence, no replacement in *n*. The same

problem is faced by *ararakān*. It is to resolve such problems that *pumṣi* is interpreted as denoting ‘when the sense of *pum* ‘male’ (*pumartha*) is denoted’. The *Mahābhāṣya* offers the following ślokavārttika:

*natvam pumsām bahutve cet pumśabdād isyate striyām/  
napuṇṣake tathaiveṣṭaṇ strīśabdāc ca prasajyate /  
pumśabdād iti ced iṣṭaṇ sthūrāpatye na sidhyati/  
kundīnyā arakāyāḥ pumṣprādhānyāt prasidhyati //  
pumṣprādhānye ta eva syur ye dosāḥ pūrvacoditāḥ/  
tasmād arthe bhaven natvam vadhrīkādiṣu yuktavat//*

2. The condition of Śas is required to block *n*-replacement, for example, in *vṛkṣa + Jas*→*vṛkṣāḥ*. The denotatum of *pumṣi* similarly blocks *n*-replacement in *kumāri*, *dhenūḥ* and *bahvīḥ*.

### 6.1.103 नादिचि

*nād ici*  
*/na φ āt 5/1 ici 7/1/*  
*(saṁhitāyām #72 aci #77 ekah pūrvaparayoh #84 dīrghah #100 pūrvasavarnāḥ #101)*  
*avarṇād ici pūrvasavarnādīrgho na bhavati*

A long vowel replacement homogeneous with what precedes does not come in place of an *a* (short or long) and a following sound denoted by *iC*, when *saṁhitā* finds scope.

#### EXAMPLES:

*vṛkṣau* ‘nominative/accusative dual of *vṛkṣa*’  
*plakṣau* ‘... of *plakṣa*’  
*khaṭve* ‘... of *khaṭvā*’  
*kunde* ‘... of *kundā*’

1. This rule negates a single long replacement similar to the preceding, when what precedes is an *a* or *ā*. Consider *vṛkṣa + au*→*vṛkṣau* where, because of this negation, we get a single *vṛddhi* replacement (6.1.88 *vṛddhir ecī*). Now consider *khaṭvā + au*→*khaṭve* where 7.1.18 *auñ āpāḥ* applies to yield *khaṭvā + (au→(Ś)ī)* = *khaṭvā + ī*. Rule 6.1.87 *ād gunāḥ* then-offers a single *guna* replacement to produce *khaṭv(ā + ī→e)* = *khaṭve*. This same applies to *kunde* where Ś is introduced by 7.1.19 *napuṇṣakāc ca*. These illustrate how negating a *pūrvasavarnādīrgha* results into application of a single *guna* replacement.

2. The condition of *āt* ‘after an *a* or *ā*’ is required so that a single long replacement can be blocked in examples such as *agni + au*→*agnī*, where *au* occurs after *i*. The condition of *ici* ‘when a sound denoted by *iC* follows’ is required so that *pūrvasavarnādīrgha* cannot be blocked in examples such as *vṛkṣa + Jas*→*vṛkṣāḥ*.

### 6.1.104 दीर्घाज्जसि च

*dīrghāj jasi ca*

/dīrghāt 5/1 jasi 7/1 ca φ/

(*samhitāyām* #72 *ekah pūrvaparayoh* #84 *dīrghah* #100 *pūrvasavarnah* #101 *na ici* #103)

*dīrghāj jasi ici ca parataḥ pūrvasavarnadīrgho na bhavati*

A single long vowel homogeneous with the preceding also does not come in place of both, the long vowel which precedes and the vowel of *Jas* or *iC* which follow, when *samhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

*kumāryau* ‘nominative dual of *kumārī* ‘girl’’

*kumāryah* ‘nominative plural . . .’

*brahmabandhvau* ‘nominative dual of *brahmabandhū*’

*brahmabandhvah* ‘nominative plural . . .’

1. This rule negates *pūrvasavarnadīrgha* ‘a long replacement homogeneous with what precedes in a vocalic sequence’, also when a long vowel, other than ā (6.1.103 *nād ici*), is followed by *iC* and *Jas* ‘nominative plural’. Consider *kumārī* + *au* → *kumār(i→y)* + *au* = *kumāryau* and *kumārī* + (*j*) *as* → *kumār(i→y)* + *as* = *kumāryas(s→r→h)* = *kumāryah*, where 6.1.77 *iko yan aci* applies in the absence of *pūrvasavarnadīrgha*. Similar derivational provisions are also applicable to *brahmabandhū* + *au* → *brahmabandhvau* and *brahmabandhū* + *Jas* → *brahmabandhvah*.

2. The *anuvṛtti* of ā is suspended so that the negation can apply after any long vowel. The long ā of āT will be included within the reference of *dīrghāt*. The *ca* is then used to attract *ici*. The word *dīrghāt* is used so that the *guna* application of rules 7.3.109 *jasi ca* and 7.3.110 *rto niśarvanāmaśṭhānayoh* can be saved from over application (*atiprasaṅga*). The condition of *Jas* is required so that this negation does not apply to *kumārīḥ paśya* and *vadhūḥ paśya*, which both are instances of Šas ‘accusative dual’.

### 6.1.105 वा छन्दसि

*vā chandasī*

/vā φ chandasī 7/1/

(*samhitāyām* #72 *ekah pūrvaparayoh* #84 *dīrghah* #100

*pūrvasavarnah* #101 *na ici* #103 *dīrghāj jasi ca* #104)

*dīrghāc chandasī viśaye jasi ca ici ca parato vā pūrvasavaṇadīrgho na bhavati*

A single long vowel homogeneous with the preceding does not, in the Vedic, optionally come in place of both, the long vowel which precedes and the *Jas* or *iC* which follow, when *samhitā* finds scope.

EXAMPLES:

*mārūtih* = *māruti* + Šas ‘accusative plural of *māruti*’

*mārutyah* ‘optional Šas-derivate’

*pīṇḍih* = *pīṇḍi* + Šas ‘accusative plural of *pīṇḍi*’

*pīṇḍyah* ‘optional ūśas-derivate’

*vārāhī* ‘modification of *varāha* = *vārāhī* + *au*

*vārāhyau* ‘optional derivate with *au*’

*upānahī* ‘shoe; *upānahī*

*upānahyau* ‘derivate with *au*’

1. This Vedic option of *pūrvasavarnadīrgha* is offered in favor of 6.1.77 *iko yan aci*. Our earlier rule offers negation of *pūrvasavarnadīrgha*, obligatorily (*nitya*).

### 6.1.106 अमि पूर्वः:

*ami pūrvah*

/ *ami* 7/1 *pūrvah* 1/1/

(*samhitāyām* #72 *ekah pūrvaparayoh* #84 *akah* #100)

*ami parato'kah pūrvaparayoh sthāne pūrvarūpam ekādeśo bhavati*

A single replacement similar to the preceding comes in place of both, a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *ak* which precedes and the *a* of *am*, when *am* follows and *samhitā* finds scope.

EXAMPLES:

*vrkṣam*

*plakṣam*

*agnim*

*vāyum*

1. Why do we have to state *pūrvah* in this rule when it is already available via *anuvṛtti*. Carrying *pūrvah* from the preceding rule will also mean carrying *savarṇah*. This can create problems in determining the quality of a replacement. Consider *kumārī* + *am* → *kumārīm*, where the *sthānis* ‘item(s) to be replaced’, i.e., *i* + *a*, together carry the duration of three *mātrās* ‘moras’. Since a replacement must be most similar to what it replaces (1.1.50 *sthāne’ ntaratamah*), the *i* which replaces *i* + *a* must also carry the duration of three *mātrās*. The correct replacement is an *i* carrying only two *mātrās*. The use of the word *pūrva* restricts the exact nature of the replacement. How? The word *pūrva*, without any association with *savarṇa*, simply means ‘(identical with) what precedes’ and not ‘homogeneous with what precedes’. Consequently, our present rule only allows a replacement which is identical in quality with the preceding sound denoted by *ak* (*Nyāsa ad Kāś: yathājātiyakah pūrvas tathājātiyaka eva yathā syād ity evam artham pūrvagrahanam*).

Why is *dīrghāt* not carried to this rule? Because *pūrvah* introduces something new (*ārambhāsāmarthyāt*) which may be incompatible with it.

2. Some also carry the *anuvṛtti* of 6.1.106 *vā chandasi*, whereby optional application of 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* can account for *śamīm/śamyam* and *gaurīm/gauryam* in *śamīm paśya/śamyam paśya* and *gaurīm paśya/gauryam paśya*. This, however, is done with split-interpretation (*vākyabhedā*) of *vā chandasi*. For, a single sentence interpretation (*ekavākyatā*) of this rule with the inclusion, especially of *vā* with *chandasi*, will create problems in the classical usage where a replacement identical with the preceding (*pūrvah*) alone is desired.

3. It is stated that *dīrghāt* should also be carried here (*Nyāsa ad Kāśikā: dīrgha iti cehānuvarttate, anyathā hidam vacanam anarthakam syāt*). Perhaps we must correct *cehānuvarttate* ‘is also carried here’ to read as: *nehānuvarttate* ‘is not carried here’. Haradatta (*PM ad Kāś*) rightly states that *dīrghāt iti nānuvarttate . . . ‘dīrghāt is not carried . . .’*.

### 6.1.107 सम्प्रसारणाच्च

*samprasāraṇāc ca*

/ *samprasāraṇāt* 5/1 *ca* φ /

(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *aci* #77 *ekaḥ pūrvaparayoh* #84 *pūrvah* #106)

*samprasāraṇād aci parataḥ pūrvaparayoh sthāne pūrvarūpam ekādeśo bhavati*

A single replacement similar to the preceding comes in place of both, the preceding *samprasāraṇa* vowel and the vowel which follows, when *saṃhitā* finds scope.

EXAMPLES:

*iṣṭam* ‘(*yaj + Kta*) + *sU'*

*uptam* ‘(*vap + Kta*) + *sU'*

*grhītam* ‘(*grah + Kta*) + *sU'*

1. This rule offers a single replacement identical with the preceding in place of a *samprasāraṇa* vowel which precedes and a vowel which follows it. Thus, we get (*y→i*) *aj + ta→iaj + ta→(ia→i)j + ta = ij + ta→i(j→s) + ta→is + (t→t) a = iṣṭa*; (*v→u*) *ap + ta→(ua→u)p + ta = up + ta* and *grah + iT + ta→g(r→r) ah + i + ta→g(rā→r)h + i + ta→grh + (i→ī) + ta = grhīta*, etc. Note that the *i* of *grh + i + ta* is replaced with its long counterpart by 6.4.2 *halah*. The *j* of *ij* is replaced with *s* by 8.2.36 *vaścabhrasjsy*. . . . The *t* of *is + (t→t) = iṣṭa* goes through *ṣṭutva* (8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuh*).

2. How come we do not get a single replacement identical with the preceding in *sakahvau* ‘those two who are challenging the Śaka’ and *sakahvartham* ‘for one who challenges the Śaka’ at the stage when the strings are *śakahū + au* and *śakahū + artham*? We find that *ū* and *au* of *sakahvau* and *ū* and *a* of *sakahvartham* are not part of the same base that contains the *samprasāraṇa* vowel. Consider the derivation of *śakahū*, from *śakahvā + KvIP*, where the *v*

of *śakahvā* goes through *samprasāraṇa*. The resultant, i.e., *śakah(v→u)ā* = *śakahuā*, gets its *uā* replaced with a long *ū* to yield *śakahū*. The *ū* of *śakahū* will be considered as *pūrvasavarṇa* in view of 6.1.85 *āntādivac ca*. This single replacement is possible because *uā* are part of the same base which contains the *samprasāraṇa* vowel. A single replacement cannot apply to *ū + au*, of *śakahū + a* and *u*, since these two vowels both are not internal (*antaraṅga*). A non-application of this rule, for accomplishing a single replacement, cannot make it vacuous since this rule has already applied, and thus has established its scope of application (in deriving *śakahū*, etc.). As a consequence, *śakahvau* and *śakahvartham* involve the application of 6.1.77 *iko yan aci*, instead.

### 6.1.108 एङ्गः पदान्तादति

*eñah̄ padāntād ati*

/ *eñah̄ 5/1 padāntāt 5/1 (ṣaṣ. tat., tasmāt)* ati 7/1/

(*saṃhitāyām #72 ekaḥ pūrvaparayoh #84 pūrvah #106*)

*eñah̄ yah̄ padāntas tasmād ati parataḥ pūrvaparayoh sthāne pūrvavarupam ekādeso bhavati*

A single replacement similar to the preceding comes in place of both, a vowel denoted by *eṄ* and the *aT* which follows *eṄ*, when *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

#### EXAMPLES:

*agne' tra* 'O Agni, here'

*vāyo' tra* 'O Vāyu, here'

1. This rule forms an exception to 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvah*. Thus, given *agne* + *atra* and *vāyo* + *atra*, where *e* and *o* of *agne* and *vāyo* are *guna* replacements (7.3.108 *hrasvasya guṇah*) for *i* and *u* of *agni* and *vāyu*, we do not get *e* and *o* replaced with *ay* and *av*, respectively.

Since the single replacement of this rule obtains only after a vowel denoted by *eṄ*, *dadhi* + *atra* and *madhu* + *atra*, remain excluded from the scope of this rule. We get *dadhy atra* and *madhv atra*, instead. The condition of *padāntāt* as a qualification of *eṄ* blocks a single replacement in *ce + ana* and *lo + ana*, where *e* and *o* are again *guṇa* replacements of *i* and *u* of *ci* and *lu*. The results are: *c(i→e→ay) + ana = cayana* and *l(u→o→av) + ana = lavana*. The condition of a following short *a* is required so that this replacement does not apply in *bhāno + iti* and *vāyo + iti* which must produce *bhān(o→av) iti = bhānav iti* and *vāy(o→av) + iti = vāyav + iti*, through application of 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvah*. Note that the application of 6.1.78 can still not be blocked in deriving *vāy(u→o→av) āyāhi→vāyav āyāhi* and *bhān(u→o→av) āyāhi = bhānav āyāhi*, since what follows the *o* of *bhāno* and *vāyo* is the long *ā* of *āyāhi*. That is, it is not an *aT*, the vowel quality specified with the following *t*

(*taparakarana*; 1.1.70 *taparas tatkālasya*). This also shows why *taparakarana* is also needed.

### 6.1.109 डसिङ्ग-सोश्च

*ñasiñasōś ca*  
*/ñasi-ñasoh* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*) *ca*  $\phi$  /  
*(samhitāyām #72 ekaḥ pūrvaparayoh #84 pūrvah #106 enah ati #108)*  
*en uttarayor ñasiñasor ati parataḥ pūrvaparayoh sthāne pūrvarūpam ekādeśo*  
*bhavati*

A single replacement similar to the preceding comes in place of both, a vowel denoted by *eN* and the *aT* of *NasI* and *Nas* which follows *eN*, when *samhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

*agner āgacchati*  
*agneh svam*  
*vāyor āgacchati*  
*vāyoh svam*

1. This rule allows single replacements under the right condition of *a* of the nominal endings *NasI* ‘ablative singular’ and *Nas* ‘genitive singular’. Consider *agni* + (*N*) *asI* → *agni* + *as* and *vāyu* + *as*, where a *guna* application of 7.3.111 *gher niti* produces *agn(i→e) + as = agne + as* and *vāy(u→o) + as = vāyo + as*. A single replacement of this rule produces *agn(e+a→e)s* and *vāy(o+a→o)s = vāyos*. The *s* can then go through *rutva* or *rutva-visarga* to produce *agner* or *agneh* of *agner āgacchati* or *agneh svam*. This same also applies to *vāyos* of *vāyor āgacchati* and *vāyoh svam*.

The word *padāntātis* is not carried here because of impossibility (*asambhava*). That is, this single replacement is allowed only where *eN* does not occur at the end of a *pada*.

2. Note that since *eN* denotes two vowels and *NasI* and *Nas* denote an equal number of nominal endings, rule 1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhyam anudeśah samānām* cannot be invoked. That is, this single replacement cannot be limited only to instances where *e* constitutes the left condition for *NasI*, and *o* forms the left condition for *Nas*. For, this replacement is conditioned by the single right condition of *aT*, of course, of *NasI* and *Nas*. But *aT* is not the same. It belongs to two different endings. One can argue here that *yathāsaṃkhyā* can still not be invoked. For, the compound listing of *NasI* and *Nas* in *ñasiñasoh* becomes an indicator (*jñāpaka*). It indicates that *yathāsaṃkhyā* should not be invoked since Pāṇini does not formulate the rule as: *ñasiñaseś ca* as he does elsewhere following provisions of 2.2.34 *alpāc taram*. This reversal of order of *Nas* and *NasI* then must serve the special purpose of impairing *yathāsaṃkhyā*.

Actually, *NasI* and *Nas* do not go through provisions of this rule. It is, instead, their relatum (*sambandhi*) which does. Notice that *NasI* and *Nas* are two and are also part of the predicate. Accepting two predicates (*vidheya*) will offer an opportunity for *yathāsaṃkhya* ‘assigning equivalency in the order of enumeration’ to apply. Besides, *ca* will then not allow only one to be carried.

### 6.1.110 ऋत् उत्

*rta ut*

/ *rtaḥ* 5/1 *ut* 1/1

(*samhitāyām* #72 *ekah pūrvaparayoh* #84 *pūrvah* #106 *ati* #108 *nasiñasoh* #109)

*r̥kārāntād uttarayor nasiñasor ati parataḥ pūrvaparayor ukāra ekādeśo bhavati*  
A single replacement in *uT* comes in place of both a *rT* and the *aT* of *NasI* and *nas* which follows *rT*, provided when *samhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

*hotur āgacchati*

*hotuh svam*

1. Note that a replacement specified for two in the genitive (*pūrvaparayoh*; *rtaḥ* and *nasiñasoh*) receives attributes of either one of them (*Kāś: dvayoh saṣṭhīnirdiṣṭayoh sthāne yaḥ sa labhate' nyataravyapadeśam*). It is for this reason that *u*, followed by *r* as an attribute of *r* (1.1.51 *ur aṇ raparah*), comes as a replacement. Thus, *hot(r + a→ur)s*, as in *hotur āgacchati*, where the final *s* of *hoturs* is deleted (8.2.24 *rāt sasya*). The *r* can still be replaced with *visarga* when occurring either before a pause or a sound denoted by *khaR* (8.3.15 *kharavasānayor visarjanīyah*). Thus we can get *hotuh* and *hotuh svam*, respectively.

The *taparakaraṇa* in *rT* and *uT* is intended for limiting the denotatum of *r* and *u* to its short duration. Long *ṛ* and *ū* are thus excluded.

### 6.1.111 ख्यत्यात्परस्य

*khyatyāt parasya*

/ *khyatyāt* 5/1 = *khyaś ca tyaś ca* = *khyatym* (sam. dv.), *tasmāt; parasya* 6/1/

(*samhitāyām* #72 *ati* #108 *nasiñasoh* #109 *ut* #110)

*khyatyāt parasya nasiñasor at ukārādeśo bhavati*

An *uT* comes in place of the *aT* of *NasI* and *Nas* when *aT* occurs after *khya* and *tya* and *samhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

*sakhyur āgacchati*

*sakhyuḥ svam  
patyur āgacchati  
patyuḥ svam*

1. Note that, with *khyat�āt*, this rule specifies *khi/khī* and *ti/tī*, both short and long, having their *i* and *ī* replaced with *y* to produce *khy* and *ty* (*kṛta-yānādeśa*). A specification with *i/i* replaced with *y* enables reference to both *khi* and *ti* along with their corresponding long forms *khī* and *tī*. We thus get *sakhyur āgacchati* and *sakhyuḥ svam* where *sakhyuḥ* can be derived from *sakhi + (N) asI* or *sakhi + (N) as*, through *sakhi + (a→u) s→sakh(i→y) + us→sakhyu(s→r→h)* = *sakhyuḥ*. This same applies to *patyur āgacchati* and *patyuḥ svam* where *patyuḥ* can be derived from *pati + NasI* or *pati + Nas*.

Now consider the derivation of *sakhīḥ* and *sakhyuḥ* where the bases are derivates of the denominative verb *sakhiya*. Thus, *sakhaḥ* is derived as a *bahuvrīhi*, parallel to *khena saha vartate* (2.2.28 *tena saheti tulyayoge*). The *saha*, an *upasarjana* ‘secondary constituent’, is then replaced with *sa* of 6.3.82 *vopasarjanasya*. One now derives *sakhiya*, parallel to *sakham icchati*, with the introduction of *KyaC* (3.1.8 *supa ātmanah kyac*). The *a* of *sakha* then goes through a long replacement in *ī* (*ītva*; 7.4.33 *kyaci ca*). An introduction, and subsequent deletion, of *KuIP* after *sakhiya* with further deletion of *a*, through *pratyayalopa*, and of *y* through 6.1.66 *lopo vyor vali*, produces *sakhī*. Recall here that wherever 6.1.66 *lopo vyor vali* and 6.1.67 *ver aprktasya* both obtain, 6.1.66 *lopo vyor vali* should apply first. For, once 6.1.67 *ver aprktasya* applies, 6.1.66 *lopo vyor vali* cannot. The nominative singular of this *sakhī* will then be *sakhīḥ*, through *rutva-visarga* of *s(U)*. We can now get *sakhyuḥ*, a form of *sakhī* with *NasI* or *Nas*. This will be similar to forms of *sakhi*. Now consider *lūnyur āgacchati* ‘the one who wishes to chop comes’ and *lūnyuḥ svam* which follow similar patterns. Note, however, that given *lūnī + (N) asI* and *lūnī + (N) as*, the *n*-replacement of the *t* of *niṣṭhā* suffix *Kta* (1.1.26 *ktaktavatū niṣṭhā*), brought about by 8.2.44 *ivādibhyah*, will, in accord with 8.2.1 *pūrvatrāsiddham*, still be *t* in view of this rule. That is, this rule still sees *lūtī + Nas*, as against *lūnī + Nas*.

2. For reasons that *khi* and *khī* are specified here with their modified forms (*vikṛtanirdesa*) *khy* and *ty*, this rule cannot allow a replacement in *u* in *sakher āgacchati* and *senāpater āgacchati*. Recall that the word *sakhi*, and not any word ending in *sakhi* (*Paribh: grahanavatā prātipadikena . . . (PS: 32)*), is excluded from the assignment of the term *ghi*. Consequently, one can derive *atisakhīḥ*, parallel to *atikrāntah sakhā yena saḥ* ‘he by who a friend is excelled’, with the help of assignment of the term *ghi*. The *guna* replacement of *i* of *atisakhi + NasI* and *atisakhi + (N) as* can thus not go through a replacement in *y*. Instead, it will be replaced with *ay*. This also blocks *u*-replacement for *a* of this rule. This again explains why specifications such as *khy* and *ty* are made with *i/i* replaced with *y*.

## 6.1.112 अतो रोरप्लुतादप्लुते

*ato ror aplutād aplute*

/ataḥ 5/1 roḥ 6/1 aplutāt 5/1 (nañ. tat.) aplute 7/1/

(saṃhitāyām #72 ati 108 ut #110)

*akārād aplutād uttarasya roḥ rephasya ukārānubandhaviśiṣṭasya akāre' plute  
parata ukārādeśo bhavati*

An *uT* comes in place of a *rU* (*roḥ*) which occurs after a non-*pluta* vowel, provided a non-*pluta* vowel follows and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

*vrkṣo' tra*

*plakṣo' tra*

1. This *uT*-replacement for *rU* is offered against *y* of 8.3.17 *bhobhago'* *pūrvasya yo'si*. Thus, consider *vrkṣas + atra* and *plakṣas + atra*, where the final *s* of *vrkṣas* and *plakṣas* has its source in the nominative ending *sU*. This *s* is replaced with *rU* by rule 8.2.66 *sasajuso ruḥ*. A replacement in *u* for *rU* then produces *vrkṣa* (*rU→u*) + *atra* → *vrkṣa + u + atra* and *plakṣa* (*rU→u*) + *atra* → *plakṣa + u + atra*. A *guṇa* application of 6.1.87 *ād guṇah* followed by a single *o*-replacement for *(o + a)→o* (6.1.108 *enāḥ padāntād ati*) produces *vrkṣa(u→o) + atra = vrkṣ(o + a→o) tra = vrkṣo' tra*. This same applies also to *plakṣo' tra*.

Note that *u*-replacement of this rule is specified with reference to *rU*-replacement of 8.2.66 *sasajuso ruḥ*. Rule 8.2.1 *pūrvatrāsiddham* makes 8.2.66 *sasajuso ruḥ* suspended (*asiddha*) in view of the application of this rule. That is, this rule cannot see the *rU* with reference to which a replacement in *u* is to be accomplished. Commentators explain that 8.2.1 *pūrvatrāsiddham* cannot be invoked here. For, if *rU* is considered suspended, *u*-replacement of this rule will become vacuous (*vyartha*). Since this *u*-replacement is specified with *roḥ*, and also since there is no other *r* qualified with *U* as an *it* (*Nyāsa: kasyacid ukārānubandhaviśiṣṭasya ror asambhavāt*), 8.2.1 *pūrvatrāsiddham* cannot be invoked to render 8.2.66 *sasajuso ruḥ* suspended in view of our present rule. Besides, the *sthānī* is here specified in the subject category with *rU*. The *u*-replacement is part of the predicate. How could a replacement be allowed without correct identification of the *sthānī*. The *rU*-specification of replacement in 8.2.66 *sasajuso ruḥ* will become vacuous. If *r*, as against *rU*, is considered as the *sthānī*, we will also get *u* as a replacement for *r* in *bhrātar gaccha* (6.1.114 *haśi ca*).

Considering *rU* against *r* as *sthānī* will create problems in assigning the term *it* (to *U* of *rU*) and subsequently deletion impacted by it. Consider the controlled derivation of *rāmaḥ* from *rāma + sU→rāma + rU*. Note that the *pada*-final (*padānta*) condition of 8.2.66 *sasajuso ruḥ* will get transferred to

*rU*. The *r* of *rU* has now to be replaced with the *visarjanīya* of 8.3.15 *kharavasānayor visarjanīyah*. The *r* of *rU* cannot be accepted as occurring at the *avasāna* ‘cessation’, unless, of course, *U* is deleted via the assignment of the term *it* (*itsamjnālopa*). If *rutva* is considered *asiddha*, we cannot get the deletion of *U* termed *it*. The *visarjanīya* cannot be accomplished unless the *pada* status of 1.4.14 *suptināntam padam* is not available to what ends in *r* (*rephānta*). The argument that *padatva* of what ends in *r* can be accepted simply on the basis of *vidhāna-sāmarthyā* ‘at the strength of Pāṇini’s own desired specification’, is not acceptable. For, *vidhāna-sāmarthyā* is not in the danger of becoming vacuous. It has served its purpose (*caritārtha*) in examples such as *punar*. Rejecting *asiddhatva* is the only choice. One must remember, however, that the question of *itsamjnā-lopa* does not arise in replacing *rU* with *u*. The question arises only in the context of a replacement in *visarjanīya*. For, 6.1.112 *ato ror...* and 6.1.114 *haśi ca* both have *rU* specified via *roḥ*.

2. The condition of *aT* (in *ataḥ*, with *taparakarāṇa*; 1.1.70 *taparas tatkālasya*) is intended for blocking an *uT*-replacement in examples such as *agnir atra* and *vrkṣā(r→ḥ) atra* where *rU* is preceded by *i* and *ā*. The condition of an *r*, qualified with *U* as an *it*, is required so that this replacement does not apply to *r* of *prātar atra* and *svar + atra*. For, the *r* of *prātar* and *svar* is not derived. It is part of the bases, instead.

Now consider *vrkṣar iha* where *u*-replacement cannot be accomplished because what follows is *i* of *iha*. This shows why the *anuvṛtti* of *ati* from 6.1.108 *enah padāntād ati* is needed. This condition will also block *u*-replacement in *vrkṣar + āśritah* where what follows is a long *ā*.

The twin qualifications of *aplutād* ‘after a vowel other than an extra-long (*pluta*)’ and *aplude* ‘before a vowel other than a *pluta*’, for vowels which precede and follow *rU*, are required to block this replacement in examples such as *suśrotāḥ atra nvasi* and *tīṣṭhatu paya ḥāśvin* where *āḥ* is a *pluta*. The argument that *āḥ* will still be seen by our present rule as *a*, especially since it is ruled by rules 8.2.84 *dūrādd hūte ca* and 8.2.86 *guror anṛto' nantyasyāpy...*, and hence, *u*-replacement cannot be blocked, is not acceptable. An explicit mention of *pluta* in *aplutād* and *aplude* will block invoking suspension by 8.2.1 *pūrvatrāśiddham*. If *pluta* is considered as suspended, this rule can apply where the context has a preceding *aT*. Why can we not block *asiddhatva* ‘suspension’ of *pluta* with the help of *taparakarana*? The *taparakarana* cannot block suspension of *pluta* since it has lost its strength after setting aside the long vowel (*dirgha*).

### 6.1.113 हशि च

*haśi ca*  
/haśi 7/1 ca φ/

(*samhitāyām* #72 *ut* #110 *ataḥ ro* #112)

*haśi ca parato't uttarasya ror ukārādeśo bhavati*

A *rU* which occurs after *a* is replaced with *u*, when a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *haŚ* (Ss 5–10) follows and *samhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

*puruṣo yāti*

*puruṣo hasati*

*puruṣo dadāti*

1. This rule provides for a replacement in *u* when *rU* occurs preceded by *aT* and followed by a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *haŚ* (Ss. 5–10). Consider *puruṣa* + (*s(U)*→*rU*→*u*) = *puruṣ(u→o)* in *puruṣo yāti*. Similarly, *puruṣo hasati* and *puruṣo dadāti*.

2. Note that *aplutāt* is still carried. This can then block the *u*-replacement in examples such as *suśrotāñ dehi*. The *ca* in this rule is used to attract the *anuvṛtti* of *ati*. This will also facilitate *ati* alone to be carried in subsequent rules. The *anuvṛtti* of *haśi* will be suspended. Besides, *haśi*, when carried, will not make any sense.

Incidentally, a rule is generally formulated with subject (*uddeśya*), predicate (*vidheya*) and conditions (*nimitta*), if any. Any one of this lacking in a rule must be supplied via *anuvṛtti*. Notice that this rule simply offers the condition (*nimitta*).

### 6.1.114 प्रकृत्यान्तःपादमव्यपरे

*prakṛtyā' ntahpādam avyapare*

/ *prakṛtyā* 3/1 *antahpādam* φ = *madhye pādasya (avyayībhāva)*, *tasmin; avyapare* 7/1 = *na avyapare (nañ-tat.)*; *av ca ya ca = avyau (dv. tasmin) / (samhitāyām* #72 *enāḥ ati* #108)

*pādamadhyastha en ati pare prakṛtyā bhavati na tu vakārayakārapare' ti*

A sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *eN* remains as is when the same occurs before *aT* in the middle of the quarter of a ṛk 'Vedic hymn', and *samhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

*te agre aśvāmāyuñjan*

*te ásmiñjavamādadhuḥ*

*upaprayanó adhvāram*

*śiró apaśyam*

*sujāṭe aśvásūnṛte*

*adhváryó adribhiḥ sūtam*

1. This rule makes the provision of *prakṛtibhāva* 'retention of that which

it was; absence of *sandhi*' in the middle of a *Rk*-verse when a sound denoted by *eṄ* occurs followed by *aT*. Thus, consider *sujāte aśvasūnṛte* where *e* of *sujāte* is not subjected through *sandhi*, but is retained as is.

2. The word *prakṛtyā* denotes absence of any *sandhi* operation. The *pādam* of *antahpādam* denotes a quarter of a verse. The word *antah*, an indeclinable, combines with *pādam* to form an *avyayibhāva* compound (2.1.6 *avyayaṁ vibhaktisamipa . . .*) with the denotatum of *vibhakti*. It here means 'in the middle' (*madhye*). The locative introduced after the compound base *antahpāda* cannot be deleted by 2.4.82 *avyayād āpsupah*. It is replaced with *am* of 2.4.84 *trītyāsaptamyor bahulam*, instead. Note that the *nimitta* 'that which conditions', i.e., *aT*, as well as the *kāryin* 'that which goes through an operation', i.e., *eṄ*, both must fall within the quarter of a *Rk*-verse (*Kāś: tau ca nimittakāryināv antahpādam = rkāpādamadhye bhavataḥ*). This enables blocking of *pūrvarūpa* (6.1.109 *enāḥ padāntād ati*) and *ay*-replacement (6.1.78 *eco'yavāyāvah*) in example such as *te agre . . .* and *te asmin . . .*, etc. Incidentally, *enāḥ*, which ends in *pañcamī* 'ablative', is here changed into *prathamā* 'nominative' to facilitate proper interpretation of this rule. A question is also raised about carrying a distant *enāḥ* (6.1.108 *enāḥ padāntād ati*), as against carrying the proximate *ror* (6.1.112 *ato ror . . .*). Haradatta states that interpretation of the learned alone is our recourse here (*PM ad Kāś: atra ca vyākhyānam eva śaranam*).

3. *Kāśikā* states that *pāda* here should be interpreted as *rkāpāda* 'quarter of a *Rk*-verse', and not any quarter of a verse (*ślokapāda*). Actually, the examples covered by this rule are all Vedic. It is for this reason that some recommend carrying the *anuvṛtti* of *chandasī* from 6.1.105 *vā chandasī*, via *maṇḍukapṛuti* 'frog's leap'. This *anuvṛtti* will continue up to 6.1.121 *sarvatra vibhāṣā goḥ* whereby *prakṛtibhāva*, at the strength of *sarvatra* 'everywhere', will apply in both Vedic as well as classical usages. For, the non-restrictive provision of *sarvatra* can make much sense in view of the restrictive provision of *chandasī*. Some still insist that *sarvatra* itself is enough to indicate the application of *prakṛtibhāva* in the Vedic and classical usage.

4. Some also read this *sūtra* without *avyapare*. This should not be accepted since the following rule cannot account for derivates focused. Others still read this *sūtra* as *nāntahpādam avyapare* whereby it becomes a negation (*pratiṣedha*) of *sandhi*.

### 6.1.115 अव्यादवद्यादवक्रमुरवतायमवन्त्ववस्थु च

*avyādavadyādavakramuravrata�amavantavasyuṣu`ca  
/ avyāt-avadyāt-avakramuh-avrata-ayam-avantu-avasyuṣu 7/3 ca φ /  
(samhitāyām #72 enāḥ ati #108 prakṛtyāḥ antahpādam #114)  
'avyāt, avadyāt, avakramuh, avrata, ayam, avantu, avasyu'ity eteṣu yakāra-  
vakārapare'py atiparato' ntaḥpādam en̄ prakṛtyā bhavati*

A sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *eṄ* which occurs in the middle of the quarter of a verse also remains as is when the *a* of *avyāt*, *avadyāt*, *avakramuh*, *avrata*, *ayam*, *avantu*, and *avasyu* follows, and *samhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

*agnih práthamo vasúbhirno avyāt  
mitramaho avadyāt  
mā śivāṣo avákramuh  
te no avratāḥ  
śatadhāro ayam manih* ‘this gem has hundred facets’  
*te nō avantu pītarāḥ  
kuśikāsō avasyavāḥ*

1. This rule generally constitutes an exception to 6.1.108 *enah padāntād ati* and 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvah*.

### 6.1.116 यजुस्युरः

*yajusy urah  
/yajuṣi 7/1 urah 1/1/  
(samhitāyām #72 enah ati #108 prakṛtyā #114)  
urahśabda enanto yajuṣi visaye'ti prakṛtyā bhavati*

The form *urah* when ending in *eṄ* in the usage of the *Yajurveda* remains as is when *a* follows, and *samhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

*uro antarikṣam*

1. Note that *uro* ends in *eṄ* through the application of 8.2.66 *sasajuso ruh* and 6.1.112 *ato ror*. . . Rule 6.1.87 *ād gunah* then requires a single replacement in *guna* to yield *ura(s→rU)→ura(r→u)→ur(a+u→o)=uro*. This *guna*, however, can be accomplished by 7.3.106 *sambuddhau ca* if *uro* is to be interpreted as a singular address form (*sambuddhi*). Some therefore also read the *sūtra* as *yajusy uro*.

This *prakṛtibhāva* cannot be limited to the context of *antahpādam*. For, there are no verse-quarters in the *Yajurveda* (SK: *yājuṣi pādānām abhāvah*). It will thus apply everywhere.

### 6.1.117 आपोजुषाणोवृष्णोवर्षिष्ठेऽम्बालऽभिकेपूर्वे

*āpojusāñnovṛṣṇovarsiṣṭhe' mbe' mbālē' mbikepūrve  
/āpo-jusāñ-no-vṛṣṇo-varsiṣṭhe-ambe-ambālē* (used without endings); *ambike-pūrve 1/2 = ambike śabdāt pūrve (pañc. tat.) /*  
*(samhitāyām #72 ati #108 prakṛtyā #114 yajusī #116)*

‘*āpo-juṣāṇo-vṛṣṇo-varṣiṣṭhe’ity ete śabdā ‘ambe ambāle’ ity etaū ca yāv ambikeśabdāt pūrvau yajuṣi paṭhitau te ati parataḥ prakṛtyā bhavanti*  
 The words *āpo*, *juṣāṇo*, *vṛṣṇo*, *varṣiṣṭhe*, and *ambe* and *ambāle* as well, remain as are when used before *ambike* in the usage of the *Yajurveda*, provided *a* follows and *samhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

*āpō ḍasmān mātarāḥ śundhayantu  
 juṣāṇo ḍpturājjyāsyā  
 vṛṣṇo ḍmśubhyāṁ gabhāstipūtaḥ  
 varṣiṣṭhe adhi nāke  
 ambe ambālyambike*

1. Haradatta states that the first word, i.e., *āpah*, ends in *Jas* ‘nominative plural’ (obligatorily plural); the second, i.e., *juṣāṇo*, in *sU* ‘nominative singular’; the third, i.e., *vṛṣṇo*, in *Śas* ‘accusative plural’; and the fourth, i.e., *varṣiṣṭhe*, in *Ni* ‘locative singular’. The rest are forms of *sambuddhi* (2.3.49 *ekavacanam sambuddhīḥ*; *PM* ad *Kāś*: *tatra prathamam jasantam*; *dvitiyam svantam*; *trtiyam śasantam*; *caturtham nyantam*; *itare sambuddhyante*). Jinendrabuddhi (*Nyāsa*) accepts *vṛṣṇo* as a singular ending in *śaṣṭhi* ‘genitive’ (*śaṣṭhyekavacanāntam*).

### 6.1.118 अङ्ग इत्यादौ च

*aṅga ityādau ca*  
*/ aṅge 7/1 ityādau 7/1 = iti = aṅgah; tasyādih (ṣas. tat.), tasmin; ca φ/*  
*(samhitāyām #72 eñah ati #108 prakṛtyā #114 yajuṣi #116)*  
*aṅgaśabde ya en tadādau cākāre yah pūrvah sa yajuṣi viṣaye’ ti prakṛtyā bhavati*  
 The *eN* of an *aṅga* before *a*, and the *eN* of any other form before the initial *a* of an *aṅga*, remain as are, when *samhitā* finds its scope in the usage of the *Yajurveda*.

EXAMPLES:

*aindraḥ prāṇo aṅge aṅge adīdhyaḥ  
 aindraḥ prāṇo aṅge aṅge nidīdhyaḥ  
 aindraḥ prāṇo aṅgo aṅgo aśocisam*

1. Note that the word *iti* is used here to bring yet another reading of *aṅge* in this rule (*PM* ad *Kāś*: *itikaranenānantarokto’ ḫgaśabdaḥ pratyavamīṣyate*). The meaning of *ityādau* is inferred as *tadādau* where *tad*, a variable, refers to *aṅga* as its antecedent. The *ca* is used in the sense of *samuuccaya* ‘conjoining two or more things together’. Thus, *ca*, when read with *ityādau* with the preceding *aṅge*, offers two interpretations to this rule:

- (i) the *eN* of *aṅge*, when followed by *a*, goes through *prakṛtibhāva* and

(ii) an *eṄ*, also when followed by the initial *a* of *ange*, goes through *prakṛtibhāva*.

Thus, given *prāṇo ange ange aśociṣam*, we get *prakṛtibhāva* in *ange aśociṣam* where *eṄ* is part of *ange*. We also get *prakṛtibhāva* in *prāṇo ange* where *eṄ* is not a part of *ange*. That is, it is not necessary that *eṄ* must be part of *ange*. Conversely, it is also not necessary that the following *a* must also be the initial *a* of *ange*.

### 6.1.119 अनुदात्ते च कुधपरे

*anudāttē ca kudhapare*

/anudāttē 7/1 ca φ kudhapare 7/1 = kuś ca dhaś ca = kudhau (dv.); kudhau  
parau yasmāt (bv. with int. dv.), tasmin/

(samhitāyām #72 eñah ati #108 prakṛtyā #114 yajuṣi #116)

*anudāttē cāti kavargadhakārapare parato yajuṣi viṣaye eñ prakṛtyā bhavati*

A sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *eṄ* remains as is in the usage of the *Yajurveda*, when an *a* marked with *anudātta* occurs before *kU*, i.e., *k*, *kh*, *g*, *gh*, and *n*, or *dh*, and *samhitā* finds its scope.

#### EXAMPLES:

*ayam so' agnih* ‘this is that same *agni*’

*ayam so' dhvarah* ‘that is that same sacrifice’

1. This rule offers *prakṛtibhāva*, in the usage of *Yajurveda*, where *eṄ* occurs before an *anudātta a* followed by *kU* and *dha*. Incidentally, the *a* at the end of *dha*, in *kudhapare*, is used for ease of articulation. Thus we get *prakṛtibhāva* in *so agnih* and *so adhvaraḥ*, where *a* of *agni* and *adhvara* is followed by *g* and *dh*, respectively. This *a* is also *anudātta*. The word *agni* is derived with affix *ni* and, hence, is marked by its affixal *udātta* at the end (*Unādisūtra* 499: *agner nalopaś ca*). Its *a* then automatically becomes *anudātta* (6.1.157 *anudāttam padam . . .*). The *a* of *adhvara* is also *anudātta* because *adhvara*, as a nominal stem (*prātipadika*), is marked *udātta* at the end (*antodātta*; *Unādi* 1: *phiṣa antodāttah*). The *g* of *agni* and *dh* of *adhvara* make their *a* meet the condition of *kudhapara*.

2. The condition of *anudātta* is required so that *prakṛtibhāva* can be blocked in examples such as *adho'gre* where *a* of *agre* is *udātta* (*Unādisūtra* 196: *rjendrāgravajra . . .*). The condition of *kudhapare* is required so that *prakṛtibhāva* can be blocked where an *anudātta a* is followed by any other sound. Thus, consider *so' yam agnih sahasriyah* where *prakṛtibhāva* is not allowed in *so' yam* because *a* is followed by *y*. One can say that *so ayam* should receive *prakṛtibhāva* similar to *śatadhāro ayam manih*, in consonance with 6.1.115 *aryādavadyāt . . .* This, however, is not possible since 6.1.114 applies under the condition of *antahpādam*. The examples do not come from a *pāda* of the *Yajurveda*.

## 6.1.120 अवपथासि च

*avapathāsi ca**/avapathāsi 7/1 ca φ/*

(saṃhitāyām #72 enāḥ ati #108 prakṛtyā #114 yajuṣi #116 anudātte #119)

'avapathāḥ' śabde' nudātē' kārādau parato yajuṣi viṣaya en̄ prakṛtyā bhavati

A sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *eN*, remains as is in the usage of the *Yajurveda*, when *avapathāḥ*, with its initial *a* marked with *anudātta*, follows, and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

*strī rudrebhyo avapathāḥ*

1. The *ca* is used to attract *anudātte*. The word *avapathāḥ*, of *strī rudrebhyo avapathāḥ*, is a derivate of *LAṄ* 'imperfect' where *LAṄ* gets replaced with the *ātmanepada* second person singular ending *thās* (4.1.77 *lasya*; 4.1.78 *tiptasjhi* . . .). Its *a*, occurring after *rudrebhyo*, remains *anudātta* in consonance with 8.1.28 *tin* *atiñah*.

The condition of *anudātte* is required so that, elsewhere, this *prakṛtibhāva* can be blocked. *Kāśikā* offers *yad rudrebhyo' vapathāḥ* as a counter-example where *prakṛtibhāva*, in *rudrebhyo' vapathāḥ*, is blocked because *avapathāḥ* is used in combination with a particle (*nipāta*), namely *yad*. Rule 8.1.30 *nipātairyadyadi* . . . blocks the *anudātta* status of *a* of *avapathāḥ*.

## 6.1.121 सर्वत्र विभाषा गोः

*sarvatra vibhāṣā goḥ**/sarvatra φ vibhāṣā 1/1 goḥ 6/1/*

(saṃhitāyām #72 enāḥ padāntād ati #108 prakṛtyā #114)

*sarvatra, chandasī bhāṣāyām ca, ati parato gor en̄ prakṛtyā bhavati vibhāṣā*The *pada*-final *eN*, of *go*, optionally remains as is everywhere (*sarvatra*), when *a* follows and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

*go'gram**go agram**apaśavo vā anye goaśvebhyyah goaśvān*

1. Note that *sarvatra* 'everywhere' indicates that this optional *prakṛtibhāva* is valid in both the Vedic as well as classical (*bhāṣā*) usages.

## 6.1.122 अवङ् स्फोटायनस्य

*avañ sphoṭāyanasya**/avañ 1/1 sphoṭāyanasya 6/1/*

(*samhitāyām* #72 *aci* #77 *padāntāt* #108 *vibhāṣā goḥ* #121)

*aci parato goḥ sphoṭāyanasya ācāryasya matenāvan ādeśo bhavati*

The *o* of a *pada*-final *go* is optionally replaced with *avaṄ*, in the opinion of Sphoṭāyana, when *aC* follows and *samhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

*gavāgram* ‘ahead of cattles’

*go'* *gram*

*gavājinam* ‘cow-hide’

*go'* *jinam*

*gavodanam* ‘cow and rice’

*gavaudanam*

*gavoṣṭram* ‘cow and camel’

*gāvauṣṭram*

1. Note that the *anuvṛtti* of *ati* is suspended, especially because when carried, it will block *avaṄ* in examples such as *go + odanam = gavaudanam*, etc. The *anuvṛtti* of *aci*, via *maṇḍukapṛuti* ‘frog’s leap’, is required. How come *Kāśikā* (ad 6.1.77 *iko yan aci*) remarks that *aci*, as a governing word (*adhikāra*), should be carried only up to 6.1.108 *samprasāraṇāc ca*. Haradatta (PM ad *Kāśi*) explains that *Kāśikā*’s statement is made in view of uninterrupted *anuvṛtti* of *aci* (*nirantarānuvṛtyabhiprāyaṇ tad ity adosah*). He, however, also adds that, in all such instances, *vyākhyāna* ‘explanation of the learned’ alone is our resource.

2. The word *sphoṭāyana* is used here for expressing respect (*pūjā*). For, *vibhāṣā* itself can account for option. We will thus get *go agram* (*prakṛtibhāva* with no *avaṄ*), *go'* *gram* (with *pūrvarūpa*) and *gavāgram* (with *avaṄ* and *savarṇadīrgha*). We similarly get *go odanam*, *gavaudanam*; *go ajinam* and *gavājinam*, etc.

3. This replacement in *avaṄ* is marked *udātta* at the beginning (*ādyudātta*), via *nipātana*. But it is desired only in *bahuvrīhi* compounds such as *gavāgram*, paraphrased as *gāvo agram asya* ‘he in front of whom are cows’. Elsewhere, for example in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, this accent is blocked and the compound is marked *udātta* at the end (see *Nyāsa* ad *Kāśikā* for additional details).

### 6.1.123 इन्द्रे च

*indre ca*

/ *indre* 7/1 *ca φ/*

(*samhitāyām* #72 *aci* #77 *goḥ* #121 *avaṄ* #122)

*indraśabdasthe' ci parato gor nityam avaṅādeśo bhavati*

The final *o* of *go* is replaced with *avaṄ* when the *aC* of *indra* follows and *samhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

*gavendrah* ‘best among cows; lord of cattle’  
*gavendrayajñasvarah*

1. This rule offers obligatory *avaṄ* when *go* occurs followed by the *aC* of *indra*. Thus, *g(o→ava + indrah = gav(a + i→e)ndrah = gavendrah* and *gavendra-yajñasvarah*.

2. *Kāśikā* also reads *nityam* as part of this rule. But this is not needed. For, *avaṄ* is made optional by the preceding rule. This express formulation then must make *avaṄ* obligatory. Those who follow the *Kāśikāvṛtti* state that *nityam* is used for *anuvṛtti* in the following rule. The *Mahābhāṣya*, *Padamañjanī* and *Siddhāntakaumudī* read *nityam* as part of the following rule. I also accept this position and read *nityam* as part of the following rule.

### 6.1.124 लुतप्रगृह्या इच्चि नित्यम्

*plutapragrhyā aci nityam*

/ *plutapragrhyāḥ* 1/3 = *plutāś ca pragrhyāś ca* (*itar. dv.*); *aci* 7/1 *nityam* 1/1/

(*samhitāyām* #72 *prakṛtyā* #114)

*plutāś ca pragrhyāś cāci prakṛtyā bhavanti nityam*

Those which are termed *pluta* and *pragrhya* remain as are, obligatorily (*nityam*), when a vowel (*aci*) follows and *samhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

*devadattāḥ atra nvasi* ‘Devadatta, live here’

*yajñadattāḥ idamānaya* ‘Yajñadatta, bring this’

*agnī iti* ‘nominative/accusative dual of Agni’

*vāyū iti* ‘nominative/accusative dual of Vāyu’

*khaṭve iti* ‘nominative/accusative dual of *khaṭvā* ‘cot’’

*mālē iti* ‘nominative/accusative dual of *mālā* ‘garland’’

1. *Kāśikā* reads *nityam* in the wording of the preceding *sūtra* and carries it to this rule via *anuvṛtti*. This, in turn, is contrary to what the *Mahābhāṣya*, *SK* and *PM* maintain.

2. Rule 1.1.11 *īdūded dvivacanam pragrhyam* and 1.1.27 *ūkālo'j jhrasvadīrgha-plutāḥ* define *pragrhya* and *pluta*, respectively. We thus get *prakṛtibhāva* in *agnī iti*, *vāyū iti* and *khaṭve iti*, where ī, ū and e are *pragrhya*. Consider *devadattāḥ atra nvasi* and *yajñadattāḥ idamānaya* as examples of *prakṛtibhāva* where āḥ is a *pluta*, in consonance with 8.2.84 *dūrādd hūte ca*. Note that rule 8.2.84 *dūrādd hūte ca*, which assigns the *pluta*-status to *a*, is contained within the *tripādī* ‘first seven and one quarters of the Aṣṭādhyāyī’. Consequently, 8.2.1 *pūrvatrā-siddham*, if invoked, will make it suspended in view of the application of this rule. But since Pāṇini explicitly offers *pluta* as locus (*āśraya*) of *prakṛtibhāva*

and also since suspension (*asiddhatva*) caused by 8.2.1 *pūrvatrāsiddham* will remove this locus, *pluta*-status of ā3, remains intact. For, specification of *prakrtibhāva* via *kāryin*, i.e., ā3, as locus will then become meaningless (*anarthaka*; *Nyāsa ad Kāś: asmād eva prakrtibhāve kartavye siddhaḥ plutah, anyathā tasya kāryitvenāśrayaṇam anarthakam syāt*).

2. Note that *aci* is explicitly stated, as against being brought via *anuvṛtti*. This is done to focus on the vowel which may otherwise condition *sandhi*. Consider *jānū asya* where *a* of *asya* conditions *prakrtibhāva*. Now consider (*jānu + uṄ→jānū*) *asya*, where *a* does not condition long replacement. A *prakrtibhāva* in *jānu u* is thus not possible. The *uṄ* in *jānu u(Ṅ) asya* is a particle (*nipāta*). The vowel which serves as a condition for single replacement with its preceding *u* does not occur after a *pragṛhya*. The vowel which follows *uṄ* also does not serve as a condition for single replacement. It is for this reason that, in the absence of *prakrtibhāva*, a single replacement applies (*PM ad Kāś: uṄ nipātah, tasya pūrvena sahaikādeśasya yan nimittam na sa pragṛhyād uttarah, yaś ca tatah paro na sa ekādeśasya nimittam iti prakrtibhāvābhāvād ekādeśo bhavaty eva*). In fact we can also get *jān(u + u→ū→v) asya*, as in *jānv asya rujati*, not from 6.1.77 *iko yan aci* but from 8.3.33 *maya uño vo vā*. The *aci*, stated again in this rule, facilitates this. For, in the absence of a restated *aci*, this rule would be interpreted as *pragṛhyo'ci paratah prakṛtyā bhavati* ‘*pragṛhya* when followed by a vowel remains as is’. This, in turn, would offer *prakrtibhāva* also to the single replacement obtained by replacing *u* with its preceding *u*. A restatement of *aci* blocks this *prakrtibhāva*. For, the single replacement in *ū* will be interpreted as containing initial *pragṛhya* (*ādivadbhāva*). An application of 6.1.77 *iko yan aci* can also be blocked because of this *prakrtibhāva* (*PM ad Kāś: punar ajgraḥaṇe tu na bhavati, tatraikādeśe kṛte tasyādīvadbhāvāt pragṛhyagrahaṇenagrahaṇāt 'iko yan aci' iti yanādeśah prakrtibhāvān na bhavati 'mañ uño vo vā' iti pakṣe vakārah*).

The use of *nityam*, of course, not only retains *prakrtibhāva* but also blocks shortening of 6.1.126 *iko asavarṇe śākalyasya hrasvāś ca*. It is thus used for *prakrtibhāva*, in addition to blocking any other operation (*kāryāntara*).

### 6.1.125 आङ्गेनुनासिकश्छन्दसि

*āno' nunāsikaś chandasī  
/ānah 6/1 anunāsikah 1/1 chandasī 7/1/  
(samhitāyām #72 aci #77 prakṛtyā #144)*  
*āno'ci parataḥ samhitāyāṁ chandasī viṣaye' nunāsikādeśo bhavati sa ca prakṛtyā bhavati*

An āṄ is replaced with an *anunāsika*, in the Vedic, when *aC* follows and *saṃhitā* finds its scope, with an additional provision that the *anunāsika* remain as is.

## EXAMPLES:

*abhra ā̄ apah  
gábhira ā̄ ugráputre jighámsatah*

1. This rule offers nasalization of *ā* of *āN*, of course, when a vowel follows. Furthermore, the resultant *ā̄* also goes through *prakṛtibhāva*. Some also read this *sūtra* with *bahulam* ‘variously’. Consequently, *ā* does not become nasalized, for example, in *indro bāhubhyām* (*ā* + *atarat* → *ātarat*). Note that the *ā* becomes nasalized only when *ā* is used without any meaning (*anarthaka*). Thus, we get *abhra ā̄ apah*. An *ā*, used as a prefix (*upasarga*) with a root (*dhātu*), does not become nasalized, and go through *prakṛtibhāva*, because it then carries meaning (*sārthaka*) as a modifier to the action (*kriyāviśeṣanatvāt*). Consequently, we get a long replacement in (*ā* + *atarat*) → *ātarat*. It can still remain an *ā*, as in *ā atarat*, if one accepts the reading of *bahulam*.

## 6.1.126 इकोऽसवर्णे शाकल्यस्य ह्रस्वश्च

*iko'savarne śākalyasya hrasvaś ca  
/ikah 6/1 asavarne 7/1 = na savarnah (nañ. tat.), tasmin; śākalyasya 6/1  
hrasvah 1/1 ca φ/  
(samhitāyām #72 aci #77 prakṛtyā 114)  
iko'savarne' ci parataḥ śākalyasyācāryasya matena prakṛtyā bhavanti hrasvaś  
ca tasyekah sthāne bhavati*

A vowel denoted by the abbreviatory term *iK* remains as is, in the opinion of Śākalya, when *saṃhitā* obtains and a non-homogeneous vowel follows; additionally, this *iK* is replaced with a *hrasva* ‘short’.

## EXAMPLES:

*dadhi atra  
dadhy atra  
madhu atra  
madhv atra  
kumāri atra  
kumāry atra  
kiṣori atra  
kiṣory atra*

1. Note that an *iK*, when followed by a non-homogeneous vowel (*asavarṇa*), will automatically facilitate the application of 6.1.77 *iko yan aci*. Our present rule, for the very reason that it is formulated (*ārambhasāmarthyāt*), could then provide for *prakṛtibhāva* and *hrasva* optionally, against the provision of 6.1.77 *iko yan aci*. Mention of Śākalya is then made for showing respect (*pūjārtham*).

2. The *ca* in this rule should not be used for carrying *prakṛtyā*. For, provi-

sion of *hrasva* itself can make *prakṛtibhāva* available. But *hrasva*, without *ca*, can provide for *prakṛtibhāva* only when *iK* denotes a long (*dirgha*) vowel. The *prakṛtibhāva* is also required where *iK* may be a short (*hrasva*). But *hrasva* of this rule will not make any sense in the context where *iK* may denote a *hrasva*. It can serve no purpose there (*prayojanābhāvāt*). Why do we need a *hrasva* to be replaced with a *hrasva*? So that vocalic *sandhi* can be blocked. Thus we can get *dadhi + atra* → *dadhi atra* and *dadhy atra*. The idea that a *hrasva* is replaced with *hrasva*, through short replacement of this rule at the strength of *ca*, is no vacuous rule application. For, rules are like clouds (*parjanyavat*) which rain indiscriminately over both land and water. They are *kṛtakārī* ‘effecting results’ because their justification lies in bringing about results. They are not like fire (*dahanavat*) whose justification lies in undoing what was brought about (*akṛtakārī*).

3. A *vārttika* proposal is made to negate this *prakṛtibhāva* where a form marked with *S* as an *it* (*sit*) follows, or where an obligatory compound (*nityasamāsa*) finds its scope. Thus, we get *r̥tviyah*, parallel to *r̥tu + ghaS*, paraphrased as *r̥tu prāptah asya* ‘that whose season has approached’. Recall that *gh* of *ghaS* will be replaced with *iy* (7.1.2 *āyaneyīnīyiyah* . . .) and the negation of *prakṛtibhāva* will occasion the application of 6.1.77 *iko yan aci*. That is, *r̥tu + (gh→iy) a(S)* → *r̥t(u→v) + iya = r̥tvya + s(U)* → *r̥tviyah*. Rule 1.4.16 *siti ca* will here assign the term *pada* (1.4.14 *suptināntam padam*). Or else, 6.4.146 or *guṇah* will offer application of *guṇa*. We also get obligatory compounds such as *(vi + ākaraṇa) + sU*) → *vyākaranam* and *(kumārī + artha) + sU*) → *kumāryartham*. It is in view of this *vārttika* that examples under this rule are all *vākyas* ‘non-compounds’.

Note that the locative in *sin-nityasamāsayoh* receives split interpretation (*ekam api dvividhā bhidyate*). It is interpreted as denoting the right condition of what follows (*parasaptamī*) in the context of *sit*. It is interpreted as a locative denoting scope (*viśayasaptamī*) in the context of *nityasamāsa* ‘obligatory compound’.

Yet another *vārttika* proposal requires *prakṛtibhāva*, without any replacement in *hrasva* in the Vedic examples such as *īśā akṣah, kā īmare* and *pathā agaman*.

### 6.1.127 ऋत्यकः:

*r̥ty akah*

/ *r̥ti* 7/1 *akah* 1/1/

(*samhitāyām* #72 *prakṛtyā* #114 *śākalyasya hrasvaś ca* #126)

*r̥kare parataḥ śākalyasyācāryasya matenākah prakṛtyā bhavanti, hrasvaś ca tasyākah sthāne bhavati*

A vowel denoted by the abbreviatory term *aK* remains as is in the opinion of Sākalya, when *saṃhitā* finds its scope and *r̥* follows; additionally, this *aK* is replaced with a *hrasva* ‘short’.

EXAMPLES:

*khaṭva ṛṣyāḥ*  
*māla ṛṣyāḥ*  
*kumāri ṛṣyāḥ*  
*hotṛ ṛṣyāḥ*

1. Why is this *sūtra* formulated when the preceding itself can account for *prakṛtibhāva* and *hrasva*. The preceding *sūtra* can accomplish *prakṛtibhāva* and *hrasva* when an *iK* may be followed by a non-homogeneous vowel (*asavarna*). This *sūtra* is needed for contexts where a vowel other than one denoted by *iK* (*anik*, i.e., *aK*) may precede. It is also needed for contexts where a homogeneous (*savarna*) vowel may follow. Elsewhere, the preceding *sūtra* itself can account for *prakṛtibhāva* and *hrasva*. Thus, consider *khaṭvā* + *ṛṣyāḥ* → *khaṭva ṛṣyāḥ* and *hotṛ* + *ṛṣyāḥ* → *hotṛ ṛṣyāḥ*, where *ṛ* of *hotṛ* is short.
2. Why do we need *ṛii*? So that *prakṛtibhāva* and *hrasva* is blocked in *khaṭv(ā* + *i*→*e*)*ndrah* → *khaṭvendraḥ*. The condition of *akah* blocks *prakṛtibhāva* in *vṛkṣ(au*→*āv*) + *ṛṣyāḥ* = *vṛkṣāv ṛṣyāḥ*.

### 6.1.128 अप्लुतवदुपस्थिते

*aplutavad upasthite*  
*/aplutavat φ = na plutavat (nañ. tat.); upasthite 7/1/*  
*upasthitam nāmānārṣa itikaraṇah samudāyād avacchidya padam yena*  
*svarūpe' vasthāpyate tasmin parataḥ pluto' plutavad bhavati*  
*A *pluta* is treated as if non-*pluta* when a non-Vedic (*anārṣa*) *iti* follows*  
*and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.*

EXAMPLES:

*suślokā३ iti = suśloketi*  
*sumāngalā३ iti = sumāṅgaleti*

1. The word *ārṣa* is explained as a *taddhita* derivate of *ṛṣi* 'Veda' signifying *tatra bhavaḥ* 'born or found there in'. The negative *anārṣa* may generally refer to something other than what is found in the Vedas. However, *iti*, with the qualification of *upasthite*, defines its context to *itikarana* 'attaching *iti*'. Technically, *upasthita* refers to the process of splitting individual *padas* of a sentence and marking them with *iti* (*Kāś: upasthitam nāmānārṣa itikaranah*). Thus, *suślokā३ iti*. This is what then is viewed as *anārṣa*. The *३* of *suślokā३* is *pluta* (8.2.84 *dūrādd hūte ca*). This *pluta*, in view of our present rule, becomes a non-*pluta* and, hence, blocks the *prakṛtibhāva* provision of 6.1.120 *pluta-pragṛhyā aci nityam*. We then get *suślokā३* + *iti*→*suśloketi* and *sumāngalā* + *iti*→*sumāṅgaleti*. These examples both involve *guṇa-replacement*, in the absence of *prakṛtibhāva*.
2. Why is this specification of *pluta* made with *vat*? In the absence of *vat*,

the specification would have been made as *pluto' plutah*. This, in turn, could negate only the *pluta*. That is, in a situation where *prakṛtibhāva* obtains conditioned by *pluta* and *pragṛhya* both, negation applies to one conditioned by *pluta*. A *prakṛtibhāva* conditioned by *pragṛhya* cannot be negated. Consequently, *pluta* will be heard in *prakṛtibhāva* conditioned by *pragṛhya* (*Kāśi*: *apluta ity ucyamāne plutā eva pratiṣidhyeta . . . pragṛhyāśraye prakṛtibhāve plutasya śravanam na syāt*). Examples are: *agnī̄3 iti, vāyū̄3 iti*. The *prakṛtibhāva*, consequent upon assignment of the term *pragṛhya* by 1.1.11 *īdūded dvivacanam pragṛhyam*, applies to *agnī̄3 iti* and *vāyū̄3 iti*. The *pluta*, of course, is retained in consonance with 8.2.86 *guror anṛto' nantyasyāpy ekaikasya prācām*.

### 6.1.129 ई३ चाक्रवर्मणस्य

*ī3 cākravarmanasya*  
*/ī3 (1/1 deleted) cākravarmanasya 6/1/*  
*(aci#77 aplutavat #128)*  
*ī3 kārh pluto' ci parataś cākravarmanasyācāryasya matenāplutavad bhavati*  
 An *i* termed *pluta* is treated as if a non-*pluta*, in the opinion of Cākravarmaṇa, when a vowel (*aC*) follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*astu hītyabrvīt = astu hī3 ity abrvīt*  
*cinu hīdam = cinuhī̄3 idam*

1. Mention of Cākravarmaṇa is made for indicating option (*vikalpa*). It is intended for suspending the *anuvṛtti* of the Vedic *iti* (*tadupasthite niṛtyartham*) already available (*prāptā*). It is also used for facilitating this option when a non-Vedic *iti* follows (*aprāptā*). Thus, the use of Cākravarmaṇa is intended for *ubhayatra-vibhāṣā*. Consider *astu hīty abrvītām* ‘those two indeed said ‘astu’, where *astu* is the third singular imperative of as ‘to be’ and *hi* is an indeclinable (*aryaya*). Rule 8.2.93 *vibhāṣā pṛṣṭaprativacane heḥ* assigns *pluta* to *hi* and, since the specification is desired to have been made with *vat* (*aplutavadbhāva*), *prakṛtibhāva* is blocked in favor of lengthening (*dīrgha*). Thus we get *astu hīty* . . . An option of *prakṛtibhāva* will yield *astu hī3 ity abrvītām* with no sandhi. *Kāśikā* states that *aplutavadbhāva* ‘treatment of a *pluta* as if a non-*pluta*’ is also desired in the contexts of vowels other than an *i*. We thus get *vaśā̄3 iyam* and *vaśeyam*, where *guna*, in the absence of *prakṛtibhāva*, applies through *aplutavadbhāva*.

### 6.1.130 दिव उत्

*diva ut*  
*/divah 6/1 ut 1/1/*  
*(padāntāt→padasya #108)*  
*divah padasya ukārādeso bhavati*

The final sound segment of a *pada*, namely *div*, is replaced with *uT*.

EXAMPLES:

*dyukāmaḥ* ‘he whose desire is in heaven’  
*dyumān*  
*vimaladyu dinam* ‘bright day’  
*dyubhyām*  
*dyubhiḥ*

1. The rule allows a replacement in *uT* for the final *v* (1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*) of *div* when the same is *prātipadika* turned into a *pada*. Note that *div* is not a verbal root. For, its specification is here made without its *it*-element *Ū*. The condition of *div* being a *pada* is reconstructed based upon the *anuvṛtti* of *pada* from 6.1.108 *enah padāntād ati*. How come *pada* of *padāntāt* alone is carried? Why not the full word *padāntāt*? A compound sometimes can also be carried in part (*ekadeśa*). The condition of *pada* is needed so that the *v* of *diva*, as in *divau* and *divah*, can be blocked from availing a replacement in *u*.

Now consider some examples: *dyukāmaḥ*, a *bahuvrīhi* paraphrased as *divi kāmo yasya* ‘he who wishes for heaven’ and *dyumān*, paraphrased as *dyauḥ asti yasya* ‘he who possesses heaven’. The *bahuvrīhi* compound-base *div + kāma*, after deletion of internal inflectional endings, has its *v* replaced with *u*. This yields *di(v→u) + kāma = diu + kāma* which, after application of *yaN*, yields *d(i→y) u + kāma = dyu + kāma = dyukāma*. Incidentally, *dyumān* is the nominative singular of *dyumat*, a derivate of *div + mat* (UP) = *di(v→u) + mat→d(i→y) u + mat = dyumat*.

2. Note that *div*, when treated as a verbal root, may cause the application of 6.4.19 *chvoh śūd anunāsike*. Thus, given *akṣadyūbhyaṁ*, where *akṣadyū* is a derivate of *KvIP* introduced after *div* used in combination with the cooccurring *pada akṣa + bhis*, we get *ūTH* for *v*. An application of *yaN*, on *i* of *div* before *ūTH*, can then yield *akṣadyū* of *akṣadyūbhyaṁ*. The *T* in *ūT* is also explained as intended for canceling *ūTH* (*Kāś: taparakaranyaṁ ūtho nivṛtyartham*). Since a sound brought about by application of a rule (*bhāvyamāna*) refers to sounds homogeneous with it, a *v*, when subjected through *samprasaṇa*, will refer to a short *u* equal in duration of half a mora (see *Nyāsa ad Kāś*). Why then use *taparakaranya* with short *u*? It is for this reason that *taparakaranya* is intended more for canceling *ūTH*.

### 6.1.131 एतत्तदोः सुलोपोऽकोर्नञ्जमासे हलि

*etattadoḥ sulopo'kor anañsamāse hali*  
*/ etattadoḥ 6/2/ = etac ca tac ca (itar. dv.), tayoh; sulopah 1/1 = sor lopah (ṣaṣ. tat.); akoh 6/2 = na vidyate 'k' yayoh (bv.); anañsamāse 7/1 = nañnah samāsah (ṣaṣ. tat.); na nañsamāsah (nañ. tat.), tasmin; hali 7/1/ (samhitāyām #72)*

*etattadau yāv akahārāu nañsamāse na varte taylor yah suśabdah tadarthena sambaddhah tasya sañhitāyām viśaye hali parato lopo bhavati*

A nominal ending, namely *sU*, when used after *etad* and *tad* not containing *k* and not being used as part of a negative compound (*nañsamāsa*), is deleted, provided a consonant (*hali*) follows and *sañhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

*eṣa dadāti* ‘this one gives’

*sa dadāti* ‘he gives’

*eṣa bhūṇkte* ‘this one eats’

*sa bhūṇkte* ‘he eats’

1. Let us consider *eṣa dadāti* ‘this one gives?’ where *eṣa* is derived from *etad + sU*. The final *d* of *etad* is replaced with *a* by 7.2.102 *tyadādinām ah*. Rule 6.1.97 *ato gune* then orders *pararūpa*, a single replacement similar to what follows. We thus get: *eta(d→a) + s(U)→et(a+a→a) + s(U)*. The preceding *t* of *etat* is then replaced with *s* (7.2.106 *tadoḥ sāv anantyayoh*) to yield *e(t→s)a + s(U)*. This *s* is then replaced with *s* of 8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoh*. We thus get *e(s→s)a + s(U) = eṣa + s(U)*. Our final derivate *eṣa* is gotten after deletion of *sU*.

This rule focuses on *etad* and *tad* only. That is why we do not get deletion of *sU*, in *yo dadāti*, where *yad* forms the base. The condition of *sU* is also important. This then does not allow deletion in *etat + au→etadau* where the ending is *au*. The negation of *akoh* ‘of those with no *k*’ excludes forms of *etat* and *tat* which may be derived with *akaC*. Thus, one may derive a form such as *eṣakah* and *sakah*, where *akaC* is introduced prior to the *ti* (1.1.64 *aco'ntyādi ti*; 5.3.71 *avayayasarvanāmnām akc prāk teḥ*) of *eta + s(U)* and *ta + s(U)*. Our forms *eta* and *ta*, of course, derive from *etad* and *tad* with the application of *d→a* (*atva*) and *a + a→a* (*pararūpa*), as already explained in connection with *eṣa*. The resultant forms with *akaC*, i.e., *etaka + s(U)* and *taka + s(U)*, cannot go through deletion of *sU*. They will yield *eṣakah* and *sakah*, where *s* of *esakah* goes through a replacement in *s*. The negation of *akoh* is necessary because, in its absence, a specification by means of *etad* and *tad* could also include references to their forms with *akaC*. Such a reference is possible in view of the *Paribhāṣā* (PŚ: 90): *tanmadhyapatitas tadgrahaṇena grhyate* ‘a specification made in grammar by a form also refers to its corresponding forms which may have inserts within’. That is, *etad* and *tad* can also refer to their forms qualified with *akaC*.

The negation of *anañsamāse* ‘when not in combination with a negative particle’ is important for blocking deletion of *sU* in *aneṣo dadāti* and *aso dadāti*, where *aneṣah* and *asah* are paraphrased as *na eṣah* and *na sah*. The *n* in *na eṣah* is deleted by 6.3.73 *na lopo*. . . . Augment *nUT* of 6.3.74 *tasmān*

*nud* . . . is then introduced to derive ( $n \rightarrow \phi$ )  $a(\tilde{N}) + s(U) + (etad \rightarrow esa) + sU \rightarrow a + n(UT) + s(U) + esa + s(U) = an + (sU \rightarrow \phi) + esa + (sU \rightarrow \phi) = anesa + sU \rightarrow anesah$ . Similar rules apply in deriving *asah*. Note that *nañ* is related to *etad* and *tad* because a negative compound has its following constituent as principal (*uttarapadapradhāna*).

The condition of *hali* ‘when a consonant follows’ blocks deletion of *sU*, in examples such as *esah + atra → eso'* *tra* and *sah + atra → so'* *tra*, where what follows is a vowel.

### 6.1.132 स्यश्छन्दसि बहुलम्

*syaś chandasī bahulam*  
*/syah 1/1 chandasī 7/1 bahulam 1/1/*  
*(saṃhitāyām #72 sulopah hali #131)*  
*'sya' iti etasya cchandasī hali parato bahulam sor lopo bhavati*  
 A *sU* which occurs after *sya*, in the Vedic, is variously deleted when a consonant (*hal*) follows and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

#### EXAMPLES:

*uta sya vājī kṣipanim túraṇyati grīvāyām baddhó api kakṣa āsani  
 esa sya té pavata indra somáh*

1. Note that deletion of *sU* here refers to one which occurs after ( $t \rightarrow s$ ) *ya* = *sya* of *tyad*. That is,  $(tya(d \rightarrow a) \rightarrow ty(a + a \rightarrow a) \rightarrow (t \rightarrow s) ya = sya))$ ; *sya + sU*. A provision of *bahulam* also makes this deletion non-applicable, elsewhere. Thus, we get *yatra syo nipatet*.

The word *syah* is an imitation (*anukarana*) of the nominative, used with the denotatum of *saṣṭhī* ‘genitive’ (*saṣṭhyarthe prathamā*).

### 6.1.133 सोऽचि लोपे चेत्यादपूरणम्

*so' ci lope cet pādapūraṇam*  
*/soh 6/1 aci 7/1 lope 7/1 cet φ pādapūraṇam 1/1 = pādasya pūraṇam (saś.  
 tat.)/*  
*(saṃhitāyām #72 sulopah #131)*

*'sah'ity etasyāci parataḥ sulopo bhavati lope sati cet pādah pūryate*

The *sU* of *sah* is deleted when a vowel (*aci*) follows, provided this deletion facilitates completion of the quarter of a verse (*pādapūrṇam*).

#### EXAMPLES:

*sedu rājā kṣayati carṣaṇīnām  
 sauśādhīranūrudhyase*

1. This rule allows deletion of *sU* with the express purpose of completing a verse quarter. Thus, given *sa + sU + idu* and *sa + sU + oṣadhi*, we get

*sa + (sU→ϕ) + idu→s(a + i→e) du = sedu* and *sa + (sU→ϕ) + oṣadhi→s(a + o→au) ṣadhi = sauṣadhi*, after *sU*-deletion and single *guna* and *vṛddhi* replacements.

2. *Kāśikā* states that some also desire *pāda* to refer to quarter of a verse. That is, in addition to referring to the quarter of a Ḍyvedic hymn (*rkpāda*) in view of *chandas*:

*saiṣa dāśarathī rāmāḥ/ saiṣa rājū yudhiṣṭhirah/  
saiṣa karṇo mahātyāgī/ saiṣa bhīmo mahābalah//*

### 6.1.134 सुट्कात्पूर्वः:

*suṭ kāt pūrvah  
/ suṭ 1/1 kāt 5/1 pūrvah 1/1/  
(saṃhitāyām #72)  
adhikāro' yam. ita uttarāṁ yad vakṣyāmas tatra 'suṭ' iti 'kāt pūrvah' iti caitad  
adhikṛtam veditavyam*

Augment *sUT* is introduced before *k*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*samskartā* 'he who beautifies, etc.'  
*samskartum* 'for beautifying'  
*samskartavyam* 'that which is to be . . .'

1. This is an *adhikāra* 'governing rule', valid up to 6.1.157 *pāraskaraprabhr̥tini ca*. The *T* in *sUT* is an *it*. Its *U* is intended for ease of articulation. Since this rule provides for *sUT* to be introduced before *k*, 1.1.46 *ādyantau ṭakitau* is not invoked for its placement. A question is raised against marking *sUT* with *T* as an *it*, especially since 1.1.46 *ādyantau ṭakitau* is not to be invoked in connection with its placement. It is stated (Bhimasen Śāstri, II: 562) that *T* as an *it* is here intended for distinguishing *sUT* from *su* (of 8.2.70 *parinivibhyah sevasitasaya . . .*). Or else, a specification made with *su*, without *T*, may have confused *su(T)* with verbal root *su*. This, in turn, would have yielded undesired interpretations.

Illustrations will be offered under individual rules.

2. Pāṇini specifies *kāt pūrvah* to indicate that *sUT* does not become part of what contains *k* (*Kāś: kātpūrvagrahaṇam suṭo' bhaktañāpanārtham*). Augment *sUT*, because of being marked with *T*, could have been introduced as an initial element anyway (1.1.46 *ādyantau ṭakitau*). Consider the controlled derivation of *saṃkṛṣiṣṭa*, third person singular middle form of *LIN*, from *saṃ + kṛ + (LIN→ta)→saṃ + kṛ + ta*, where, after *siyUT*, we get *saṃ + kṛ + siy + ta*. Augment *sUT* is now introduced before *ta* in view of 3.4.107 *siṭ titoh*. The *y* of *siy*, in *saṃ + s(UṬ) + kṛ + siy + s(UṬ) + ta*, is then deleted by 6.1.66 *lopo vyor vali*. Note that *sUT* before *kṛ* is accomplished by our present rule. If this *sUT*

is treated as part of *kṛ* then *skṛ* will become *samyogādi* ‘that which has a conjunct in its initial position’. Rule 7.2.43 *rtaś ca samyogādeḥ* will then require a *guṇa* replacement for *r*. This will yield a wrong form. It is to block such applications that *sUT*, at the strength of its specification by *kāt pūrvah*, is not treated as part of what contains *k* (*kakāravān*). A *guṇa* and *iT* conditioned by *samyogādi* (cf. 7.2.43 *rtaś ca samyogādeḥ*) will be blocked if *sUT* is treated part of the conjunct (*samyoga*). A *sUT*, if treated as part of the conjunct, would also not allow *nighāṭa* ‘blanket *anudāttā*’ (cf. 8.1.28 *tin̄ atināḥ*). The word *samskṛiṣṭa* goes through *anusvāra* of *m* and *ś*-replacement for both of its *s* sounds.

Now consider *samskriyate*, a third singular present passive, derived from *sam + kṛ + (LAT→te)→sam + kṛ + yaK + te* where *yaK* is introduced by 3.1.67 *sārvadhātuke yak*. The *r* of *kṛ* is replaced with *ni* (7.4.28 *rig śayaglinkṣu*) and augment *sUT* is introduced to yield *sam + sUT + k(r→ni) + ya + te = samskriyate*. This intervening *s*, if treated as part of *kri*, would have also blocked *nighāṭa* ‘blanket *anudāttā*’ of 8.1.28 *tin̄ atināḥ*. Incidentally, in matters of accentuation, an insert consonant is treated as if not present (*avidyamānavat*).

How is a *guṇa* conditioned by initial conjunct (*samyogādi*) accomplished in *sañcaskaratuḥ* and *sañcaskaruḥ* if *sUT* is not treated as part of that which contains *k*. Actually, *sUT* becomes part of *sañcaskṛ*, an *aṅga*, after iteration (*PŚ* (90): *tanmadhyapatis tadgrahanena grhyate*). The *guṇa* then applies to derive *sañcask(r→ar) + atuh = sañcaskaratuḥ*. But 7.4.10 *rtaś ca samyogāder...*, even when *sUT* is treated as part of *kṛ*, cannot allow *guṇa* since *skṛ* with initial conjunct is not a *dhātu* ‘verbal root’. A *vārttika* proposal is made to allow *guṇa* of 7.4.10 also where penultimate conjunct is involved (*samyogopadha; samyogopadhagrahanam ca ‘rtaś ca samyogāder guṇah’ity atra vaktavyam*).

3. Two *vārttika* proposals of this rule have been jointly listed by the *Kāśikāvṛtti* as a separate *sūtra*:

- (i) *advyavāya upasāṅkhyānam* ‘*sUT* is introduced before *k* also in contexts where *aT* intervenes’ and
- (ii) *abhyāsavyavāye’ pi ca* ‘*sUT* is introduced before *k*, also where *abhyāsa* ‘doubling’ intervenes’.

The necessity of these proposals is explained relative to introduction of *sUT* on the one hand and that of *aT* and *abhyāsa* ‘doubling’ on the other. It is argued that an operation, i.e., *sUT*, is more powerful because it is internal (*antarāṅga*) to the preverb (*upasarga*) and the root (*dhātu*). This operation is to be performed before any external (*bahirāṅga*) operation, i.e., *aT* and *abhyāsa* conditioned by the affix. But since *sUT* is introduced before *k* and it does not become part of the form which contains *k*, *T* and *abhyāsa*, when applied, will follow *s*. This, in turn, is not desired (*iṣṭa*). It is to remove this difficulty that these express proposals are made. One has to apply *aT* and

*abhyāsa* first and then, even with them intervening, *sUT* is introduced before *k*. This will offer all desired results (*sarvam iṣṭam siddhyati*).

Provisions of the first proposal are illustrated with *samaskarot* and *samaskārṣit*, third person singular active imperfect (*LaṄ*) and immediate (*LUN*) past forms of verbal root *kṛ*, used with the preverb *sa*m. Notice how *sUT*, i.e., *s* after *a*, is introduced before *k*, even when *aT*, i.e., *a* before *s*, intervenes. We also get *sañcaskāra* and *paricaskāra*, where *ca* results out of *abhyāsa*. Augment *sUT* is again introduced before *k*, even when *abhyāsa* intervenes. See the appendix for full derivational details.

### 6.1.135 सम्पर्युपेभ्यः करोतौ भूषणे

*samparyupebhyaḥ karotau bhūṣane*

/ *sam-pari-upebhyaḥ* 5/3 (itar. dv.), *tebhyaḥ; karotau* 7/1 *bhūṣane* 7/1 /

(*samhitāyām* #72 *suṭ kāt pūrvah* #134)

'*sam, pari, upa*' ity etebhyo *bhūṣanārthe karotau parataḥ suṭ kāt pūrvo bhavati*  
Augment *sUT* is introduced before *k* when verbal root *kṛ* 'to do, make', used with the preverbs *sa*m, *pari* and *upa*, occurs with the signification of *bhūṣana* 'ornamentation'.

EXAMPLES:

*samskartā*

*samskartum*

*samskartavyam*

*pariskartā*

*pariskartum*

*pariskartavyam*

*upaskartā*

*upaskartum*

*upaskartavyam*

1. This rule allows for introduction of *sUT* before *k* when verbal root *kṛ* is used with the preverbs *sa*m, *pari* and *upa*, provided when the signification is *bhūṣana* 'ornamentation'. Consider *samskartā* which is a derivate of *trC* introduced after *kṛ* used with *sa*m. Refer to the derivation of *kartā* (II:388) in the appendix. Given *sa*m + *s(U)* + *kartā*, the *m* of *sa*m is replaced with *rU* (8.3.5 *samaḥ suṭi*). We now have *sa(m→r(U)) + s + kartā = sar + s + kartā*. The *a* of *sar* is optionally nasalized by 8.3.2 *atrānunāśikah pūrvasya tu vā*. Now we have *sār + s + kartā* and *sar + s + kartā*. Rule 8.3.4 *anunāśikāt paro'nusvārah* introduces *anusvāra* after *a* before *rU*, provided *a* is non-nasalized. This application changes *sar + s + kartā* into *sār + r + s + kartā*. Rule 8.3.18 *karava-sānayor visarjanīyah* can then apply on both strings to yield: *sā(r→h) + s + kartā = sāh + s + kartā* and *sār + (r→h) + s + kartā = samh + s + kartā*. A *vārttika* under 8.3.36 *vā śari*, i.e., *sampumkānām so vaktavyah*, requires the *h* to be

replaced with *s*. We thus get *sā(h→s) + s + kartā = sās + s + kartā* and *sam(h→s) + s + kartā = sam+s + kartā*. Forms with single *s* are also used, especially when the option of *rU* which leads to an additional *s*, via *h*, is accepted.

A statement of the *Mahābhāṣya*, namely *samo vā lopam eke*, also deletes *m* of *sam*, thereby yielding a single *s* derivate. Similar rules apply in deriving *samskartum* and *samskartavyam*, the derivates of *tumUN* and *tavyaT*, respectively. Derivates such as *pariṣkartā*, *pariṣkartum* and *pariṣkartavyam* involve replacement of *s* by *s* (8.3.70 *sūṣṭusvañjām*). Deriving *upaskartā*, *upaskartum* and *upaskartavyam* does not offer anything new.

2. The condition of *bhūṣane* is necessary so that examples such as *upakaroti* ‘... does a favor’ are blocked from receiving *sUT*. Some, however, claim that examples such as *samṣkṛtam annam* ‘cooked food’ requires *sUT*, even when the signification is other than *bhūṣana*. Others claim that *samṣkāra* of *anna* can still be viewed as *bhūṣana*.

3. Some do not read *upa* as part of this rule. For them the *sūtra* is simply: *samparibhāyāṁ karotau bhūṣane*.

### 6.1.136 समवाये च

*samavāye ca*  
*/ samavāye 7/1 ca φ /*  
*(samhitāyām #72 suṭ kāt pūrvah #134 samparyupebhyaḥ karotau #135)*  
*samavāyah = samudāyah, tasmiṁś cārthe karotau samparyupebhyaḥ kāt pūrvah*  
*suḍ āgamo bhavati*

Augment *sUT* is introduced before *k* when verbal root *kṛ*, used in conjunction with the preverbs *sam*, *pari* and *upa*, follows with the signification of *samavāya* ‘mass, aggregation, collection’ and *samhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

*tatra nah samṣkr̥tam*  
*tatra nah pariṣkr̥tam*  
*tatra nah upaṣkr̥tam*

1. Why was a single *sūtra* with the form of *samparyupābhāyāṁ karotau bhūṣanasamavāyayoh* not formulated?

### 6.1.137 उपात्प्रतियत्नवैकृतवाक्याहरेषु

*upāt pratiyatnavaiκṛta-vākyādhyaḥhāreṣu*  
*/ upāt 5/1 pratiyatna-vaiκṛta-vākyādhyaḥhāreṣu 7/3 (itar. dv.) /*  
*(samhitāyām #72 suṭ kāt pūrvah #134 karotau #135)*  
*‘pratiyatna, vaiκṛta, vākyādhyaḥhāra’ ity eteṣu artheṣu gamyamāneṣu karotau dhālau parata upāt suṭ kāt pūrvo bhavati*

Augment *sUT* is introduced before *k* of verbal root *kṛ*, used after the preverb *upa*, when *pratiyatna* ‘change or enhancement in an existing quality’, *vaikṛta* ‘modification’ and *vākyādhyaḥāra* ‘paraphrase; supplying words to a sentence to explain understood meanings’ are signified and *samhitā* finds its scope.

#### EXAMPLES:

*edho dakasyopaskurute* ‘wood brings new quality to the water’

*kāñdaguṇasyopaskurute* ‘ibidem’

*upaskṛtam bhunkte* ‘eats in a bad manner’

*upaskṛtam gacchati* ‘walks in a bad manner’

*upaskṛtam jalpati* ‘speaks in a bad manner’

*upaskṛtam adhīte* ‘studies in a bad manner’

1. Why was the rule not formulated as *samaribhyām karotau bhūṣāna-samavāyayoh upāt pratiyatnavākyādhyaḥāreṣu ca?* Answers Haradatta, go ask the maker of the *sūtras* (PM: *sūtrakāram pṛccha*).

A separate formulation of *sūtras* 6.1.135, 6.1.136 and 6.1.137 was perhaps necessitated because of diverse signification of derivates. Additionally, the *anuvṛtti* of *upāt* alone is carried to the next rule. Formulating a rule with all the preverbs may have created confusion about the *anuvṛtti* of *upāt* subsequently. If they all carried here they all had to be carried subsequently.

2. The word *pratiyatna* is explained as *samīhā* ‘necessary effort’ for enhancing an existing quality, or maintaining one already enhanced. (*Kāś: sato guṇāntarādhīnam ādhikyāya vṛddhasya vā tadavasthāya samīhā*). The word *vaikṛta* simply means *vikṛta* ‘brought into a state of modification’. The word *vākyādhyaḥāra* is explained as express mention of words whose meanings otherwise must remain understood (*Kāś: gamyamānārthasya vākyasya svarūpenopādānam vākyasyādhyaḥārah*).

#### 6.1.138 किरतौ लवने

*kiratau lavane*

/ *kiratau* 7/1 *lavane* 7/1/

(*samhitāyām #72 suṭ kāt pūrvah #134 upāt #137*)

*upād uttarasmin kiratau dhātau lavanavisiṣaye suṭ kāt pūrvo bhavati*

Augment *sUT* is introduced before *k* of verbal root *kṛ*, used after the preverb *upa*, when the signification is *lavana* ‘cutting’ and *samhitā* finds its scope.

#### EXAMPLES:

*upaskāram madrakā lunanti* ‘the people of Madra cut having spread it around’

*upaskāram kāśmīraka lunanti* ‘the people of Kashmīra cut having spread it around’

1. Note that only *upāt* is carried here. This rule provides for *sUT* before *k* when *kṛ* ‘scatter, spread about’ is used with the preverb *upa* and the signification is *lavana* ‘cutting, chopping’. Affix *NamUL*, in *upaskāram*, is introduced in consonance with *bahulam* of 3.3.113 *kṛtyalyuṭo bahulam*.

2. A *vārttika* proposal also requires the introduction of *sUT* when *kṛ*, used with the preverb *upa*, occurs with *NvUL* (3.1.10 *tumunṇvulau kriyāyām . . .*).

### 6.1.139 हिंसायां प्रतेश्च

*himṣāyāṁ prateś ca*

/ *himṣāyāṁ* 7/1 *prateḥ* 5/1 *ca* φ /

(*saṃhitāyāṁ* #72 *suṭ kāt pūrvah* #134 *upāt* #137 *kiratau* #138)

*upāt prateś cottarasmin kiratau viṣaye suṭ kāt pūrvo bhavati himṣāyāṁ viṣaye*

Augment *sUT* is introduced before *k* in the context of verbal root *kṛ*, used after *upa* and *prati*, when the signification is *himṣā* ‘harm’ and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

#### EXAMPLES:

*upaskirna ham te vṛṣala bhūyāt* ‘may your cutting O! Vṛṣala, lead to violence’

*pratiskirṇa ham te vṛṣala bhūyāt* ‘ibidem’

1. Our examples, *upaskirna* and *pratiskirṇa*, are derived from *upa + s + kṛ + ta* and *prati + s + kṛ + ta*, via application of *i*-replacement (*itva*; 7.1.100 *ṛta id dhātoḥ*), with a following *r* (*raparata*; 1.50 *ur aṇ raparah*), change of *t* to *n* (*natva*; 8.2.42 *radābhyaṁ niṣṭhāto . . .*), lengthening (*dirgha*; 8.2.77 *hali ca*) and replacement in *n* (*ṇatva*; 8.4.1 *raṣābhyaṁ ḥo nah . . .*). Thus, *upa + s + k(īr → ir) + ta → upaskir + (t → n)a → upask(i → ī)r + na → upaskir + (n → ḥ)a = upaskirna*.

2. Why do we have the condition of *himṣā*? So that examples such as *pratikirṇam* can be kept out of the scope of *sUT*.

### 6.1.140 अपाच्चतुष्पाच्छकुनिष्वालेखने

*apāccatuṣpācchakuniṣv ālekhane*

/ *apāt* 5/1 *catuspāc-chakuniṣv* 7/3 = *catuspādaś ca śakunayaś ca* (itar. dv.), *teṣu; ālekhane* 7/1 /

(*saṃhitāyāṁ* #72 *suṭ kāt pūrvah* #134 *kiratau* #138)

*apād uttarasmin kiratau catuspācchakuniṣv yad ālekhanaṁ tasmin viṣaye suṭ kāt pūrvo bhavati*

Augment *sUT* is introduced before *k* of verbal root *kṛ*, when the same is used after preverb *apa* and the signification is ‘scratching, scraping’ (*ālekhana*) relatable to a quadruped (*catuspād*), or a bird (*śakunayaḥ*), and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

## EXAMPLES:

*apaskirate vṛṣabho hrṣṭah* ‘happy, the bull is digging up dirt’

*apaskirate kukkuṭah bhakṣyārthi* ‘hungry, the rooster is digging up dirt’

*apaskirate śve āśrayārthi* ‘seeking a shelter, the dog dusts off the place’

- Notice that the above examples are all in *ātmanepada* ‘middle’. A *vārttika* proposal requires such *ātmanepada* usages when the signification is *harṣa* ‘joy’, *jīvīkā* ‘livelihood’ and *kulāya* ‘making a shelter’ (*harṣajīvīkākulāyakaraṇeṣu iti vaktavyam*). Elsewhere, one should use active endings (*parasmaipada*).

## 6.1.141 कुस्तुम्बुरुणि जातिः:

*kustumburūni jātiḥ*

/ *kustumburūni* 1/3 *jātiḥ* 1/1 /

(*samhitāyām* #72 *sūt* #134)

‘*kustumburūṇi*’ *iti sūt nipātyate jātiś ced bhavati*

Augment *sUT* is introduced before *t* in deriving *kustumburu*, when *jāti* ‘class’ is signified and *samhitā* finds its scope.

## EXAMPLES:

*kustumburūṇi* ‘a kind of vegetation; food plant’

- This introduction of *sUT* before *t* is made via *nipātana*. The specification of *kustumburu* in *naपुंसाका* ‘neuter’ *bahuvacana* ‘plural’ is not intended to be as such (*avivaksita*). One can also find usages other than neuter plural.
- The condition of *jāti* is necessary to rule out examples such as *kustumburūṇi*, etc., where *tumburu* denotes a squash (*tindukī*) of bad quality. The signification of the compound base is *nindā* ‘censure’.

## 6.1.142 अपरस्परा: क्रियासातत्ये

*aparasparāḥ kriyāsātatye*

/ *aparasparāḥ* 1/3 *kriyāsātatye* 7/1 = *kriyāyāḥ sātatayam* (*śas. tat.*) /

(*samhitāyām* #72 *sūt* #134)

‘*aparasparā*’ *iti sūt nipātyate kriyāsātatye gamyamāne*

Augment *sUT* is introduced in deriving *aparasparāḥ*, via *nipātana*, when *kriyāsātatya* ‘uninterrupted action’ is denoted and when *samhitā* finds its scope.

## EXAMPLES:

*aparasparāḥ sārthāḥ gacchanti* ‘Caravans move continuously’

- The word *kriyāsātatya* is explained as an action with no interruption (*satatam avicchedena*). This is what is meant by *sātatyaaprabandha* ‘constant

occurrence' of *gamana* 'movement'. Elsewhere, we will get an example such as *aparaparāḥ sārthāḥ gacchanti*, where the action takes place only once.

2. Note that *sātatyā* is used with the signification of *satata* 'permanence, continued'. It is formed with *sam* in combination before *tata*. Additionally, there is an optional deletion of *m*. Thus, *satatam* and *santatam*. Consider the following verse from the *Mahābhāṣya*.

*lumped avaśyamah kṛtye tuṅkāmamanasor api/*  
*samo vā hitatatayor māṃsasya paci yudghañoh//*

'the *m* of *avaśyam* goes through deletion; the *m* of *tumUN* is deleted when *kāma* and *manas* follow; the *m* of *sam* goes through optional deletion when *hita* and *tata* combine to follow; the final *a* of *māṃsa* also goes through optional deletion when verbal root *pac*, qualified with *yuT* (*LyuT*) or *GHaÑ*, follows.'

The following examples illustrate the intent of this verse:

*avaśyam kāryam* = *avaśyakāryam*; *kartum kāmaḥ asya saḥ* = *kartukāmaḥ*;  
*hartum kāmaḥ asya saḥ* = *hartukāmaḥ*; *sahitam, samhitam, satatam, santatam;*  
*māṃspacanam, māṃsapacanam, māṃspākah, māṃsapākah.*

### 6.1.143 गोष्यदं सेवितासेवितप्रमाणेषु

*gospadam sevitāsevitapramāṇeṣu*  
*/goṣpadam 1/1 sevitāsevitapramāṇeṣu 7/3 = sevitam ca asevitam ca*  
*pramāṇam ca = sevitāsevitapramāṇāni (itar. dv.), teṣu/*  
*(samhitāyām #72 suṭ #134)*

*goṣpadam iti suṭ nipātyate tasya ca ṣatvam sevite' sevite pramāne ca viṣaye*  
 Augment *sUT* is introduced in deriving *goṣpada*, via *nipātana*, with an additional provision of replacement of *s* with *ṣ*, when *goṣpada*, *sevita*, *asevita* and *pramāṇa* are signified.

#### EXAMPLES:

*goṣpado deśaḥ*  
 'a place where cows graze'  
*agoṣpadāny aranyāni*  
 '(large) forests where cows do not graze'

1. Augment *sUT* and *ṣ*-replacement for its *s* (*ṣatva*) is provided in the context of *sevita* 'frequented', *asevita* 'not frequented' and *pramāṇa* 'measure'. The condition of *asevita* is cited so that *agoṣpada* can also be accounted for. Why does one have to cite *asevita* when negation (*pratisedha*) of *sevita* itself can account for it? But such a negation can only account for contexts where *sevita* is possible. What of contexts where *sevita* is impossible. That is, negating *sevita* can account for a place which is possible to frequent but for

some reason it is not. The *asevita* of our rule refers to situations where possibility of frequenting is simply out of question (*asambhava*). Thus, *agospadāni aranyāni* ‘large forests which cows do not frequent’. Examples such as *gospadapūram vṛṣṭo devah* ‘it rained to the extent that only cow’s footprints could fill up’, etc., denote a measure (*pramāṇa*). Thus, *gospada* is not here used in the sense of a cow’s footprint. Elsewhere, we will get *goh padam* = *gopadam* ‘cow’s foot’.

### 6.1.144 आस्पदं प्रतिष्ठायाम्

*āspadam pratiṣṭhāyām*  
*/āspadam 1/1 pratiṣṭhāyām7/1/*  
*(samhitāyām #72 sut #134)*

*ātmayāpanāya sthānam = pratiṣṭhā, tasyām āspadam iti sūt nipātyate*

Augment *sUT* is introduced in deriving *āspada* ‘place’, via *nipātana*, when *pratiṣṭhā* ‘place for earning a living’ is denoted and *samhitā* finds its scope.

#### EXAMPLES:

*āspadam anena labdham* ‘he has found a place where he can earn his living’

1. Note that *āspadam* is derived as a neuter derivate of affix *GHa*. Thus, *ā + sUT + pad + GHa = āspada + sU→aspadam*. The word *pratiṣṭhā* is explained as *ātmayāpanāya sthānam* ‘a place for sustenance’. Elsewhere, we will get *āpadāt = āpada + sU→āpadam*, an indeclinable compound, with the meaning of ablative (*pañcamī*) involving no *sUT*.

### 6.1.145 आश्चर्यमनित्ये

*āścaryam anitye*  
*/āścaryam 1/1 anitye 7/1 = na nityam (nañ. tat.), tasmin/*  
*(samhitāyām #72 sut #134)*

*anitye’rtha āścaryam iti sūt nipātyate*

Augment *sUT* is introduced in deriving *āścarya*, via *nipātana*, when *anitya* ‘surprising, unusual, impermanent’ is denoted, and *samhitā* finds its scope.

#### EXAMPLES:

*āścaryam yadi sa bhuñjīta* ‘it will be a surprise if he ate?’  
*āścaryam yadi so’ dhiyīta* ‘it will be a wonder if he studied?’

1. The word *anitya* refers to something unusual and extraordinary (*adbhutavam*). Thus, we get *ā(N) + car + ya(T)→ā + s(uT) + car + ya→ā + (s→ś) + car + ya = āścarya*. Augment *sUT* is, of course, provided via *nipātana*. Affix

*yaT*, though, is offered by a *vārtika* proposal (*cāneśāni cāgurau*). We will get *ācaryam̄ karma śobhanam* ‘one should pursue some noble deed’ outside the meaning scope of *anitye*.

### 6.1.146 वर्चस्केऽवस्करः:

*varcaske' vaskarah*  
*/varcaske 7/1 avaskarah 1/1/*  
*(saṃhitāyām #72 suṭ #134)*  
*'avaskara' iti nipātyate varcaske' abhidheye*

Augment *sUT* is introduced in deriving *avaskara*, via *nipātana*, when *varcaska* ‘throw away food; useless’ is denoted, and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

#### EXAMPLES:

*avakīryata ity avaskarah*

1. The word *avaskara* denotes *annamalam* ‘food not fit for eating’. It can also denote a place where such food is thrown away. It can be derived with affix *aP* (3.3.57 *ṛdor ap*) introduced after verbal root *kṛ*, used with the preverb *ava*. The *sUT*, of course, is introduced via *nipātana*. Affix *aP* thus has the signification of *karman* ‘object’.

### 6.1.147 अपस्करो रथाङ्गम्

*apaskaro rathāṅgam*  
*/apaskarah 1/1 rathāṅgam 1/1 = rathasya aṅgam (saṃ. tat.)/*  
*(saṃhitāyām #72 suṭ #134)*  
*'apaskara' iti nipātyate rathāṅgam ced bhavati*

Augment *sUT* is introduced in deriving *apaskara*, via *nipātana*, when *rathāṅga* ‘part of a chariot’ is denoted, and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

#### EXAMPLES:

*apaskarah* ‘part of a chariot’

1. The word *apaskarah* is derived similarly to *avaskarah*. Elsewhere, we get *apaskarah* with the signification of *brahmacāriṇah striyām̄ retah sekah* ‘a celibate’s sprinkling of semen into a woman’.

### 6.1.148 विष्क्रिरः शकुनौ वा

*viṣkiraḥ śakunau vā*  
*/viṣkiraḥ 1/1 śakunau 7/1 vā φ/*  
*saṃhitāyām #72 suṭ #134/*  
*'viṣkira' iti vā suṭ nipātyate śakunāv abhidheye*

Augment *sUT* is optionally introduced in deriving *viśkira*, via *nipātana*, when *śakuni* ‘bird’ is denoted and *samhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

*viśkirah* ‘bird’  
*vikirah* ‘ibidem’

1. *Kāśikā* reads the *sūtra* as *viśkirah śakunir vikiro vā*. It is argued that *vā* alone could have accounted for optional *vikirah*. The *Mahābhāṣya* reads the *sūtra* as *viśkirah śakunau vā*. *Kāśikā* still uses it to show that this optional derivation is available only in the context of *śakuni* ‘bird’, and not anywhere else. The two derivates can be derived with optional *sUT* and introduction of affix *Ka* (3.1.135 *igupadhajñāprīkirah kah*) after verbal root *kṛ* used with the preverb *vi*. Of course, *ṛ* will be replaced with *ir*, as shown earlier in connection with *upaskirṇam*, etc. The word *vikira* must also here mean *śakuni* ‘bird’.

#### 6.1.149 ह्रस्वाच्चन्त्रोत्तरपदे मन्त्रे

*hrasvāc candrottarapade mantre*  
*/hrasvāt 5/1 candrottarapade 7/1 = candraś cāsau uttarapadaṁ ca (itar. dv.), tasmin; mantre 7/1/*  
*(samhitāyām #72 sUT #134)*  
*candraśabda uttarapade hrasvāt parāḥ sudā ḍagamo bhavati mantraviśaye*  
 Augment *sUT* is introduced after a short vowel in the *mantra* usage when *candra* follows, and *samhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

*suśandro yuṣmān*

1. *Kāśikā* offers *suryācandramasāv iva* as a counter-example where *sUT* cannot be introduced because *suryā* ends in a long vowel. A classical usage such as *sucandrā paurṇamāsi* ‘a night with beautiful full moon’ can also not qualify for *sUT* either. That is, it cannot qualify for its status as a *mantra*. An example such as *candram asi* can also be out because *asi*, even though it follows, does not qualify as a following constituent. Thus, *uttarapade* refers to constituency in a compound.

#### 6.1.150 प्रतिष्कशश्च कशः:

*pratiṣkaśāś ca kaśeh*  
*/pratiṣkaśāḥ 1/1 ca φ kaśeh 5/1/*  
*(samhitāyām #72 sUT #134)*  
*‘kaśāḥ gatiśāsanayoh’ ity etasya dhātoḥ pratipūrvasya pacādyaci kṛte sūt*  
*nipātyate tasyaiva satvam*

The word *pratiṣkaśa* is additionally derived by introducing augment *sUT* before *k* of verbal root *kaś*, used with the preverb *prati*, with an additional provision that *s* of *sUT* be replaced with *s*.

EXAMPLES:

*grāmam adya pravekṣyāmi*  
 'I shall enter the village today'  
*bhava me tvam̄ pratiṣkaśah* 'you be my companion'

1. The word *pratiṣkaśah* is a derivate of *aC* derived from *prati* + *kaś* + *aC* → *prati* + *sUT* + *kaś* + *aC*. Affix *aC* is introduced in consonance with 3.1.134 *nandigrahipacādibhyo*. . . . The word itself is explained as *vārtāpuruṣa* 'someone to converse with', *sahāya* 'companion' and *puroyāī* 'he who goes before'.

2. The condition of a verbal root such as *kaś* 'to move, govern' is needed to block *sUT* in an example such as *pratikaśo* 'svah = pratigataḥ kaśām' 'a horse who cannot be controlled with a whip' where *prati*, as a preverb, is related to *gam* 'to go' and *kaśā* 'whip' is not a verbal root.

### 6.1.151 प्रस्कण्वहरिश्चन्द्रावृष्टि

*praskanvahariścandrāv ṛṣī*  
*/praskanvahariścandrau 1/2 (itar. dv.) ṛṣī 1/2/*  
*(saṃhitāyām #72 sūt #134)*  
*'praskaṇva, hariścandra' ity sūt nipātyate ṛṣī ced abhidheyau bhavataḥ*  
 Augment *sUT* is introduced in deriving *praskaṇva* and *hariścandra*, when *saṃhitā* finds its scope and the denotata are sages (*ṛṣī*).

EXAMPLES:

*praskanvah ṛṣih* 'a sage named Praskaṇva; (he from whom sins have departed)'  
*hariścandraḥ ṛṣih* 'a sage named Hariścandra; (he for whom moon is like Hari)'

1. Why mention *hariścandra* here when the same can be derived with 6.1.149 *hrasvāc candrottarapade mantrē*? This example refers to usage outside the *Mantra* literature. Lack of *sUT*, in *prakaṇvo māṇavakah* and *haricandro māṇavakah*, indicates that *māṇavaka* 'boy, celibate' is not a *ṛṣī* 'sage'.

### 6.1.152 मस्करमस्करिणी वेणुपरिव्राजकयोः

*maskaramaskarinau venuparivrājakayoh*  
*/ maskara-maskarinau 1/2 (itar. dv.)*  
*venu-parivrājakayoh 7/2 (itar. dv.)/*  
*(saṃhitāyām #72 sūt #134)*

*'maskara, maskarin'* ity etau yathāsamkhyam veṇu parivrājake ca nipātyete  
 The words *maskara* and *maskarin* are derived via *nipātana* with the introduction of augment *sUT* when the signification is *veṇu* ‘bamboo’ and *parivrājaka* ‘wandering ascetic’, respectively.

EXAMPLES:

*maskaro veṇuh* ‘*maskara* is a kind of Bamboo’

*maskarī parivrājakah* ‘*maskarin* is a wandering ascetic’

1. The words *maskara* and *maskarin* are derived with *sUT* when the signification is *veṇu* ‘bamboo, flute’ and *parivrājaka* ‘wandering ascetic’. Elsewhere, we get *makarah* ‘crocodile, shark’ and *makarī* ‘ocean’, a derivate of *inI* paraphrased as *makarāḥ santi asmin* ‘that in which there are crocodiles’.

2. Some derive *maskara* by introducing affix *aC* after verbal root *kṛ*, used with the preverb *māN*. The derivate is then paraphrased as *mā kriyate = yena pratiṣidhyate* ‘a bamboo stick by means of which someone is disciplined not to do something’. Of course, *aC* and *sUT* are introduced via *nipātana*. The word *maskarī* ‘a wandering ascetic’ is derived with affix *inI*, signifying *tacchīya* ‘he whose nature it is to . . .’. A *maskarī* preaches people to desist from worldly affairs and seek inner peace (*mā kuruta karmāṇi śāntir vah śreyasi*). Both these examples will involve *sUT* and shortening of *mā*.

### 6.1.153 कास्तीराजस्तुन्दे नगरे

*kāstīrājastunde nagare*

/ *kāstīrājastunde* 7/1 (itar. dv.); *nagare* 7/1/

(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *sUṭ* #134)

*'kāstīra, ajastunda'* ity etau śabdau nipātyete nagare' bhidheye

The words *kāstīra* and *ajastunda* are derived via *nipātana* with the introduction of augment *sUT* when *saṃhitā* finds its scope and derivates signify a city (*nagara*).

EXAMPLES:

*kāstīram nāma nagaram* ‘a city named Kāstīra’

*ajastundam nāma nagaram* ‘a city named Ajastunda’

1. The non-*sUT* derivates *kātīra* and *ajatunda* are derived from *kā + tīra* and *aja + tunda*, parallel to *iṣat tīram* ‘small shoreline’ and *ajasya iva tundam asya* ‘one whose belly is similar to that of a goat’. The derivates of *sUT* must, of course, name cities.

### 6.1.154 पारस्करप्रभृतीनि च संज्ञायाम्

*pāraskaraprabhṛtīni ca samjnāyām*

/ *pāraskaraprabhṛtīni* 1/3 = *pāraskara prabhṛtir yeśām* (bv.), *tāni*; *ca* φ

*samjñāyām* 7/1/

(*samhitāyām* #72 *sūt* #134)

*pāraskaraprabhṛtīni ca śabdarūpāṇi nipātyante samjñāyām viśaye*

The word *pāraskara*, and its likes, are derived via *nipātana* with the introduction of augment *sUT*, when derivates denote a name (*samjñā*) and *samhitā* finds its scope.

#### EXAMPLES:

*pāraskaro deśah* ‘Pāraskara is a place’

*kāraskaro vṛksah* ‘Kāraskara is a tree’

*rathaspā nadī* ‘Rathaspā is a river’

*kiṣkuḥ pramāṇam* ‘Kiṣku is name of a measure’

*kiṣkindhā guhā* ‘Kiṣkindhā is a cave’

1. Note that *Kāśikā* lists *kāraskaro vṛksah* as a separate *sūtra*. Our present *sūtra*, which accounts for an open ended listing of nominals with express condition of *samjñāyām* ‘when a name is denoted’, is much more economical. In fact, the *Mahābhāṣya* lists *kāraskaro vṛksah* as an example under this rule. It is for this reason that I have not listed *kāraskaro vṛksah* as a separate rule.

2. These words should be accepted as derived. Efforts, however, are still made to explain their derivation. Thus, *pāraskara* is derived parallel to *pāram karoti* ‘goes across’, an *upapada-samāsa* ‘a compound formed with a conjoined word’. Thus, *pāra + am + kr + Ṭa* yields *pārakara* with deletion of *am* and *guṇa* of *kr* with a following *r*. Augment *sUT* gives the final derivate as *pāraskara* signifying a place. Incidentally, affix *Ta* is introduced by 3.2.20 *kr̥no hetutācchilya*. . . . A similar application of rules can also derive *kāraskarah*. The word *rathaspā*, again a compound similar to the preceding examples, is explained as a *nadī* ‘river’, paraphrased as *rathaṁ pāti* ‘. . . protects chariots’. It may be treated as a derivate of *Ka* (3.2.3 *āto nūpasarge* . . .) where 6.4.64 *āto lopa iti ca* deletes the *ā* of *pā*. Thus, *rathap* (*ā*→∅) + (K) *a* = *ratha + s(UT)* + *p + a* = *rathaspa*. Feminine affix *TāP* (4.1.4 *ajādyataś tāp*) is then introduced to derive *rathaspā*. Haradatta accepts the derivate as *rathspā*, parallel to *rathaṁ pāti*, where *s* of *sUT* goes through a replacement in *s* (*satva*), via *nipātana*. Other examples can be similarly explained.

2. A proposal is also made to derive *taskara* and *bṛhaspati* with *sUT*, provided the derivate signifies *cora* ‘thief’ and *devatā* ‘divinity’. Given *tat + kara* and *bṛhat + pati*, the final *t* in the first constituent of both examples is deleted, again via *nipātana*.

#### 6.1.155 अनुदात्तं पदमेकवर्जम्

*anudāttam padam ekavarjam*

/ *anudāttam* 1/1 *padam* 1/1 *ekavarjam* 1/1 = *ekam varjayitvā* (*upa. tat.*) /

*yatrānyah svara udāttah svarito vā vidhīyate, tatrānudāttam padam ekam  
varjayitvā bhavatīty etad upasthitam drāṣṭavyam*

A *pada* bears the *anudātta* accent with the exception of one syllable specified as follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

See under rules to follow.

1. This rule assigns blanket *anudātta* with the exception of one specifically marked otherwise. Thus, 6.1.60 *dhātoḥ* requires that the final of a verbal root be marked *udātta*. A verbal form such as *gopāyatī* will thus be marked *anudātta* everywhere except for its final *udātta*.

2. Note that specific assignment of accent on components of a given word may be more than one. This creates a difficulty. Which one of the many be made an exception to blanket *anudātta*? The guiding principle must be *satiśṭasvaro baliyah* ‘an accent which is expressly specified against what already exists is treated as comparatively more powerful’. Thus most subsequently taught accent should be accepted as an exception to blanket *anudātta*.

It is stated that the accent of a *vikarāṇa*, for example *Śnā*, is accepted as more powerful than the accent of a verbal root (*dhātu*). That is, when it comes to accepting one accent and the choice has to be made between a root-accent and the accent of a *vikarāṇa*, the accent of a *vikarāṇa* is to be excluded. The accent of an affix, such as *tas*, is treated as more powerful than the accent of a *vikarāṇa*. Thus, the accent of an affix must be selected as an exception when it comes to a choice between the accents of a *vikarāṇa* and an affix. Finally, the accent of *ām* is treated as more powerful than that of an affix. Thus, *lunāti*, *lunītah* and *lunītastārām*. What is made an exception to blanket *anudātta*, in the last example, is the final *udātta* of *ām*. The rest of the *pada* is marked *anudātta*. The provision of this *sūtra* thus enables one to get rid of individual accents, for examples, of an augment (*āgama*), *vikarāṇa* ‘base-modifying suffix’, *prakṛti* ‘base’ and *pratyaya* ‘affix’. Thus, the *Mahābhāṣya*:

*āgamasya vikārasya prakṛteḥ pratyayasya ca/  
pṛthaksvaranivṛtyartham ekavarjam padasvarah//*

Consider the derivation of *cātvārāḥ* from *catur + J*as, where augment *ām*, because of being marked with *M* as an *it*, is inserted before the final *r*. Augment *ām* is *udātta* by 7.1.98 *caturanaḍuhor ām udāttah*. The accent of *ām* thus blocks the accent of *catur*. Consequently, *udātta* of *ām* is treated as an exception. The accent of *anĀN*, marked *udātta* by 7.1.75 *asthidadhi . . .*, similarly blocks the initial *udātta* accent of *dadhi* in deriving *dāḍhani*. Consider *gopāyatī* again, where the derived root *gopāya* is marked *udātta* at the end blocking the initial *udātta* accent of suffix *āya*. It is the accent of the derived base

which is treated as more powerful. But consider also *kartavyam* where the initial *udātta* accent of affix *tavyaT* blocks the final *udātta* accent of the root *kṛ*. Thus we get: *kartavyam*.

Note that, in addition to most immediately specified accent (*satiśiṣṭa*), relative strength of accents is also determined on the basis of notions such as *para* ‘subsequent in order’, *nitya* ‘obligatory’, *antaraṅga* ‘internally conditioned’ and *apavāda* ‘exception’. Thus, in *gopāyati*, accent of affix *āya*, an initial *udātta*, is an exception to the accent of verbal root *gup*, a final *udātta*. It blocks the accent of *gup* but is then blocked by the accent of the newly derived base *gopāya*, again a final *udātta*.

### 6.1.156 कर्षात्वतो घजोऽन्त उदात्तः:

*karṣātvato ghañō' nta udāttah*

/karsātvataḥ 6/1 = ād asyāstīty ātvān; karṣāś ca ātvāñś ca (sam. dv. with int. bv.); ghañah 6/1 antah 1/1 udāttah 1/1/

*karṣater dhātor ākāravataś ca ghañantasyānta udātto bhavati*

An *udātta* is assigned to the final of verbal root *kṛṣ* ‘to draw’, and also to that which ends in affix *GHaṄ* and contains an *ā*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*karsah*

*pākah*

*tyāgah*

*rāgah*

*dāyah*

*dhāyah*

1. A specification (*nirdeśa*) of *kṛṣ* with its modified (*vikṛta*) *guna*-form *karṣa* is made so that the *tudādi* root *kṛṣ* can be excluded from the scope of this rule. That is, the final *udātta* accent applies to *karṣa*, ending in *GHaṄ*, provided it is the derivate of the *bhvādi* root *kṛṣ*. The *tudādi* derivate of *GHaṄ*, i.e., *karṣa*, will, of course, be marked *udātta* at the beginning (*ādyudātta*). Thus, we get *karṣah*.

The accentual provision of this rule constitutes an exception to the initial *udātta* accent of 6.1.197 *nnityādir nityam*. Recall that *GHaṄ* is marked with *Ṅ* as an *it*. Examples of derivates of *GHaṄ* with *ā* are: *pākah*, *rāgah* and *dāyah*, where *ā* comes from *vṛddhi*. The *y* of *dāyah* comes from *yUK* of 7.3.33 *āto yuk*. . . .

### 6.1.157 उञ्चादीनां च

*uñchādīnām ca*

/uñchādīnām 6/3 = uñcha ādir yesām te (bv.); ca φ/

(*anta udāttah* #156)

‘*uñcha’ity evam ādināṁ anta udātto bhavati*

The final of the list headed by *uñcha* is also marked with *udātta*.

EXAMPLES:

*uñchah*

*mlecchah*

*japah*

*vyadhabhah*

1. Note that *uñchah* ‘grain picked from fields after harvest’, *mlecchah* ‘corrupt’, *jañjah* ‘warrior’ and *jalpah* ‘gossip’ are all derivates of *GHaÑ* qualified for *nnitsvara* ‘accent based on *N* and *Nas* an *it*’. This rule assigns final *udātta*. Others, i.e., *japah* and *vyadhabhah*, are derivates of *aP* (3.3.61 *vjadhabapor anupasarge*). They should have qualified for initial *udātta* of *dhātobhah* (6.1.159 *dhātobhah*).

2. A final *udātta* is also recommended for *garah*, a derivate of *aP*, provided the signification is *dūsyā* ‘corruptible’. Elsewhere, *gara* means poison and is marked initial *udātta*.

Derivates of *GHaÑ* (3.3.121 *halaś ca*), particularly *veda* ‘that by means of which one knows’, *vega* ‘that by means of which one goes’, *veṣṭa* ‘that by means of which something is enclosed’ and *bandha* ‘that by means of which one ties’, are similarly marked *udātta* at the end. This, of course, is done only when the derivates denote *karanya* ‘instrument’. They are again marked initial *udātta* when the denotatum is *bhāva* ‘action’.

Yet another proposal is made for *stu*, *yu* and *dru* to be marked *udātta* at the end in the Vedic (*stuyudrivaś chandasī*). For, *pariṣṭut*, *samyut* and *pariṣdrut* derive with *KvIP* and augment *tUK*, where *KvIP* goes through total deletion. A similar proposal is also made for *vartah*, used in the sense of *stotra* ‘praise’ (*sāmaveda*; *vartaniḥ stotre*).

The word *dārah* when signifying *śvabhra* ‘hole, chasm’ is also marked *udātta* at the end. Elsewhere, it is marked *udātta* at the beginning. Incidentally, *śvabhra* is used with varying significations. It is not clear what signification conditions this proposal. Similar accentual proposal is made also for *sāmbah* ‘along with *Ambā*’ and *tāpah*, provided the signification is *bhāvagarhā* ‘censure of denoted action’. This restriction of *bhāvagarhā*, however, is not required in case of *uttamah* and *śāsvattamah* which are also marked *udātta* at the end.

A proposal is also made for derivates of *GHaÑ*, such as *bhakṣa*, *mantha*, *bhoga* and *deha* which do not contain *ā*, to be marked *udātta* at the end.

### 6.1.158 अनुदात्तस्य च यत्रोदात्तलोपः

*anudāttasya ca yatrodāttalopah*

/anudāttasya 6/1 ca φ yatra φ udāttalopah 1/1 = udāttasya lopah (saś.  
tat.) /

(udāttah #156)

yasmin anudātte parata udātto lupyate tasyānudāttasyādir udātto bhavati  
An *anudātta* is also marked *udātta* when it conditions the deletion  
(LOPA) of a preceding *udātta*.

#### EXAMPLES:

kumārī

pāthah

kumudvān

1. Consider *kumārī* which is a derivate of the feminine affix *NiP*. The word *kumāra* is marked *udātta* at the end by *phiṣo' ntodāttah* (*Phiṣṭūtra*: 1). Affix *NiP*, which is marked *anudātta*, follows it. Since deletion of the *udātta a* of *kumāra* is caused by the following *anudātta* of *NiP* (3.1.4 *anudāttau suppītau*), our present *sūtra* allows *i* to be marked *udātta*. The *sUP* in *pāthah*, *pāthāḥ* and *pāthe* are all marked *udātta* at the end. But since the nominal endings condition *ti*-deletion of *in* of *pathin*, they are marked *udātta*. All the three words are thus marked *udātta* at the end. This same applies to *mat* of *DmatUP* in *kumudvān*, *nādvān* and *vēlasvān* where *kumuda*, etc., are all marked *udātta* at the end. Of course, *mat*, because of being marked with *Pas* an *it*, is *anudātta*. Recall that the final *a* of *kumuda*, etc., is deleted under the condition of *mat* marked with *D*. Consequently, the *ā* of *vā* in *kumudvān*, etc., is marked *udātta*.

2. Why is *anudāttasya* used as a qualifier? Consider *prāsaṅga* + *yāT* = *prāsaṅgyah*, paraphrased as *prāsaṅgam vahati* (4.4.76 *tad vahati* . . .). Now, *prāsaṅga* is marked *udātta* at the end (6.2.144 *thāthaghāñ* . . .). Its final *a* is deleted before *yāT* marked with *svarita* (6.1.183? *tāsyānudātten* . . .). How come this *svarita* does not become *udātta* after having caused deletion of the *udātta* which precedes? But this reasoning is not valid? For, at the time when *yāT* is marked *svarita*, the remainder of the word becomes *anudātta* in view of the general accentual provision of 6.1.155 *anudāttah padam*. . . . But still there is no deletion of an *anudātta* here. The word *anudātta* is here used to indicate that an initial *anudātta* becomes *udātta*.

This *sūtra*, in the absence of *anudāttasya*, could have been formulated as *yatrodāttalopas ca*. This, with *antah*, could then have yielded the meaning: *yatra* (yasmin *pratyaye parataḥ*) *udātto* (*lupyate*) *tasyānta udātto* (*bhavati*) ‘the final of that, following which an *udātta* is deleted, is marked *udātta*’. This could create difficulty in examples such as *mā hi dhukṣātām* and *mā hi dhukṣātām*. That is, the final of *ātām* and *ātām* could then be marked *udātta* which is not desired. Recall that the *a* of *Ksa* (of *duh + sa + ātām* and *duh + sa + ātām*) is deleted conditioned by the following *ā* (of *ātām* and *ātām*). The use of *anudāttasya* then becomes an indicator (*jñāpaka*) for marking initial *a* as *anudātta*. Additional support for this view comes from the use of *hi* and

*mā* in these examples. Note that *mā* blocks the introduction of *aT* (6.4.74 *na mānyoge*). For, *aT* would have made the *pada* marked initial *udātta*. This, in turn, would have caused the deletion of an *ā* marked *anudātta*. Similarly, *dhukṣatām* would have received blanket *anudātta* of 8.1.28 *tiñatiñah*. That is, if *hi* was not given as part of examples (8.1.34 *hi ca*).

3. Why is the word *yatra* used here? Consider *bhārgavah*, *bhārgavau* and *bhrgavāh*, where the *aN* (4.1.114 *r̥yandhakarvṛṣni . . .*) of *bhrgavah* is deleted prior to the introduction of nominative plural *Jas*. Affix *Jas* is not the cause (*nimitta*) of this deletion. It simply offers its scope (*viśaya*). Consequently, *Jas* is not marked *udātta*. This would have not been possible without the use of *yatra*.

The use of *udātta* (in *udāttalopah*) is made so that in examples such as *vaidī* and *aurvī*, the affixal *i* (*NiN*; 4.1.73 *sāñnaravādyāñō . . .*) conditioning the deletion of *a* of *vaida*, could not be marked *udātta*. For, the *anudātta i* does not cause the deletion of an *udātta a*. Isn't *a* an *udātta* in *vaida*? No. Because, as a derivate of *aÑ* (4.1.104 *vidādibhyo . . .*), it is marked *udātta* at the beginning (6.1.196? *n̥nityādir n̥nityam*) and consequently, 6.1.155 *anudāttam* *padam . . .* marks its remainder as *anudātta*. Thus, *i* of *NiN*, in *vaidī*, causes the deletion of an *anudātta*.

### 6.1.159 धातोः:

*dhātoḥ*  
*/dhātoḥ 6/1/*  
*(anta udāttah #156)*  
*dhātor anta udātto bhavati*

The final of a verbal root is marked *udātta*.

### EXAMPLES:

*pacāti*  
*ūrṇōti*  
*gopāyāti*  
*yāti*

1. Note that *antah* is carried here. The *a* of *pac*, since it is a monosyllabic root, is marked *udātta*. Affixes *ŚaP* and *tiP* of *pacati* are both *anudātta* because they are marked with *P* as an *it* (3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitaū*). The *a* is, subsequently, marked with *svarita* (8.4.66 *udāttānudādanudāttasya svaritah*) to yield *pacāti*. A derived root such as *gopāya* is also marked *udātta* at the end. This *a* will again become *svarita* to yield *gopāyāti*. The *yā* of *yāti* is *udātta*, where the *ŚaP* gets deleted by 2.4.72 *adiprabhṛtibhyah . . .*).

### 6.1.160 चितः:

*citah*

/citaḥ 1/1 = cakāra ita yasya (bv.)/  
(anta udāttah #156)  
cito' nta udātto bhavati

A form ending in what is marked with *C* as an *it* is marked *udātta* at the end.

EXAMPLES:

bhañguram  
bhāsuram  
medūram  
kundināḥ  
bahupatavah  
uccakaiḥ

1. The first three examples are derivates of *GHuraC* (3.2.161 *bhañjabhāsamido ghurac*), an affix with *C* as an *it*. The next example, i.e., *kundināḥ*, has a replacement in *kudinaC*, again marked with *C* as an *it*.

It is stated that this provision of final *udātta* is intended for the entire form. That is, it is not intended just for the form which may be marked with *C* as an *it*. Thus, *bahupatavah* is derived with *bahuC* marked with *C*, but it is preposed (5.3.68 *vibhāṣā supo bahuc purastāt*). The final *udātta* conditioned by *C* as an *it* thus applies to the form *bahupatavah*. Similar accent applies to *uccakaiḥ*, a derivate of *akaC*, where the affix is introduced before the *ti* of the base (5.3.71 *avyayasarvanāmnām akac prāk teh*).

2. A *vārttika* proposal is made in the *Mahābhāṣya* for express purpose of marking derivates of *bahuC* and *akaC* with final *udātta* (*sapr̥kṛter bahvaka-jartham*). Patañjali does not see any need for this *vārttika*. He thinks that the *sūtra* itself can account for it. For, *citaḥ* of the *sūtra* refers to 'a form which has *C* as an *it*'.

### 6.1.161 तद्धितस्य

*taddhitasya*  
*/taddhitasya 6/1/*  
(anta udāttah #156 citaḥ #160)  
citaḥ taddhitasyānta udātto bhavati

A *taddhita* affix marked with *C* as an *it* is marked with *udātta* at the end.

EXAMPLES:

kauñjāyanāḥ

1. Why is this rule stated when the preceding itself can account for its function? This rule is needed so that derivates such as *kauñjāyanah*, *kauñjāyanau* and *kauñjāyanāḥ* could still be marked with final *udātta*. Notice

that affix *CphaṄ* → *āyana* has two *it*-elements, i.e., *C* and *Ṅ*. Rule 6.1.194 *ñṇityādir nityam* requires that whatever derives with an affix marked with *Ṅ* and *N* as an *it* be marked obligatorily with *udātta* at the beginning.

Rule 6.1.160 *citah* would require a final *udātta* for forms ending in an affix marked with *Cas* as an *it*. Our examples, since they end in an affix marked with *C* and *Ṅ*, will qualify for both accents. Our present rule is required to resolve such conflicts. Besides, if *Ṅ* as an *it* were to regulate this accent, *Cas* as an *it* will become vacuous. For, *Ṅ* as an *it* has two functions: *vṛddhi* and accent. The *C* serves only one purpose of regulating accent.

### 6.1.162 कितः:

*kitah*

/ *kitah* 1/1 /

(*anta udāttah* #156 *taddhitasya* #161)

*taddhitasya kito' nta udātto bhavati*

A *taddhita* affix marked with *Kas* as an *it* is marked *udātta* at the end.

### EXAMPLES:

*nādāyānah*

*cārāyānah*

*akṣikah*

*sālākīkah*

1. This again is an exception to affixal accent (*pratyayasvara*). Recall that an affix, such as *phaK* (4.1.99 *naḍādibhyah phak*) and *thaK* (4.4.2 *tena dīvayati* . . .) of our examples, is marked *udātta* at the beginning. Forms ending in these affixes could then have been marked *udātta* at the beginning of the affix. And not at the end of derivates of these affixes which is desired. Thus, an *udātta* in *kauñjāyana* would have obtained at the *ā* and not at the final *a*.

### 6.1.163 तिस्र्यो जसः:

*tisrbhyo jasah*

/ *tisrbhyah* 5/1 *jasah* 6/1 /

(*anta udāttah* #156)

*tisrbhya uttarasya jaso' nta udātto bhavati*

The final of *Jas* which occurs after *tisṛ* is marked *udātta* at the end.

### EXAMPLES:

*tisras tiṣṭhanti*

1. The word *tisṛ* refers to the replacement of *tri* obtained in feminine (7.2.99 *tricaturo striyām* . . .). The word *tri* is marked *udātta* at the end (*Phīṭsūtra*

1: *phiso' ntodāttah*). Its replacement *tisṛ* will also be marked *udātta* at the end. A *yaN* replacement for *r* yields *tisṛ + Jas*, where *r* is a replacement for *r*, an *udātta*. The *a* of *Jas*, an *anudātta* (3.1.4 *anudāttau suppītāu*), will thus qualify for a *svarita* of 8.2.4 *udāttasvaritayoh*. . . . Our present rule offers *udātta* as an exception to that.

Note that *tisṛ* is always used in the plural. The accent of *Jas* after *tisṛ* remains unaccounted for. The accusative plural *Śas* will be marked *udātta* in view of 6.1.172 *udāttayaño halpūrvāt*. Rule 6.1.177 *ṣaṭricaturbhyo halādiḥ* will account for other endings. This rule provides for *Jas*. It is argued that *Jas* need not be used in the rule. That is, the *sūtra* should have been formulated simply as *tisṛbhyaḥ*. Since *Jas* alone is relevant for accentual specification, the rule would have automatically covered it. But specification by *Jas* is needed so that proper accent can be obtained where *tisṛ* can be used with singular and dual endings. But *tisṛ* is only used in the plural. Not when it occurs as a non-principal constituent in *atitisrau* and *atitisrah*. The provision of this rule will not apply to such instances. A non-use of *Jas* could account for accent where *tisṛ* alone is used before *Jas*. A lack of specification by *Jas* will create conflicts in cases where *tisṛ* occurs combined as a secondary constituent.

### 6.1.164 चतुरः शसि

*caturah śasi*  
*/caturah 6/1 śasi 7/1/*  
*(anta udāttah #156)*  
*caturah śasi parato'nta udātto bhavati*

The final of *catur* is marked *udātta* at the end when *Śas* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*caturāḥ paśya*

1. The word *catur* is a derivative of *urAN* (*Uṇādi* 5.59 *cater uran*) and hence, is obligatorily marked *udātta* at the beginning (6.1.194 *nnityādir nityam*). This rule assigns final *udātta* as an exception.

Note that this rule does not apply to *catasṛ*, a replacement of *catur*, used before *Śas* in feminine (7.2.99 *tricaturo striyām* . . .). The accent of *catur* would have applied to *catasṛ* by way of *sthānivadbhāva* ‘treating a replacement as if it was the item replaced’.

A proposal is then made for initial *udātta*, instead.

### 6.1.165 सावेकाचस्तृतीयादिर्विभक्तिः

*sāv ekācas tṛṭiyādir vibhaktih*  
*/sau 7/2 ekācaḥ 1/1 = eko'c yasmin (bv.), tasmāt; tṛṭiyādiḥ 1/1 = tṛṭiyā ādir yasyāḥ (bv.) vibhaktiḥ 1/1/*

(*udāttah* #156)

*sau ya ekāc tasmāt parā trīyādir vibhaktir udāttā bhavati*

Nominal endings, enumerated beginning with *trīyā* through *saptamī*, are optionally marked with *udāttā* when they occur after a form which remains monosyllabic before *su* of locative plural.

EXAMPLES:

*vācā*  
*vāgbhyām*  
*vāgbhiḥ*  
*vāgbhyāḥ*  
*yātā*  
*yādbhyām*  
*yādbhiḥ*

1. This rule assigns *udāttā* accent for specified endings under the condition of their occurrence after a form which remains monosyllabic in locative plural. Thus, the instrumental and dative singular endings *Tā* and *Ne* which occur after *rājan* to yield *rājñā* and *rājñē* will not qualify for this accentual provision. For, the locative plural form of *rājan*, i.e., *rājāsu*, does not have a monosyllabic (*ekāc*) form before *su*. The locative plural of *vāk* is *vāksu*, where we find a monosyllabic form. Consequently, we get *vācā*, *vāgbhyām* and *vāgbhiḥ*, etc.

The condition of *ekāC* will itself block accentual provision of this rule from applying to specified endings occurring after non-monosyllabic nominal stems such as *giri* and *hari* as in *girīnā* and *harīnā*. The condition of *trīyādi* ‘instrumental, etc.’ blocks this provision from applying to *prathamā* and *dviśyā* as in *vācaū* and *vācāḥ*. Finally, the specification of *ekāc* in *saptamībahuvacana* ‘locative plural’ blocks this provision from applying to *tvayā* and *tvayi* which are monosyllabic but are instrumental and locative singular, respectively.

### 6.1.166 अन्तोदात्तादुत्तरपदादन्यतरस्यामनित्यसमासे

*antodāttād uttarapadād anyatarasyām anityasamāse*

/ *antodāttāt* 5/1 *uttarapadāt* 5/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1 *anityasamāse* 7/1 =  
*nityāḥ samāsaḥ; na nityasamāsaḥ* (nañ. tatp. with int. karm.), *tasmin/*  
*(udāttah* #156 *ekācas trīyādir vibhaktih* #165)

*anityasamāse yad uttarapadām antodāttam ekāc ca tasmāt parā trīyādir vibhaktir anyatarasyām udāttā bhavati*

Nominal endings enumerated beginning with *trīyā* through *saptamī* are optionally marked *udāttā* when they occur after a monosyllabic final constituent of a non-obligatory compound (*nityasamāsa*) marked *udāttā* at the end.

## EXAMPLES:

*paramavācā*

*paramavācē*

*paramatvacā*

*paramatvacē*

1. This rule makes accentual provision for specified endings occurring after the following monosyllabic constituent of a compound other than one formed obligatorily. Thus, we get *paramavācā* where instrumental singular *Tā* is optionally marked *udātta*. The compound, here formed with *parama*, is a *karmadhāraya*. It is also non-obligatory (*anitya*). Rule 6.1.220 *samāsasya* will assign the final *udātta* accent in case this option is not accepted. The word *nityam* of *anityam* refers to compounds which are formed within the domain of *nityam*, for example under the provision of rules 2.2.18 *kugatiprādayah*, etc. The word *nitya* is thus used technically. It does not refer to compounds which may be formed by rules outside the domain governed by *nityam*, but which lack a corresponding paraphrase with their constituents (*asvapadavigraha*). Consider *agnicitā* and *somasutā*, both instrumental singular forms of *agnicit* and *somasut*, where the compound is allowed by a rule of the domain of *nitya* (*nityādhikāre*). The word *cit* is here *udātta* because of the retention of the original accent of the following *pada* (6.2.139 *gatikārakopapadāt kṛt*). The option of this present rule will not apply here. But now consider *avācā brāhmaṇena* and *suvācā brāhmaṇena* which are *bahuvrīhi* compounds formed outside the domain of *nitya* and which do not yield a parallel paraphrase. These compounds get the final *udātta* of 6.2.172 *bahuvrīhau nañsubhyām*. The paraphrase in these compounds is made, not with *naÑ* and *su* but with *avidyamānā* and *śobhanā*. Our present rule will thus apply here to offer optional *udātta* to the nominal endings.

A condition of *antodāttāt* is necessary so that final *udātta* of this rule can be blocked in *avācā*, *suvācā* and *sutvācā* which are *tatpuruṣa* compounds ending in *trīyā* ‘instrumental’. The final constituent of these compounds is not final *udātta*. Rule 6.2.2 *tatpuruse tulyārtha*... retains the original accent of the initial constituent (*pūrvapadaprakṛtiśvara*).

The word *uttarapada* is used so that it can be qualified with *ekāc* to yield the interpretation: ‘a following constituent which consisted of a single *aC*’. The rule with this interpretation would have applied to *śunah urk* = *śvorjā* but would not have applied to *paramavāc*, since the compound consists of more than one *aC*. That is, *ekāc* would have become a qualifier to the compound (*samāsaviśeṣaṇa*).

## 6.1.167 अञ्चेश्छन्दस्यसर्वनामस्थानम्

*añceś chandas� asarvanāmasthānam*

/ *añceḥ* 5/1 *chandasi* 7/1 *asarvanāmasthānam* 1/1 (*nañ. tat.*) /

(*udāttah* #156 *vibhaktih* #165)

*añceḥ parā asarvanāmasthānavibhaktir udāttā bhavati chandasi viṣaye*

A nominal ending other than *sarvanāmasthāna* is marked with *udātta*, in the Vedic, when the same occurs after *añeU*.

EXAMPLES:

*indrō dadhīco asthibhiḥ*

1. Consider *dadhīcaḥ* where *dadhīc* is used with *Nas* ‘genitive singular’. Our nominal stem *dadhīc* is derived with affix *KviP* introduced after *añc* used with the cooccurring condition of *dadhi + am* (3.2.59 *ṛtvigdadhīk*...). We get *dadhīc* after the deletion of *ñ* (6.4.138 *acah*) and lengthening of *i* (6.3.137 *cau*).

Why use *asarvanāmasthānam* when *trīyā*, etc., could itself account for it. But *trīyā*, etc., cannot account for *Śas* ‘accusative plural’ which is not included within the *sarvanāmasthāna*. It is thus to account for *Śas* that *asarvanāmasthāna* is used as a qualifier. Thus, *Śas* of *pratīcaḥ* in *pratīco bāhūn* also gets *udātta*.

### 6.1.168 ऊडिदंपदाद्यप्पुमैव्यः:

*ūḍidampadādyappumraidyubhyah*

/ *ūḍidampadādyappumraidyubhyah* 5/3 = *ūṭh ca idañ ca padādayaś ca ap ca pum ca rai ca dyauś ca = ūdi . . . divah* (itar. dv.), *tebhyaḥ/*

(*udāttah* #156 *vibhaktih* #165 *antodāttat* #166 *asarvanāmasthānam* #167)

‘*ūṭh, idam, padādi, ap, pum, rai, div*’ ity *etebhyo*’

*sarvanāmasthānavibhaktir udāttā bhavati*

A nominal ending other than *sarvanāmasthāna* is marked *udātta* when it occurs after stems ending in *ūṭh*, and *idam*; nominals enumerated beginning with *pada*, etc., and *ap, pum, rai*, and *div*.

EXAMPLES:

*praśṭhaūḥah*

*praśṭhaūḥā*

*ābhyaṁ*

*ebhiḥ*

*nīpādaścatúro jahi*

*yā dāto dhāvāte*

*apāḥ paśya*

*adbhiḥ*

*puṁsaḥ*

*rāyah paśya*

*divah paśya*

1. Note that *padādi pada*, etc., refers to replacements enumerated beginning with *pada* through *niś* of rule 6.1.61 *padannomāsa*. . . The *anuvṛtti* of *antodāttāt* blocks *udāttā* of a nominal ending where an *anudāttā* obtains with reference to *anvādeśa* ‘reference to antecedent’ (2.4.73 *idamo*’ *nvādeśe*. . .). That is, this rule will not apply when *idam* is not marked *udāttā* at the end. Refer to the appendix under 1.1.21 *ādyantavād ekasmin* for derivational details of *ābhyaṁ*. Incidentally, the *a*, of *aŚ* in *ebhiḥ*, is replaced with *e* of 7.3.103 *bahuvacane jhaly et*.

2. A *vārtikā* proposal is made to restrict the provision of this rule to instances of *ūTH* only when *ūTH* is penultimate of the base. Thus, consider *akṣadyuvā* which derives from *akṣadyū + Tā* where *ūTH* is final. Our present rule will not apply here.

Note that the accentual provision of this rule will apply to a nominal endings occurring after *padādi* when they are replacements as explained. The *Mahābhāṣya* does not say anything about it. Commentators interpret this specification of *padādi* as *vyavasthita-vibhāṣā* ‘fixed option’. This is done by carrying *anyatarasyām* from 6.1.166 *antodāttād*. . . The *padādi*-replacements all are *ekāC* and hence create conflicts of accentuation with 6.1.165 *sāv ekācas*. . .

### 6.1.169 अष्टनो दीर्घात्

*aṣṭano dīrghāt*

/*aṣtanāḥ* 5/1 *dīrghāt* 5/1/

(*udāttāḥ* #156 *vibhaktih* #165 *asarvanāmasthānam* #167)

*aṣṭano dīrghāntād asarvanāmasthānavibhaktir udāttā bhavati*

A nominal ending which is not *sarvanāmasthāna* is marked *udāttā* when it occurs after *aṣṭan* ‘eight’ ending in a long vowel.

EXAMPLES:

*aṣṭāḥ*

*aṣṭābhyaḥ*

*astāsu*

1. Note that *aṣṭan* is enumerated in the *ghṛīḍādi* group of nominals. It is marked *udāttā* at the end (*Phīṭsūtra*: 21). The final (1.1.51 *alo’nyasya*) *n* of *aṣṭan* is replaced with *ā* (*ātva*) by 7.2.84 *aṣṭan ā vibhaktau*. We thus get two sets of forms of *aṣṭan*, i.e., *aṣṭa* and *aṣṭā*. The provisions of this rule apply to an ending which occurs after *aṣṭā*. The *anuvṛtti* of *anudāttāt* is not applicable here since *aṣṭā* will already be *anudāttā* at the end.

2. The use of the word *dīrghāt* has several implications. Firstly, it indicates that the *ā*-replacement of *n* of *aṣṭan* is optional. For, a specification by *dīrghāt* will be useless if there was no form of *aṣṭan* ending in a short *a*. Secondly, it also indicates that the form of *aṣṭan* replaced with *ā* is termed *sat* (1.1.24

*ṣṇāntā sat*). For, if this *jñāpaka* ‘indication’ is not accepted, this accentual provision (conditioned by *ā*) will be blocked by the subsequent provision of 6.1.176 *ṣaṭtricaturbhyo halādih*, read with 6.1.177 *jhaly upottamam*, on the basis of *paratva*. Of course, in contexts where *ā*-replacement does not apply.

### 6.1.170 शतुरनुमोनद्यजादी

*śaturanumo nadyajādī*

/satuh 5/1 anumah 5/1 = *nāsti numah yasya* (bv.), *tasmāt; nadyajādī* 1/2  
= *ac ādir yasya* (bv.); *nadi ca ajādiś ca* (itar. dv.)/

(*udāttah* #156 *vibhaktih* #165 *antodāttāt* #166 *asarvanāmasthānam* #169)  
*anumah yaḥ śatṛpratyayas tadantād antodāttāt parā nadī ajādir vibhaktir*  
*asarvanāmasthānam udāttā bhavati*

That which is termed a *nadī*, and a non-*asarvanāmasthāna* nominal ending beginning with a vowel as well, are marked *udātta* when they occur after a form which, marked *anudātta* at the end, terminates in affix *ŚatR* with no introduction of augment *nUM*.

EXAMPLES:

*tudatī*

*nudatī*

*lunatī*

*punatī*

*tudatā*

*nudatā*

*lunatā*

*punatā*

1. Note that *antodāttāt* is carried here. The word *nadī* is used with its technical sense in consonance with 1.4.3 *yūṣtryākhyau nadī*. The *i* of a *nadī* is marked *udātta* when an optional augment *nUM* is not introduced by 7.1.80 *ācchīnadyor num*. Our present rule does not apply where the option of *nUM* is accepted. Thus, we get *tudāntī* and *nudāntī*.

Now consider *tudatī*, derived from *tud + Sa + (LAT → ŚatR)* = (*tud + a + at* *NiP*), where *NiP* is *anudātta* because of its *Pas an it* (3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau*). The *ŚatR* replacement of *LAT*, a *sārvadhātuka*, becomes *anudātta* in view of 6.1.183 *tasyānudātteni idupadesāl*. . . . This *anudātta*, along with the *udātta* of *tud*, is jointly replaced with *udātta* by 8.2.5 *ekādeśa udāttenodāttah*. The *i* of *nadī* can then be marked with *udātta*, since it will be occurring after an *udātta*. But 8.2.1 *pūrvatrāsiddham* will make the result, i.e., *udātta* of *tudat + ī*, suspended (*aiddha*). That is, now *ī* will not be occurring after an *udātta*. Consequently, it cannot be marked *udātta* by our present rule. The specification of *anum* in this *sūtra*, along with the split interpretation (*yogavibhāga*) of *n* in 8.2.3 *na mune*, becomes an indicator (*jñāpaka*) that an accentual single re-

placement (*ekādeśa*) does not become *asiddha*. Thus we get: *tudatī* and *nudatī*. Incidentally, *lunatā* and *punatā* are derivates with Śnā where the ā of (*lu + nā + at*) + Tā) and (*pu + nā + at*) + Tā) is deleted (6.4.112 śnābhyoś taylor ātah). Incidentally, the long ū of verbal roots *lūñ* and *pūñ* are replaced with short by 7.3.80 *pvādīnāñ hrasvah*.

2. The condition of *nadyajādī* excludes the application of this rule to *tudadbhyām* and *nudadbhyām* where the ending starts with a consonant. The condition of *antodāttāt* is also necessary to exclude examples such as *dadātī* and *dadhātah* where 6.1.186 *abhyastānām ādīh* requires an initial *udātta*.

3. A *vārtika* proposal is also made here to bring *bṛhatī/bṛhatā* and *mahatī/mahatā* within the scope of this rule.

### 6.1.171 उदात्तयणो हल्पूर्वत्

*udāttayaño halpūrvāt*

/*udāttayañah* 5/1 = *udāttasya yan* (sas. tat.), *tasmāt; halpūrvāt* 5/1 = *hal pūrvo yasya* (bv.), *tasmāt/*

(*udātah* #156 *vibhaktih* #165 *asarvanāmasthānam* #167 *nadyajādī* #170)  
*udāttasthāne yo yan halpūrvas tasmāt parā nadī ajādir yā'*  
*sarvanāmasthānavibhaktir udāttā sā bhavati*

That which is termed a *nadī*, and a non-*sarvanāmasthāna* nominal ending beginning with a vowel as well, are marked *udātta* when they occur after a *yaN* (y, v, r, l) which replaces an *udātta* occurring after a *haL* (consonant).

EXAMPLES:

*kartī*

*hartrī*

*pralavitrī*

*kartrā*

*hartrā*

*pralavitrā*

1. Note that examples of this rule are all derivates of *trC*. The bases are thus all marked *udātta* at the end (6.1.160 *citah*). A *yaN*-replacement in *r*, which replaces the *udātta r*, occurs after the consonant *t*. This occasions the *udātta* accent for *i* and the endings. This rule blocks the *svarita* of 8.2.4 *udāttasvaritayor yanah svarito' nudāttasya*.

2. The condition of *udātta* is necessary so that *kartī/kartrā* and *hartrī/hartrā* can be excluded. These derivates end in *trN* and are, hence, *udātta* at the beginning. The condition of *hal* is required to exclude examples where *yaN* does not occur after a consonant. Thus, consider *bahutītavā* which derives from *bahutita(u→v) + Tā*.

3. A *vārtika* proposal is also made to include bases which end in *n*. Thus, we get *vākyapatnīyam* where 4.1.36 *vibhāṣā sapūrvasya* introduces *n* as a final

replacement of *patnī* and *NīP* is introduced by 4.1.5 *ṛnnebhyo nīp*. Since *pati* is marked *udātta* at the end, and this *udātta* retains after the replacement, *NīP* becomes *udātta*.

### 6.1.172 नोद्धात्वोः:

*nōndhātvoh*

/na φ ūndhātvoh 6/2 = ūn ca dhātuś ca (itar. dv.), tayoh/

(*udāttah* #156 *vibhaktih* #165 *asarvanāmsthānam* #169 *nadyajādī* #170 *udātta yaṇo halpūrvāt* #171)

That which is termed a *nadī*, and a non-*sarvanāmsthāna* nominal ending beginning with a vowel as well, are not marked *udātta*, provided they occur after *ūN*, or a *yaṄ*-replacement of a verbal root which replaces an *udātta* and after a *haL* (consonant).

#### EXAMPLES:

*brahmabandhvā*

*brahmabandhvē*

*vīrabandhvā*

*vīrabandhvē*

*sakṛlvā*

*sakṛlvē*

*khalaparvé*

1. This *sūtra* negates what the preceding *sūtra* provides. Note that the qualification of *nadī* does not apply here. A *nadī* is not found occurring after *ūN* and a *dhātu*. Now consider our two examples, *brahmabandhvā* and *brahmabandhvē*, where a *bahuvrīhi* is formed parallel to *brahmā bandhur asyāḥ*, and *ūN*, an *udātta* (3.1.3 *ādyudāttah*) by affixal accent (*pratyayasvara*), is introduced after the compound. The short *u* of *brahmabandhu*, along with the long of *ūN* (4.1.66 *ūn utah*), is then replaced with a single long *ū*. This single long replacement (*ekādeśa*) is marked *udātta* by 8.1.5 *ekādeśa udāttenodāttah*. The long *ū* is further replaced with its *yaṄ* counterpart *v*, under the following condition of nominal endings *Tā* ‘instrument singular’ and *Ne* ‘dative singular’. These nominal endings, because of the negation of this *sūtra*, cannot be marked *udātta* as the earlier rule provides. They must be marked *svarita* by 8.2.4 *udāttasvaritayoh*. . . . The rest can be marked *anudātta* in view of 6.1.155 *anudāttam padam*. . . .

This negation also applies after the *yaṄ* of a verbal root. Thus, *sakṛlvā*, *sakṛlvē* and *khalaparvé*, where *sakṛllū* and *khalapū* are *uapapada-samāsa*, parallel to *sakṛl lunāti* and *khalam punāti*. Verbal roots *lū* and *pū* occur here before affix *KvIP*. This affix is a *kṛt*, and consequently, 6.4.83 *oh supi* orders *yaṄ* as a replacement of *ū*, an *anudātta* (*Kāś: kvibantasya kvibuttara-padaraprakṛtisvaraṇāntodāttasya ‘oh supi’ iti yaṇādeśah*).

## 6.1.173 हस्वनुद्भ्यां मतुप्

*hrasvanudbhȳām matup*

/hrasvanudbhȳām 5/2 = *hrasvaś ca nuṭ ca* (itar. dv.), *tābhȳām*; *matup* 1/  
1/

(*udāttah* #156 *antodāttāt* #166)

*hrasvāntād antodāttān nuṭaś ca paro matub udātto bhavati*

Affix *matUP* is marked *udātta* when it occurs either after a form which ends in a *hrasva* ‘short’ vowel marked *udātta*, or after augment *nUT*.

EXAMPLES:

*agnimān*

*vāyumān*

*kartrmān*

*hartrmān*

*akṣaṇvatā*

*śrṣqvatā*

1. The bases of our derivates *agnimān*, *vāyumān*, *kartrmān* and *hartrmān* all end in a short vowels. The first two are marked *udātta* at the end by nominal stem accent (*prātipadikasvara*). The next two end in affix *trC* and hence are accented in view of 6.1.160 *citah*. Affix *matUP* is introduced after *akṣan* by 5.2.94 *tad asyāstīti*. . . Now consider *akṣaṇvatā* and *śrṣqvatā* where 7.1.76 *chandasī api dr̥ṣyate* introduces *anAñ* to yield *akṣ(i→an(Añ) + mat(UP)) = akṣan + mat*. Augment *nUT* is then introduced by 8.2.16 *ano nuṭ*. The *n* is, of course, deleted by 8.2.7 *nalopah*. . . The final forms are derived with the introduction of instrumental singular *Tā* with subsequent replacement of *m→v* and of *n→ṇ*. The second example involves a replacement in *śrṣan* (6.1.60 *śrṣan chandasī*). Affix *matUP* is here marked *udātta*.

2. A *paribhāṣā* of Vyādi (*svaravidhau vyañjanam avidyamānavat*) which makes a consonant as if non-existent with reference to accentual operations does not apply here. For, this specification by *nUT* would become useless. Thus, consider, for an exception, *marutvān*.

A *vārtika* proposal also requires *matUP* to be marked *udātta* when it occurs after *re*. Thus, *āṛevān*. Yet another proposal negates this *udātta* when *matUP* occurs after *tri*, for example, in (*tri + mat + NiP + sU*) = *trivatih*.

## 6.1.174 नामान्यतरस्याम्

*nāmāny anyatarasyām*

/nāmāni 1/3 anyatarasyām 7/1/

(*udāttah* #156 *vibhaktih* #165 *antodāttāt* #166 *hrasvah matup* #173)

*matupi yo hrasvas tadantād antodāttād anyatarasyām nām udātto bhavati*

An optional *udātta* is assigned to *nām* when it follows *matUP*, used after that which terminates in a short vowel and is marked *udātta* at the end.

## EXAMPLES:

agnīnām  
agnīnām  
vāyūnām  
vāyūnām  
kartṛnām  
kartṛnām

1. Note that the bases of these genitive plurals all end in a corresponding short vowel when *matUP* is introduced. Note that *hrasva* is qualified here with *matUP* to yield the meaning: ‘... ending in a *hrasva* occurring before *matUP*’. This way, *udātta* can be obtained with reference to current (*sāmpatika*) *hrasva* and *bhūtapūrva* ‘one which was short previously’, as well. Thus, we get *tīrṇām* and *catasr̥nām* as examples.

The condition of *nUT* is needed so that this rule does not apply to *dhenvām* and *śakat�ām* where we have *ām* (7.3.116 *ner ām . . .*), but no *nUT*. The final *udātta* of 6.1.171 *udāttayano halpūrvāt* thus applies. The condition of *hrasvāt* keeps examples such as *kumārīnām*, where *kumārī* ends in a long vowel, out of the scope of this rule. Finally, *nām* cannot be marked *udātta* also when it does not occur after a base marked *udātta* at the end. Consider *vasūnām* and *trapūnām* where *vasu* and *trapu* are marked *udātta* at the beginning.

## 6.1.175 ड्याश्छन्दसि बहुलम्

*nyāś chandasī bahulam*  
*/nyāḥ 5/1 chandasī 7/1 bahulam 1/1/*  
*(udāttaḥ #156 vibhaktih #165 nām #174)*  
*nyantāc chandasī viṣaye nām udātto bhavati bahulam*

A *nām* used after that which ends in *NyāP*, in the Vedic, is variously marked *udātta*.

## EXAMPLES:

devaṣenānāmabhibhañjañnām  
bahvīnām pītā  
nādinām pāre  
yayāntīmām marutāḥ

1. Note that *bhañjañ* and *bahvī* are derivates of *NiP*. This provision of *udātta* may, as indicated by *bahulam* ‘variously’, not be found in other examples. Thus, consider *nādinām*, of *nādinām pāre*, and *jayañtīnām*, of *jayañtīnām marutāḥ*, where *nām* is marked *anudātta* because of being a *vibhakti* ‘nominal ending’.

## 6.1.176 षट्त्रिचतुर्भ्यो हलादिः:

*ṣattricaturbhyo halādih*

/śatricaturbhyah 5/3 = śat ca trayāś ca catvārāś ca (itar. dv.), tebhyaḥ; halādiḥ  
1/1 = halādir yasya (bv.) /

(udāttah #156 vibhaktih #165)

śatśamīñakebhyah, ‘tri, catur’ity etābhyaṁ ca parā halādir vibhaktir udāttā  
bhavati

A nominal ending which begins with a consonant is marked with *udātta* when it occurs either after an item termed *śat*, or after *tri* and *catur*.

EXAMPLES:

sadbhih

sadbhyah

sannām

pañcānām

trībhih

trayānām

caturbhyah

caturnām

1. Note that *antodāttāt* is not carried here. Stems such as *śas*, *pañcan* and *saptan* are termed *śat* (1.1.24 *śnāntā śat*). The condition of *halādi* is needed to exclude examples such as *catasrah* where Śas ‘accusative plural’ begins with a vowel (*ajādi*).

### 6.1.177 इल्युपोत्तमम्

*jhalī upottamam*

*/jhalī 7/1 upottamam 1/1/*

(udāttah #156 vibhaktih #165 śatricaturbhyah #176)

śatricaturbhyo yā jhalādir vibhaktis tadante pade upottamam udāttam bhavati  
The *upottama* ‘penultimate; next to the last’ of a *pada* is marked with *udātta* when it ends in a consonant-initial nominal ending introduced either after a stem termed *śat*, or after *tri* and *catur*.

EXAMPLES:

*pañcabhīś tapas tapati*

*saptabhih parān jayati*

*tisṛbhīś ca vahāse trimśatā*

*caturbhīḥ*

1. This rule assigns *udātta* to the next to the last (*upottama*; also cf. *upadhā*; 1.1.64 *alo’ ntyāt pūrva upadhā*) of a *pada*, derived with a consonant-initial nominal ending introduced after *śat*, *tri* and *catur*. Consider *pañcabhīḥ*, *saptabhiḥ*, *tisṛbhīḥ* and *caturbhīḥ* where the next to the last *a*, *r* and *u* are marked *udātta*. Note that *upottama* is explained as next to the last (*uttama*)

vowel of a word consisting of at least three syllables (*Kāś: triprabhṛtīnām antyam uttamam; tasya samīpam upottamam*; also see notes under 4.1.78 *aniñor* . . .).

2. Derivates such as *pañcānām* and *spatānām* are offered as counter-examples where ām is a nominal ending beginning with a vowel (*ajādi*). Derivates such as *sañbhīḥ* and *sañbhīyah* are also treated as exception since they do not meet the condition of *upottama*. These words contain only two vowels.

### 6.1.178 विभाषा भाषायाम्

*vibhāṣā bhāṣāyām*

/vibhāṣā 1/1 bhāṣāyām 7/1/

(*udāttah* #156 *vibhaktih* +165 *ṣattricaturbhīyah* #176)

*ṣattricaturbhīyo yā jhalādir vibhaktis tadante pade upottamam udāttam bhavati vibhāṣā bhāṣāyām viṣaye*

The next to the last (*upottama*) vowel of a *pada* which, in the Classical language, ends in a consonant-initial nominal ending introduced after an item termed *sat*, or after *tri* and *catur*, is marked *udāttā*, only optionally.

#### EXAMPLES:

*pañcabhīḥ*

*pañcabhīḥ*

*saptabhbīḥ*

*saptabhbīḥ*

*tisṛbhīḥ*

*tisṛbhīḥ*

*caturbhīḥ*

*caturbhīḥ*

1. This rule offers an optional *udāttā* in the *bhāṣā* ‘classical language’. Thus, the *udāttā* of the *upottama* becomes optional to the *udāttā* of the nominal ending.

### 6.1.179 न गोश्वन्साववर्णराडङ्कुडकद्ध्यः

*na gośvansāvavarṇarāḍaṅkruṇkṛdbhyah*

/na φ go-śvan-sāvavarṇa-rāḍ-aṅ-kruṇ-kṛdbhyah 5/1 = sau avarṇam = sāvavarṇam (sapt. tat.); gauś ca śvā ca sāvavarṇañ ca rāṭ ca aṅ ca kruṇ ca kṛt ca (itar. dv.), tebhīyah/

‘go, śvan, sāvavarṇaḥ, rāḍ, aṅ, kruṇ, kṛd’ ity etebhyo yad uktam tan na bhavati Provisions made by the preceding rules do not apply to go ‘cow’, śvan ‘dog’, sāvavarṇa ‘a form which ends in a when used with the nominative singular sU, rāṭ ‘a KvIP-derivate of rājṛ’, aṅ ‘a KvIN-derivate of aṅcU’, kruṇ ‘a KvIN-derivate of kruṄ’ and kṛt ‘a KvIP-derivate of kṛ’ ‘to do’ and kṛtī ‘to cut’.

## EXAMPLES:

*gavā*  
*gavé*  
*gobhyām*  
*sugunā*  
*sugavé*  
*sugubhyām*  
*śunā*  
*śuné*  
*śvabhyām*  
*paramaśunā*  
*paramaśuné*  
*paramaśvabhyām*  
*yebhyāḥ*  
*tebhyāḥ*  
*kebhyāḥ*  
*rājā*  
*paramarājāḥ*  
*prācā*  
*prāce*  
*prāgbhyām*  
*kruñcā*  
*paramakruñcā*  
*kṛtā*  
*paramakṛtā*

1. Note that this rule makes negative provisions against some positives already made. Thus, consider *gavā*, etc., where this rule negates the *udātta* of nominal endings made available by 6.1.165 *sāvā ekācas*. . . . The *udātta* of the nominal stem *go* will be retained here. A similar negation applies to *sugunā* etc., where *anudātta* is optionally available to nominal endings by 6.1.166 *antodāttād uttarapadād*. . . . The final *udātta* of the following *pada* (6.2.171 *nañsubhyām*) is thus retained. The *udātta* is similarly negated in *śunā* and *paramaśunā*, etc. Provisions of 6.1.165 *sāv ekācas* . . . and 6.1.166 *antodāttāt* . . . (in combination with *parama*) are again negated. Our examples, *yebhyāḥ*, *tebhyāḥ* and *kebhyāḥ*, are derivates of *bhyas* introduced after *yad*, *tad* and *kim*. The word *rāt* is a derivate of *KvIP* introduced after *rājR* ‘glow’. But *añ* is a derivate of *KvIN* introduced after *añcU*. This nasalized reference to *añcU* is intended for restricting this negation to only where no deletion of *n* occurs. Recall that 6.4.30 *nāñceḥ pūjāyām* blocks such deletion when *añc* is used with the denotatum of praise (*pūjā*). A similar specification for accentual negation is also made by *kruñ*, again a derivate of *KvIN* (3.2.59 *rtvigdadhṛk* . . .). A reference with *kṛt*, a derivate of *KvIP*, is made to include

both *kṛ* or *kṛtI* ‘to cut’. A derivate of *kṛ* will, of course, involve introduction of *tUK* (6.1.71 *hrasvasya pitikṛti tuk*). Similar explanations apply to other compound bases.

### 6.1.180 दिवो झल्

*divo jhal*  
*/divah 5/1jhal 1/1/*  
*(udāttah #156 vibhaktih #165 na #179)*  
*divah parā jhalādir vibhaktir nodāttā bhavati*

A nominal ending which begins with a *jhaL* (Śs. 8–14) and occurs after *div* ‘heaven’ is not marked with *udātta*.

EXAMPLES:

*dyubhyām*  
*dyubhiḥ*

1. This rule negates the *udātta*, of 6.1.160 *sāv ekācas . . .* and 6.1.163 *uḍidampa . . .*, in favor of the initial *udātta* of the nominal stem. The condition of *jhalādi* is imposed to exclude *divā*, etc., where the ending begins with a vowel (*ajādi*).

### 6.1.181 नु चान्यतरस्याम्

*nṛ cānyatarasyām*  
*/nṛ (5/1 deleted) ca φ anyatarasyām 7/1/*  
*(udāttah #156 vibhaktih #165 na #179 jhal #180)*  
*'nṛ' ity etasmāt parā jhalādir vibhaktir anyatarasyām nodāttā bhavati*  
*A nominal ending which begins with a *jhAL* (Śs. 8–14) and occurs after *nṛ* ‘man’ is optionally not marked with *udātta*.*

EXAMPLES:

*nṛbhīḥ* ‘instrumental plural of *nṛ*’  
*nṛbhyaṁ* ‘dative-ablative dual . . .’  
*nṛbhyaḥ* ‘dative-ablative plural . . .’  
*nṛṣu* ‘locative plural . . .’

1. This negation applies optionally to the nominal stem accent (*prātipadikasvara*). The *udātta* of 6.1.165 *sāv ekācas . . .* will apply if this negative option is not accepted.

### 6.1.182 तित्स्वरितम्

*tit svaritam*  
*/tit 1/1 = takāra it yasya (bv.); svaritam 1/1/*  
*tit svaritam bhavati*

That which is marked with *T* as an *it* is marked with *savrita*.

EXAMPLES:

*c̄kīrṣyám*  
*jīhīrṣyám*  
*kāryám*  
*kāryám*  
*hāryám*

1. This rule is an exception to the more general initial *udātta* of an affix (3.1.3 *ādyudāttas ca*). Thus, *c̄kīrṣyám* and *jīhīrṣyám* are derivates of *yaT* (3.1.97 *aco yat*) introduced after the derived roots *cikīrsa* and *jihīrsa*. Recall that the *a* of . . . *sa* is deleted by 6.4.48 *ato lopah*. Affix *yaT*, because of its *t* as an *it*, is marked *svarita*. Consequently, 6.1.155 *anudāttam padam . . .* marks the remainder as *anudātta*. Our next two derivates of *NyaT* (3.1.124 *rhalor nyat*) follow similar rules.

#### 6.1.183 तास्यनुदात्तेन् डिदुपदेशाल्लसार्वधातुकमनुदात्तमहन्विङ्गोः

*tāsyanudāttennīdadupadeśāl lasārvadhātukam anudāttam ahnviñoh*  
*/tāsyanudāttennīdadupadeśāt 5/1 = anudātta ita yasya sa = anudāttet*  
*(bv.); nākāra it yasya sa = nit (bv.); at cāsau upadeśās ca = adupadeśah*  
*(karma); tāsiś ca anudāttēc ca nīc ca adupadeśās ca (sam. dv.), tasmāt;*  
*lasārvadhātukam 1/1 = lasya sārvadhātukam = lasārvadhātukam (śaṣ. tat.);*  
*anudāttam 1/1 ahnviñoh 6/2 hnuś ca in ca = hnviñau (itar. dv.); na hnviñau*  
*(nañ. tat.), tayoh/*  
*tāser anudātteto nito' kārāntopadeśāc ca śabdāt param*  
*lasārvadhātukam anudāttam ca bhavati 'hnuñ, in'ity etābhyañ param*  
*varjayitvā*

A *sārvadhātuka* replacement of *LA* is also marked with *anudātta* when it occurs after the following with the exception of *hnuN* and *iN*: that which ends in *tāsI*; a verbal root marked with an *anudātta* as *it*; a verbal root which is marked with *N* as *it*; that which is given as ending in *a* in *upadeśa*.

EXAMPLES:

*kartitā*  
*kartitārau*  
*kartitārah*  
*āsté*  
*vasté*  
*sūtē*  
*śetē*  
*tuḍatáḥ*

*nudatāḥ*  
*pacatāḥ*  
*pathatāḥ*

1. This again is an exception to the general provision of affixal *udātta* at the beginning. Consider *kartā*, from *kṛ + LUT*, where third person singular, dual and plural replacements of *LUT* are replaced with *Dā*, *rau* and *ras* (2.4.85 *luṭah prathamasya dāraurasah*). We thus get the *ātmanepada* form: *kṛ + (ta→(D)ā = kṛ + ā→kṛ + tās + ā*, where 3.1.33 *syatāsi lkluṭoh* introduces *tās*. The *ās* of *tās* goes through *ti*-deletion and the *guṇa* of *r*, with its following *r*, produces *k(r→ar) + t(ās→ϕ) + ā = kartā*. Similar rules apply in deriving *kartārau* and *kartārah* where third personal dual and plural active endings *tas* and *jhi* will be replaced with *rau* and *ras*, respectively.

Note that these derivates involve a fairly complex interaction of accentual rules. Thus, *kartā* involves interaction of the accent of *dhātu*, *tās* and *ā*. Let us understand this in view of the derivation of *kartārau* and *kartārah* where *kṛ* is marked *udātta* (6.1.159 *dhātōḥ*). Affixes *tas* and *jhi* will also bring their affixal *udātta*. This same will apply to augment *tās*. Both *rau* and *ras* are also marked *udātta* by affixal accent (*pratyayasvara*; 3.1.3 *ādy udātta ca*; 3.1.4 *anudāttau suppītai*). How come the existing accent of *tās* could not block the *udātta* of *rau* and *ras*? Because *sati śiṣṭo' pi vikaraṇasvaro lasārvadhātukasvaram na bādhate* 'the accent of a *vikaraṇa*, even though existent, does not block the accent of a *sārvadhātuka* replacement of *LA*'. The *udātta* of *rau* and *ras* is then marked *anudātta* by our present rule.

2. Verbal root *āsā* 'to sit, stay' and *vasā* 'to cover' are marked with *anudātta* as their *it*, and hence, allow *ātmanepada* 'middle' endings. The *te*, in *āste* and *vaste*, because of being a *sārvadhātuka* replacement of *LA*, is marked *anudātta*. Because of the accent of root (6.1.159 *dhātōḥ*), this *anudātta* is finally replaced with *svarita* (8.4.66 *udāttād anudāttasya svaritah*). Thus we get *āstē* and *vastē*. Derivates of verbal roots *śūN* and *śīN*, i.e., *sūtē* and *sētē*, illustrate the specification by *Nit*. Now consider *tuḍatāḥ* and *nūdatāḥ*, examples of a verbal root ending in *a* in *upadeśa* (*adupadeśa*). These roots will be marked *udātta* in view of 6.1.159 *dhātōḥ*. Affix *tas* will then be marked *udātta* by affixal accent (3.1.3 *ādyudāttas ca*). Augment *Śā*, which is then introduced, also ends in *a* in *upadeśa*. Our present *sūtra* will mark *tas* as *anudātta* in view of *Śā* ending in *a* in *upadeśa*. The *tas* finally becomes a *svarita*. This same applies to the derivation of *pacatāḥ* and *pathatāḥ* where *ŚāP* is still considered ending in *a* in *upadeśa*. For, *anubandhas*, here *Ś* and *P*, are not treated as part of *ŚāP*, in *upadeśa*.

The last two examples, i.e., *pacamānah* and *yajamānah*, involve *ŚānaC* (3.2.124 *laṭah śatśānacāv . . .*) and augment *mUK* (7.2.82 *āne muk*). A question is raised as to whether *mUK* is to be introduced to the root which still stays *adupadeśa* with *ŚāP*, or it should be accepted as introduced to the *āṅga*

which ends in *a?* In the first case, the *adupadeśa* status of the root will remain intact. For, an *āgama* becomes part of what it is introduced to (*Paribhāṣā* (PŚ.12): *yadāgamā gunībhūtās tadgrahanena grhyante*). This can clear the way for *anudātta* of the *sārvadhātuka* replacement. If one accepts the second position, then *mUK* will intervene between *adupadeśa* and suffix *tas*. The *anudātta* of *tas* can then not be accomplished. Commentators state that *tas* can still be marked *anudātta* even with this second option. They state that *mUK* will be treated as externally conditioned (*bahirāṅga*) in view of accentuation of *tas*, an operation conditioned internally (*antarāṅga*). That is, in matters of accentuation (*svaravidhi*), augment *mUM* (*mugāgama*) will be treated as external (*bahirāṅga*). But do not forget the accent of *ŚānaC* which will avail the accent in view of its *C* as an *it*. This accent will be blocked by subsequent accent of the *sārvadhātuka* affix *tas*.

3. The condition of *tās*, etc. is required so that affixes such as *tas* and *jhi*, for example in *cinutah* and *cinvanti*, can be excluded. But the *Śnu* in these examples is treated as marked with *N* (1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit*)? Only when an operation on what precedes, and not on what follows, is to be performed (*pūrvasya kāryam prati niid bhavati na tu parasya*). That is, it can be considered a *Nit* for blocking *guṇa* of *i* of *ci*. It cannot be considered a *Nit* for accent on what follows. One may even accept the *Nit* of this *sūtra* as referring to a *Nit* in *upadeśa*, and not to an extensional (*ātideshīka*) *Nit*.

The condition of *adupadeśa* similarly excludes examples such as *hatah* and *hathah* where *tas* and *thas* occur after *han*, a root ending in *n* in *upadeśa*. The condition of *lasārvadhātukam* is necessary so that *paccamānāh*, etc., do not come within the scope of this rule. Affix *Cānaś* (3.2.129 *tācchīlyavayovacana . . .*) is here introduced directly. It is not a replacement of *LA*. The condition of *sārvadhātukam* similarly excludes *śīṣye*, *śīṣyātē* and *śīṣyirē*, where replacements of *LIT*, i.e., *eś*, *āte* and *ireC* (3.4.81 *liṭas tajhayor . . .*), are not *sārvadhātuka*. Finally, *hnute* and *yad ádhīte* are used to illustrate the exclusion of *hnvinoh*. Particle *yat* is here used to indicate the retention of the root accent (8.1.30 *nipātair yadyadi . . .*).

### 6.1.184 आदि: सिचोऽन्यतरस्याम्

*ādiḥ sico' nyatarasyām  
/ādiḥ 1/1 sicāḥ 6/1 anyatarasyām 7/1/  
(udāttah #156)*

*sijantasya anyatarasyām ādir udātto bhavati*

The initial (*ādi*) of that which ends in *sIC* is optionally marked *udātta*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*mā hi kārṣṭām*  
*mā hi karṣṭām*

*mā hi lāviṣṭām*  
*mā hi lāviṣṭām*

1. This optional *udātta* applies to a form which ends in augment *sIC*. Thus, we get *mā hi kārṣṭām* and *mā hi kārṣṭām*, where the first is *udātta*, initially, as per this rule. The second is marked *udātta* at the end in view of affixal accent (3.1.3 *ādyudāttasa*). But consider *mā hi lāviṣṭām* and *mā hi lāviṣṭām*, where the first is marked *udātta* at the beginning. The second, however, is marked *udātta* in the middle (*madhyodātta*). The *anudātta* of *sIC*, because it is marked with *C* as an *it* (*citkaraṇa*), is blocked. The *i* of augment *iT* (7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasyeṣ valādeḥ*), since it becomes part of that which ends in a *sIC*, is marked *udātta* in view of *C* as an *it* of *sIC*. A preceding *hi* in these examples illustrates that the *anudātta* of 8.1.34 *hi ca* is negated.

2. A *vārttika* proposes that, in matters of initial *udātta* of a form ending in *sIC*, an affix marked with *P* as an *it* and not used with *iT* should be optionally marked *udātta*. Thus consider *mā hi kāṛṣam* and *mā hi kāṛṣām* where *miP* is an affix marked with *P* as an *it*. It is also unmarked *anudātta* (3.1.4 *anudāttau supitau*). We would get only one form in the absence of the *vārttika* proposal. That is, with *udātta* initially in view of 6.1.159 *dhātoḥ*. This restricted proposal in the context of non-*iT* allows another form with *udātta* in the middle (*madhyodātta*).

### 6.1.185 स्वपादिहिंसामच्यनिटि

*svapādihiṁsām acy aniṭi*  
*/svapādihiṁsām 6/1 = svap ādir yeṣām te (bv.); svapādayaś ca hiṁś ca (itar. dv.), teṣām; aci 7/1 aniṭi 7/1 (bv.), tasmin/*  
*(udāttah #156 lasārvadhātukam #183 ādiḥ anyatarasyām #184)*  
*svapādīnām hiṁseś cājādāv aniṭi lasārvadhātuke parato' nyatarasyām ādir udātto bhavati*

The initial of *svap*, etc., and of *hiṁs* as well, is optionally marked *udātta* when a replacement of *LA* which begins with an *aC* and does not permit augment *iT* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*svapānti*  
*svapānti*  
*śvāsanti*  
*śvāsanti*  
*hiṁsanti*  
*hiṁsanti*

1. This rule offers optional *udātta* at the beginning of specified roots. Of course, when a *sārvadhātuka* replacement of *LA* which begins with an *aC* and is not used with *iT* follows. Incidentally, *lasārvadhātukam*, a form ending

in the nominative (*prathamā*), is here changed into locative (*saptamī*) in relation to *aci* and *anīti*. Thus, we get two examples where, in one, we get initial *udātta*. We get middle *udātta* in the other, due to affixal accent. These examples are all third plural active where *jh* of *jhi* is replaced with *ant* (7.1.3 *jhō' ntah*). This, in turn, makes the affix vowel-initial (*ajādi*).

This initial *udātta* option is not available, for example in *svap्यात्* and *him्स्यात्*, on the one hand, and in *svasitah* and *svapitah*, on the other. The first two examples do not have an ending beginning with a vowel. The next two are used with augment *iT*.

This provision is desired (*iṣṭa*) only when a vowel initial affix marked with *N* as an *it* follows (*nitya ajādāv ayām vidhir iṣyate*). Thus, *svapāni* and *hinasāni*. The *sārvadhātuka* replacement of the first person active are treated as marked with *P* as an *it* (*pit; 3.4.92 ḍ udātta* *māya pīc ca*). Rule 1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit* will not allow a *pit* affix to be accepted as *nit*.

#### 6.1.186 अभ्यस्तानामादिः

*abhyastānām ādiḥ*

/*abhyastānām* 6/3 *ādiḥ* 1/1/

(*udāttah #156 lasārvadhātukam #183 acy anīti #185*)

*abhyastānām ajādāv anīti lasārvadhātuke parata ādir udātto bhavati*

The initial of an *abhyasta* is marked with *udātta* when a replacement of *LA* which begins with an *aC* and does not permit augment *iT* follows.

EXAMPLES:

*dadāti*

*dadāu*

*dadhāti*

*dadhāu*

*jakṣāti*

*jakṣātu*

*jāgrāti*

*jāgrātu*

1. The word *ādi*, though available via *anuvṛtti* from the previous rule, is expressly used to make this rule obligatory (*nitya*). The term *abhyasta* is assigned to a form which results out of doubling (6.1.5 *ubhe abhyastam*). Thus, *dadāti* and *dadhāti* are forms of *LAiT* where *dā* and *dhā* go through doubling. Their *ŚaP* goes through deletion by *ŚLU* (2.4.75 *juhotyādibhyah śluḥ*). Refer to derivational details of *jakṣātuḥ* (II:412–13) where the term *abhyasta* is assigned by 6.1.6 *jaksityādayah sat*.

#### 6.1.187 अनुदात्ते च

*anudāttae ca*

/anudātte 7/1 = avidyamānam udāttam asmin (bv.); ca φ/  
 (udāttah #156 lasārvadhātukam #183 abhyastānām ādih #186)  
*avidyamānodātē ca lasārvadhātuke parato' bhyastānām ādir udātto bhavati*  
 The initial of an *abhyasta* is also marked with *udātta* when a replacement of *LA* with no *anudātta* follows.

## EXAMPLES:

*dadāti*  
*jahāti*  
*dadhāti*  
*jihīte*  
*mimīte*

1. This rule is formulated to account for instances where a *sārvadhātuka* replacement of *LA* does not begin with a vowel. The locative *anudātta* is not interpreted here technically (*śāstriya*) as: ‘when an *anudātta* follows’. It is interpreted as a *bahuvr̥hi* compound parallel to *avidyamānah udāttah yasmin tasmin* ‘that within which there is no *anudātta*’. This will enable the rule to apply where a vowel is either deleted, or is replaced with *yaN*. Consider *dadhāti* and *dadhāty atra* where the final *i* in the first example is deleted (3.4.100 *itaś ca*) to yield *dadhāt*. The second example involves a replacement in *yaN* before *atra*. Recall that *tiPis* *anudātta* (3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau*). A technical interpretation of *anudātta* will block *udātta* of this rule where the *anudātta i* gets deleted, or is replaced with *yaN*. For, there would not be any *anudātta* to follow. In cases of replacements in *yaN*, the initial *udātta* of this rule still applies. The replacement, since it is externally conditioned (*bahirāṅga*), becomes suspended (*asiddha*). Refer to the appendix (III:761) for derivational details of *dadāti* and *dadhāti*.

## 6.1.188 सर्वस्य सुपि

*sarvasya supi*  
*/sarvasya 6/1 supi 7/1/*  
*(udāttah #156 ādih #186)*  
*sarvaśabdasya supi parata ādir udātto bhavati*  
 The initial of *sarva* is marked *udātta* when *sUP* follows.

## EXAMPLES:

*sarvāḥ*  
*sarváu*  
*sarvé*

1. This initial *udātta* is offered here against a final *udātta* (*Uṇādi*: 1.153: *sarvanīdhṛdhariṣu . . .*). This makes *sarva* an *anudātta* at the beginning. Con-

sequently, *sārvah*, a derivate of *aṄ* (4.2.44 *anudāttāder aṄ*), is marked with *anudātta* at the beginning. The condition of *suPI* ‘when sUP follows’ blocks this accentual provision in *sārvatārah* and *sārvatāmāḥ* where *sarva* is followed by *taraP* and *tamaP*.

2. A *vārttika* proposal is made to avail this accentual provision, for example in *sarvāstomāḥ*, even when a nominal ending is deleted (*Mahābhāṣya* ad 1.1.63 *na lumatāṅgasya*). That is, the deleted nominal ending is still considered as *udātta* at the beginning (3.1.3 *ādyudāttāś ca*), via *pratyayalakṣaṇa* ‘operation characteristic of an affix obtains even when the affix gets deleted’ (1.1.62 *pratyayalope . . .*). This deletion of nominal ending in *sarvastomāḥ* results on account of compound formation.

Yet another proposal is made to interpret *sarva* of this rule as one not qualified with *akaC* (*anacka*). That is, this accentual proposal does not apply to *sarva* when used with affix *akaC*. Recall that *sarva* may also refer to *sarvaka* because *akaC* is here contained within *sarva* (cf. (*Paribhāṣā* (90): *tan-madhyapatitas tadgrahanenā grhyate*).

### 6.1.189 भीह्रीभृमदधनजनदरिद्राजागरां प्रत्ययात्पूर्वं पिति

*bhīhrībhṛhumadadhanajanadaridrājāgarāṁ pratyayāt pūrvam piti*  
*/bhī-hrī-bhṛ-hu-mada-dhana-jana-daridrā-jāgarāṁ 6/3 (itar. dv.); pratyayāt*  
*5/1 pūrvam 1/1 piti 7/1 = pakāra it yasya (bv.), tasmin/*  
*(udāttāḥ #156 lasārvadhātukam #185 abhyastānāṁ #183)*  
*'bhī, hrī, bhṛ, hu, mada, jana, dhana, daridrā, jāgr' ity eteṣām*  
*abhyastānāṁ lasārvadhātuke piti pratyayāt pūrvam udāttam bhavati*  
 That part of an *abhyasta*, particularly of *bhī*, *hrī*, *hu*, *mada*, *jana*, *dhana*, *daridrā*, and *jāgr* which precedes an affix, is marked *udātta* when a *sārvadhātuka*-replacement marked with *P* as an *it* follows.

EXAMPLES:

*bibheti*  
*jihreti*  
*bibharti*  
*juhoti*  
*māmattū nah parijmā*  
*jajanadindrám*  
*dādhanat*  
*dāridrāti*  
*jāgarttī*

1. Note that 6.1.187 *anudāttē ca* offers initial *udātta* to a form termed *abhyasta*. This rule offers *udātta* to a part of *abhyasta* which precedes the affix. Refer to the appendix for derivational details.

## 6.1.190 लिति

*liti**/liti 7/1/*(udāttah #156 *pratyayāt pūrvam* #189)*lakāretsaṁjñake pratyayāt pūrvam udāttam bhavati*That which precedes is marked *udātta* when an affix marked with *L* as an *it* follows.

EXAMPLES:

*cikīrsakāḥ**jihīrsakāḥ**bhaurikividham**bhaulikividham**aishukāribhaktam*

1. Note that the *i* before *aka* is marked *udātta* in *cikīrsakah* and *jihīrsakah*. That is, after 6.4.48 *ato lopah* deletes the final *a* of *cikīrsa* and *jihīrsa*. Refer to the appendix (II:406–7) for full derivational details. Affixes *vidhal* and *bhaktal* which are introduced after *bhauliki* and *aishukāri* are also marked with *L* (4.2.54 *bhaurikyādyaiṣukāryādibhyo vidhalbhaktalau*).

## 6.1.191 आदिर्णमुल्यन्यतरस्याम्

*ādir ṇamuly anyatarasyām**/ādih 1/1 namuli 7/1 anyatarasyām 7/1/*

(udāttah #156)

*namuli parato' nyatarasyām ādir udātto bhavati*An initial is optionally marked *udātta* when affix *NamUL* follows.

EXAMPLES:

*lolūyamlolūyam**lolūyāmlolūyam*

1. This rule provides for optional *udātta* at the beginning of a root which occurs before *NamUL*. Why state this rule when the earlier rule can account for its provision. This rule is stated for roots which are not monosyllabic (*ekāc*). Consider *lolūya* which is a root derived with *yaN* with the signification of *kriyāsamabhihāra* ‘intense action’. Given *lolūya + NamUL = lolūya + am*, where 6.4.48 *ato lopah* deletes the final *a* before the *ārdhadhātuka* suffix *NamUL*, we get *lolūyam*. This derivate then becomes optionally *udātta* at the beginning. This option will be made against the *udātta* in the middle (*madhyodātta; . . . ya . . .*) of the preceding rule. Another set of two forms are gotten from doubling of *lolūyam* when the signification is *ābhikṣṇya* ‘over and over again’ (vt.: *ābhikṣṇe dve bhavataḥ*; ad 8.1.12 *prakāre guṇavacanasya*).

The second *lolūyam* of *lolūyamlolūyam* will then be termed *āmreditā* (8.1.2 *tasya paramāmreditam*). Consequently, it will also become *anudāttā* (8.1.3 *anudāttam ca*).

### 6.1.192 अचः कर्तृयकि

*acah kartṛyaki*

/*acah* 6/1 *kartṛyaki* 7/1 = *karttari vihito yak* (*sapt. tat.*); *tasmin/* (*udāttah* #156 *upadeśāt* #183 *ādiḥ anyatarasyām* #191)

*ajantā ye upadeśe dhātavas teṣāṁ kartṛyaki anyatarasyām ādir udātto bhavati*  
A vowel-final (*ajanta*) root in *upadeśa* is optionally marked *udāttā* at the beginning when affix *yaK* with the signification of *kartṛ* ‘agent’ follows.

EXAMPLES:

*lūyāte kedārah svayam eva*  
*lūyaté kedārah svayam eva*  
*stīryāte kedārah svayam eva*  
*stīryaté kedārah svayam eva*

1. Recall that 3.1.67 *sārvadhātuke yak* introduces *yaK* after a verbal root when *bhāva* ‘action; root-sense’ or *karman* ‘object’ is denoted. This rule covers instances of *yaK* where an object (*karman*) is treated as if it was *kartṛ*. Such a treatment of *karman* is made possible via *vyapadeśivadbhāva* ‘treatment of a secondary as principal’ of 3.1.87 *karmavat karmanā tulyakriyāḥ*. We thus get *lūyate* where this rule offers optional *udāttā* at the beginning. In the absence of this initial *udāttā*, 6.1.183 *tāsyānudāttet . . .* will assign *anudāttā* to *te*. Rule 3.1.3 *ādyudāttas ca* will then assign affixal *udāttā* to *yaK*.

### 6.1.193 थलि च सेटीडन्तो वा

*thalī ca setīd anto vā*

/*thalī* 7/1 *ca* φ *setī* 1/1 (*bv.*); *it* 1/1 *antaḥ* 1/1 *vā* φ/ (*udāttah* #156 *ādiḥ anyatarasyām* #191)

*seti thalī it vā udātto bhavati anto vā ādir vā anyatarasyām*

An *iT*, when used before a following *thalī*, is optionally marked *udāttā*; additionally, the final and initial are also optionally marked with *udāttā*.

EXAMPLES:

*lulavithá*  
*lulávithá*  
*lulavitha*

1. Note that this rule does not use *ca* in its right place. It should be paraphrased to attract *ādiḥ*, thereby yielding two paraphrases: (i) *thalī setī id vā udātto bhavati it* is optionally marked *udāttā* when *thalī*, conjoined with

*iT, follows'; (ii) anto vā ādir vā anyatarasyām udātto bhavati* ‘an initial or final is optionally marked *udātta*'. Notice that *vā* is used here even when *anyatarasyām* is carried. Commentators explain that this rule offers *udātta* as a single operation (*kārya*). It, however, has three *kāryin* ‘operands’: *it*, *ādi* and *anta*. The expressly used *vā* is intended for denoting option of operands. The *anuvṛtti* of *anyatarasyām* offers operational option of *udātta*. Thus, we get three forms marked with *udātta*, as specified with *it*, *ādi* and *anta*. A fourth form with *udātta* on what precedes the affix can be gotten at the strength of *thaL*, an affix marked with *L* as its *it* (6.1.190 *līti*). This will be an operational option (*kāryavikalpa*). Consider *lulavitha* which derives from *lū + (LIT→siP→thaL)* → *lū + thaL*, where *LIT* gets replaced with *thaL*, via second person singular active ending *siP* (3.4.82 *parasmaipadānām ṣalatusthala . . .*). Reduplication (6.1.8 *līti dhātor . . .*), followed by *iT* (7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasyed valādeḥ*) and shortening of *ū* of the first *lū* produces: *lū + lū + tha(L)→lū + lū + i(T) + tha(L)→l(ū→u) + lū + i(T) + tha(L)*. An application of *guna* (7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoh*), followed by *av* (6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvah*), then yields: *lu + l(ū→o→av) + i(T) + tha(L) = lu + lav + i + tha = lulavitha*. This rule will mark the *iT* of this derivate *udātta*. The initial and final of this derivate will also be marked *udātta*. Of course, these three options will be availed in turn (*paryāya*). Finally, because *thaL* is marked with *L* as an *it*, 6.1.190 *līti* will offer *udātta* on what precedes the affix. Thus we get four alternate forms: *lulavitha*, *lulavitha*, *lulgwithá* and *lulgwithá*.

### 6.1.194 ज्ञित्यादिर्नित्यम्

*ñnityādir nityam*

*/ñniti 7/1 = ñaś ca naś ca = ñnau (dv.); ñnāv itāv asya (bv. with int. dv.), tasmin; ādiḥ 1/1 nityam 1/1/*  
*(udāttah #156)*

*ñiti niti ca nityam ādir udātto bhavati*

The initial of a form is marked *udātta* when that which has *Ñ* or *N* as an *it* follows.

EXAMPLES:

*gārgyāḥ*

*vātsyāḥ*

*vāsudevakāḥ*

*arjūnakāḥ*

1. This constitutes an exception to affixal accent (*pratyayasvara*; 3.1.3 *ādyudāttas ca*). The first two examples are derives of *yaÑ* (4.1.105 *gargādibhyo yañ*), marked with *Ñ* as an *it*. The next two are examples of *vuN* (4.3.98 *vāsudevārjunābhyañ vun*), marked with *N* as an *it*.

2. Note that 1.1.62 *pratyayalope pratyayalakṣaṇam* cannot be invoked for

this application. That is, one cannot avail this accentual provision where affixal deletion applies. Consider *gargāḥ* and *vidāḥ* where 2.4.64 *yaññaños ca* offers deletion of affixes *yaṄ* and *aṄ*. The examples will thus be marked as *gargāḥ* and *vidāḥ*, without consideration of this rule.

### 6.1.195 आमन्त्रितस्य च

*āmantritasya ca*  
*/āmantritasya 6/1 ca φ/*  
*(udāttah #156 ādih #191)*  
*āmantritasyādir udātto bhavati*

The initial of that which is termed an *āmantrita* is also marked *udātta*.

EXAMPLES:

*devádattah*  
*devádattau*  
*devádattāḥ*

1. Note that the term *āmantrita* (2.3.48 *sā' mantritam*) is assigned to the nominative used with the signification of *sambodhana* 'address form'. This rule blocks the provision of rule 6.2.148 *kārakād dattaśrutayor . . .* in *devádatta*, *devádattau* and *devádattāḥ*.

### 6.1.196 पथिमथोः सर्वनामस्थाने

*pathimathoh sarvanāmasthāne*  
*/pathimathoh 6/2 = panthāś ca manthāś ca (itar. dv.), tayoh; sarvanāmas-*  
*thāne 7/1/*  
*(udāttah #156 ādih #191)*

*pathimathoh sarvanāmasthāne parata ādir udātto bhavati*

The initial of *pathin* and *mathin* is marked *udātta* when an affix termed *sarvanāmasthāna* (1.1.42 *śi sarva . . .*) follows.

EXAMPLES:

*panthāḥ*  
*panthānau*  
*panthānah*  
*manthāḥ*  
*manthāḥ*  
*manthānau*  
*manthānah*

1. Note that *pathin* (*Uṇādi* 4.11) and *mathin* (*Uṇādi* 4.112) are derivates of *inI*. They are marked *udātta* at the end in view of affixal accent. They are here offered *udātta* at the beginning. Refer to derivational details of *panthāḥ* (II:398–99). Similar rules apply in deriving *manthāḥ*.

2. The condition of *sarvanāmsthāne* blocks this *udātta* at the beginning, for example, in *pāthah paśya* where a non-*sarvanāmsthāna* accusative plural ending Śas follows. The word is marked *udātta* at the end (6.1.158 *anudāttasya ca yatrodāttalopah*). Here again 1.1.62 *pratyayalope*... cannot be invoked. Note, however, that *pathi* of a *bahuvrīhi* compound, such as *pāthipriyah*, is marked *udātta* at the end on account of the original accent of its preceding constituent (6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau prakṛtyā pūrvapadam*).

### 6.1.197 अन्तश्च तवै युगपत्

*antaś ca tavai yugapat*  
*/antah 1/1 ca φ tavai (1/1 deleted) yugapat φ/*  
*(udāttaḥ #156 ādih #191)*  
*tavaipratyayāntasya śabdasyāntas cādiś ca yugapad udāttau bhavataḥ*  
 The initial, and final as well, of that which ends in affix *tavai* is simultaneously (*yugapat*) marked *udātta*.

EXAMPLES:

*karttavai*  
*harttavai*

1. This constitutes an exception to affixal accent of *udātta* at the beginning (3.1.3 *ādyudāttāś ca*). Affix *tavai* is introduced by 3.4.14 *kṛtyārthe tavai*...
2. The word *yugapat* is used for allowing *udātta* to the initial and final of *tavai*, simultaneously. Recall that *ekavarjam* of 6.1.155 *anudāttam* *ekavarjam* goes contrary to an application, in turn (*paryāya*).

### 6.1.198 क्षयो निवासे

*kṣayo nivāse*  
*/kṣayah 1/1 nivāse 7/1*  
*(udāttaḥ #156 ādih #191)*  
*kṣayaśabdo nivāse' bhidheye ādyudātto bhavati*  
 The word *kṣaya* is marked *udātta* at the beginning when *nivāsa* ‘residence’ is the signification.

EXAMPLES:

*kṣayé jāgrhi prapaśyan*

1. Note that *kṣaya*, paraphrased as *kṣiyanti nivasanti yasmin* ‘that in which they live, decay’, is a derivate of affix *GHa* (3.3.118 *pumsi samjñāyām*...), introduced after verbal root *kṣi* ‘decay’. This initial *udātta* is offered against final affixal *anudātta* (3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau*). This accent will not be available to *kṣayah* of *kṣayo dasyūnām vartate* ‘there is destruction of bandits’ where the signification is something other than *nivāsa*.

## 6.1.199 जयः करणम्

*jayah karaṇam**/jayah 1/1 karaṇam 1/1/**(udāttah #156 ādiḥ #191)**jayaśabdah karanavācī ādyudātto bhavati*

The word *jaya* signifying *karaṇa* ‘means’ is marked *udātta* at the beginning.

## EXAMPLES:

*jayō' śvah ‘a horse by means of which one wins’*

1. The word *jaya* is again a derivate of *GHa*. Here again, this initial *udātta* blocks the final affixal accent of the derivate. That *jayah* denotes *karaṇa* ‘instrument’ is explained by the paraphrase: *jayanti tena* ‘by (means of) that they win’. The *jayah* of *jayo varttate brāhmaṇānām* ‘brāhmaṇas are victorious’ does not qualify for this accenual provision. For, this *jaya* derives with affix *aC* (3.3.53 *er ac*) with the signification of root-sense (*bhāva*).

## 6.1.200 वृषादीनां च

*vṛṣādīnām ca**/vṛṣādīnām 6/3 = vṛṣa ādir yeṣām (bv.), te; ca φ/**(udāttah #156 ādiḥ #191)**vṛṣādīnām śabdānām ādir udātto bhavati*

The initial of items enumerated in the list headed by *vṛṣa* is also marked *udātta*.

## EXAMPLES:

*vṛṣāḥ**janāḥ**jvarāḥ*

1. Note that *vṛṣāḥ* is a derivate of *Ka* (3.1.135 *igupadhadjñā* . . .) introduced after *vṛṣ* ‘to water, rain’. The other two examples are derives of *aC* (3.1.134 *nandigrāhipacādy* . . .) introduced after *janā* ‘to be born’ and *jvarā* ‘to be afflicted’. The accentual provision of this rule is made against affixal *udātta* at the end (*antodātta*).

2. Note that the *vṛṣādī* is treated as an *ākṛtiṇā* ‘open-ended’. That is, any nominal for which no initial *udātta* has been expressly provided can be covered by this rule.

## 6.1.201 संज्ञायामुपमानम्

*saṃjñāyām upamānam**/saṃjñāyām 7/1 upamānam 1/1/*

(*udāttah* #156 *ādih* #191)

*upamānaśabdah samjñāyām udātto bhavati*

A standard of comparison (*upamāna*) is marked *udātta* when the signification is a name (*samjñā*).

EXAMPLES:

*cañcā*

*vardhrikā*

*kharakuñ*

*dāśī*

1. Note that *cañcā* ‘a doll, straw figure’, derived with a deleted *kaN* (5.3.96 *ive pratikṛtau*; 5.3.98 *lum manusye*), can denote a name by way of serving as an *upamāna* ‘standard of comparison’. Here again, 1.1.62 *pratyayalope . . .* cannot be invoked for purposes of accentuation.

### 6.1.202 निष्ठा च द्वयजनात्

*niṣṭhā ca dvyajanāt*

/*nīsthā* 1/1 *ca* φ *dvyac* 1/1 = *dvaū acāu yasmin* (bv.), *tat*; *anāt* 5/1 = *na āt* (*nañ. tat.*)/

(*udāttah* #156 *ādih* #191 *samjñāyām* #201)

*niṣṭhāntam ca dvyac samjñāyām viṣaye ādyudāttam bhavati*

That which contains two vowels, and ends in an affix termed *niṣṭhā*, is also marked with *udātta* at the beginning, provided the signification is a name (*samjñā*) and what is to be marked *anudātta* is not an *ā*.

EXAMPLES:

*dattāḥ*

*guptāḥ*

*buddhāḥ*

1. This again is an exception to affixal accent (*pratyaya-svara*). Refer to the appendix (III:775–77) for derivational details of *dattāḥ*. Similar rules derive *buddhāḥ*, from *budh + Kta*. Recall that affixes *Kta* and *KtavatU* are termed *niṣṭhā* (1.1.26 *ktaktavatū niṣṭhā*).

2. This accentual provision cannot apply to *deva* and *bhīma*, two derivates of non-*niṣṭhā* suffixes *aC* and *maK*, respectively. It does not apply to *cintita* and *rakṣita*, because these both consist of more than two vowels. Derivates of *niṣṭhā*, for example, *trāṭa* and *āpta* are also excluded since they have *ā* at the beginning. Finally, *kṛta* and *hṛta* must also be excluded because they do not denote a name.

### 6.1.203 शुक्खृष्टौ

*śuṣkadhṛṣṭau*

/śuṣka-dhṛṣṭau 1/2 (itar. dv.)/

(udāttah #156 ādiḥ #191)

‘śuṣka, dhṛṣṭa’ ity etāv ādyudāttau bhavataḥ

The words śuṣka and dhṛṣṭa are marked *udātta* at the beginning.

#### EXAMPLES:

śuṣkāḥ ‘dried’

dhṛṣṭāḥ ‘daring’

1. Note that śuṣka and dhṛṣṭa are derivates of *nīṣṭhā* suffix *Kta*, where *Kta* of the first example is replaced with *ka* (8.2.51 śuṣah *kah*). Our next example involves *t̄* as a replacement for *t* (*śtutva*; 8.4.41 *śtunā* *śtuh*). These examples could be covered by the previous rule. This initial *udātta* is then offered to cover usages outside the scope of *samjñā* ‘name’ (*Kāś*: *asajñārthaḥ* *ārambhah*).

#### 6.1.204 आशितः कर्ता॑

āśitah karttā

/āśitah 1/1 karttā 1/1/

(udāttah #156 ādiḥ #191)

āśitaśabdaḥ kartṛvācī ādyudātto bhavati

The word *āśita*, when used with the signification of *kartr̄* ‘agent’, is marked *udātta* at the beginning.

#### EXAMPLES:

āśito devadattah ‘Devadatta has eaten’

1. Note that *āśita* is a derivate of *Kta* (3.4.70 *tayor eva . . .*) introduced after verbal root *āś* used with the preverb *āN*. The affixal denotatum is here interpreted as *kartṛ*. It is stated that *āś* is a transitive root, but it becomes intransitive (*akarmaka*) when the object (*karman*) remains unexpressed. The *Mahābhāṣya* (ad 3.4.72 *gatyarthākarmaka . . .*) accepts that *Kta* is here introduced in the sense of *kartr̄*, via *nipātana*. The accentual provision of this rule blocks the provision of 6.2.144 *thāthaghañ . . .*.

Two counter-examples, i.e., *āśitam annam* and *āśitam devadattena* illustrate how their *Kta* denotes *karman* and *bhāva*, respectively. Obviously, *āśita* here cannot qualify for this accent.

#### 6.1.205 रिक्ते विभाषा॑

rikte vibhāṣā

/rikte 7/1 vibhāṣā 1/1/

(udāttah #156 ādiḥ #191)

riktaśabde vibhāṣā ādir udātto bhavati

The initial of *rikta* is marked *udātta*, only optionally.

EXAMPLES:

*niktāḥ* ‘emptied’  
*niktah*

1. Note that *rikta*, a derivate of *ricIR + Kta* where the signification is a name (*samjnā*), can qualify for obligatory *udātta* at the beginning (6.1.102 *nīṣṭhā ca dvyajanāt*). This rule makes that provision optional. That is, when the signification is something other than a name. A final *udātta* (6.2.144 *thāthaghañ . . .*) will apply if optional provision of this rule is not accepted.

### 6.1.206 जुष्टार्पिते च च्छन्दसि

*juṣṭārpite cac chandasi*  
*/juṣṭārpite 7/1 = juṣṭāś ca arpitaś ca (itar. dv.), tayoh; ca φ chandasi 7/1/*  
*(udāttah #156 ādih #191)*  
*‘juṣṭā, arpita’ity ete śabdaruṇpe chandasi viṣaye vibhāṣā ādyudātta bhavataḥ*  
 The initial of *juṣṭā* and *arpita* is optionally marked *udātta* when the usage is Vedic.

EXAMPLES:

*juṣṭāḥ*  
*justah*  
*arpitah*  
*arpitāḥ*

1. This optional provision of initial *udātta* only applies to the Vedic usage. Elsewhere, in the classical (*bhāṣā*) usage, we will get *udātta* at the end in view of affixal accent (3.1.3 *ādyudāttas ca*).

Our first example derives with affix *Kta*, introduced after *juṣī* ‘to enjoy’ with an additional application of *śtutva* (8.4.41 *śtunā śtuh*). The second example also derives with *Kta*, introduced after *r̥* ‘to go’ with causal *NiC*. Further application of augment *pUK* (3.2.184 *arttihrīlūdhū . . .*), and an application of *guna*, derive *arpita*. The accentual provision of this rule is again made against affixal accent.

2. The *chandasi* provision of this rule restricts usages to the Vedas and Brāhmaṇas with the exception of the Mantras.

### 6.1.207 नित्यं मन्त्रे

*nityam mantre*  
*/nityam 1/1 mantre 7/1/*  
*(udāttah #156 ādih #191 juṣṭārpite #206)*  
*‘juṣṭā, arpita’ity ete śabdaruṇpe mantraviṣaye nityam ādyudatte bhavataḥ*  
 The words *juṣṭā* and *arpita*, in the *Mantra* usage, are obligatorily marked with *udātta* at the beginning.

EXAMPLES:

*juṣṭām devānām  
arpitām pitṛnām*

1. Note that *mantra* is used for the *samhitā* sections of the Vedas, especially the *R̥gveda* and the *Yajurveda*. Some here do not accept the *anuvṛtti* of *juṣṭa*. For, *juṣṭa* is also found *udātta* at the end in the *Mantra* usage. Thus, they want optional *udātta* for *juṣṭa* there.

2. Why state *nityam* when the very formulation of *mantre* as a separate rule can accomplish this obligatory provision. The word *nityam* is then intended for clarity. Or else, for *anuvṛtti* in the following rule (*Nyāsa ad Kāś: ārambhasāmarthyād eva nityavate siddhe nityagrahaṇam vispaṣṭārtham, uttarārthañ ca*).

### 6.1.208 युष्मदस्मदोऽसि

*yuṣmadasmadōr nasi*  
*/yuṣmad-asmadoh 6/2 (itar. dv.) nasi 7/1/*  
*(udāttah #156 ādih #191)*  
*'yuṣmad-asmad' ity etayoh śabdayoḥ nasi parata ādir udātto bhavati*  
 The initial of *yuṣmad* and *asmad* is marked with *udātta* when *Nas* follows.

EXAMPLES:

*tavā svam  
mamā svam*

1. Note that *yuṣmad* and *asmad* are derivates of affix *madIK* (*Uṇādi I:119*). They are also marked *udātta* at the end, via affixal accent. Given *yuṣmad* + *Nas* and *asmad* + *Nas*, rule 7.1.27 *yuṣmadasmadbhyām naso'* is replaced *Nas* with *aŚ*. Rule 7.2.96 *tava mamau nasi* also replaces *yusm* and *asm* of the bases with *tava* and *mama*, respectively. Thus, *yuṣmad* + ((*N*) *as*→*a*(*Ś*)) = *yuṣmad* + *a*→(*yusm*→*tava*) *ad* + *a* = *tava* + (*ad*→*∅*) + *a* = *tava* + *a*. Rule 7.2.90 *śeṣe lopah* causes the deletion of *ad*. We get the final derivate with a single replacement: *tav(a + a→a) = tava (pararūpa; 6.1.97 ato gune)*. Similar rules also apply in deriving *asmad*.

This accentual provision goes against the final *udātta* provision of 8.2.5 *ekādeśa udāttenodāttah*.

### 6.1.209 नयि च

*nayi ca*  
*/nayi 7/1 ca φ/*  
*(udāttah #156 ādih #191 yuṣmadasmadoh #208)*

'ne'ity etasmimś ca parato yuṣmadasmador ādir udātto bhavati

The initial of *yuṣmad* and *asmad* is also marked *udātta* when *Ni* follows.

EXAMPLES:

*tubhyám*  
*mahyám*

1. A separate formulation of this and the preceding rule is intended for resolving doubts of *yathāsaṃkhya* ‘assignment of equivalents in accord with equal number of enumerated items’. That is, (i) *yuṣmad* is marked *udātta* when *Nas* follows; and (ii) *asmad* is marked *udātta* when *Ne* follows. A separate formulation can account for *udātta* of *yuṣmad* and *asmad* before *Nas* and *Ne* both.

Note that *Ne* ‘dative singular’ after these two bases is replaced with *am* (7.1.28 *neh prathamayor am*). These bases are also replaced with *tubhya* and *mahya* (7.2.95 *tubhyamahyau nayı*), respectively. Other rule applications are similar to *tava* and *mama*. Note that these bases are both *udātta* at the end. The affix is *udātta* at the beginning. A single replacement (*ekādeśa*) similar to the following (*pararūpa*), i.e., *a*-replacement in *tubhy* (*a + a → a*) *m = tubhyam*, should thus be also marked with *udātta*. This rule blocks it.

### 6.1.210 यतोऽनावः:

*yato'* *nāvah*  
*/yataḥ* 6/1 *anāvah* 1/1 = *na nau* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasmāt*/  
*(udāttah* #156 *ādih* #193 *dvyac* #202)  
*yatpratyayāntasya dvyac* *ādir udātto bhavati na cen nau śabdāt paro bhavati*  
 That which contains two vowels and ends in affix *yaT* is marked *udātta*  
 at the beginning, provided *yaT* does not occur after *nau* ‘boat’.

EXAMPLES:

*ceyám*  
*jeyám*  
*kan̄thyám*  
*oṣthyám*

1. Note that *dvyac* is understood here from 6.1.202 *niṣṭhā ca dvyajanāt*. This rule offers *udātta* as an exception to the *svarita* of 6.1.182 *tit svaritam*. This provision of initial *udātta* must be blocked in case of *nāvymáṁ*, where affix *yaT* is introduced after *nau* (3.1.97 *aco yat*). Refer to the appendix (III:364–65) for derivational details of *ceyam* and *jeyam*. The last two examples are also derivates of *yaT*, introduced by 5.1.6 *śarīrāvayavād yat*.

Note that a derivate of *yaT* which consists of more than two vowels is not allowed this accent. Thus, *cikīryám* and *lalātyám* which must be marked with *svarita* (6.1.182 *tit svaritam*) at the end.

## 6.1.211 ईडवन्दवृशंसदुहां पयतः:

*īdavandavṛśāmsaduhāṁ nyataḥ*

/īda-vanda-vṛśamsa-duhāṁ 6/1 (itar. dv.); nyataḥ 6/1  
(udāttah #156 ādiḥ #191)

'īda, vanda, vṛ, śams, duh' ity eteśāṁ yo nyat tadantasyādir udātto bhavati  
The initial of that which ends in *NyaT*, introduced after verbal roots  
īda 'praise', vanda 'respect', vṛN 'honor', śams 'praise' and duh 'to fulfill',  
is marked with *udātta*.

EXAMPLES:

īdyām  
vandyām  
vāryām  
śasyām  
dohyā denuh

1. Here again we find an exception to 6.1.183 *tit svaritam*. Note that affix *NyaT* could not be included within the reference of *yaT* of the earlier rule. For, it consists of two *it*-elements, *N* and *T*. Affix *NyaT* is introduced after specified verbal roots when the signification is *bhāva* 'root-sense' and *karman* 'object' (3.1.24 *rhalor nyat*).

## 6.1.212 विभाषा वेणिवन्धानयोः:

vibhāṣā veṇvindhānayoh

/vibhāṣā 1/1 veṇv-indhānayoh 6/2 (itar. dv.)/  
(udāttah #156 ādiḥ #191)

'veṇu-indhāna' ity etayor vibhāṣā ādir udātto bhavati

The initial of *venu* and *indhāna* is optionally marked with *udātta*.

EXAMPLES:

veṇūḥ  
veṇuh  
indhānah  
iṇdhānah  
iṇdhānāḥ

1. Note that *venu* is a derivate of *Unādi* affix *nu* (3.38: *ajivṛribhyo nit*). Consequently, it is subject to an obligatory *udātta* at the beginning (6.1.194 *ñnityādir nityam*). Our present rule offers an optional *udātta* at the end. Note, however, that *venu* is obligatorily marked *udātta* at the beginning when a name (*samjñā* 6.1.201 *samjñāyām upamānam*) is denoted.

The word *indhāna* can be derived with affixes *CānaŚ* (3.2.129 *tācchīlyavayo...*) and *ŚānaC* (3.2.124 *laṭah śatṛśānacāv...*), both introduced after

*Ñindhī* ‘to kindle’. A derivate of *Cānaś*, because of its *C* as an *it* (6.1.160 *citah*), will be marked *udātta* at the end. This same will also apply to a derivate of *ŚānaC*. A derivate of *ŚānaC* will require this affix to replace *LAT*. This will further require introduction of *ŚānaM*, followed by deletion of its *n* (6.4.23 *śnān nalopah*). Thus, *indh* + (*LAT*→(Ś) *āna(C)*) = *indha* + *āna*→*indha* + (Ś) *na(M)* + *āna*→*indh* + (*n*→∅) *a* + *āna*. The *a* before *āna* is also subsequently deleted (6.4.111 *śnasor al lopah*), to finally produce *indhāna*. There are several accentual interactions involved here. Firstly, we will get the final *udātta* of *ŚānaC* due mainly to *C* as an *it*. This accent of a *sārvadhātuka*-replacement of *LA* cannot be blocked by the affixal accent of initial *udātta* of *ŚnaM*, a *vikaraṇa* (cf. *satiṣṭo’pi vikaraṇasvaro lasārvadhātukasvaram na bādhate*). But since *ŚnaM* has *a* is *upadeśa* (6.1.183 *tāsyānudātten* . . .), *ŚānaC* will then be marked *anudātta*. The *ŚnaM* itself will be marked with affixal *udātta* at the beginning. But recall that *a* of *ŚnaM* gets deleted before *āna*. This will occasion *udātta* in the middle (*madhyodātta*; 6.1.158 *anudāttasya ca yat* . . .).

### 6.1.213 त्यागरागहासकुहरवठकथानाम्

*tyāgarāgahāsakuhaśvaṭhakratḥānām*

/*tyāga-rāga-hāsa-kuha-śvaṭha-krathānām* 6/3 (itar. dv.)/

(*udāttah* #156 *ādih* #191)

‘*tyāga, rāga, hāsa, kuha, śvaṭha, kratha*’ *ity etesām vibhāṣā ādir udātto bhavati*  
The initial of *tyāga, hāsa, kuha, śvaṭha*, and *kratha* is optionally marked with *udātta*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*tyāgāḥ*

*tyāgāḥ*

*rāgāḥ*

*ragāḥ*

*hāsāḥ*

*hāsah*

*kuhāḥ*

*kuhāḥ*

*śvathāḥ*

*śvaṭhāḥ*

*krathāḥ*

*krathāḥ*

1. Note that *tyāgāḥ*, etc., are derivates of *GHaÑ*. They are subject to final *udātta* because of *N* as an *it* (6.1.156 *karṣātvato* . . .). This rule offers *udātta* at the beginning as an option. The remaining examples are all derivates of *aC* (3.1.134 *nandigrahi* . . .). They thus get optional final *udātta* against the initial *udātta* option of this rule.

## 6.1.214 उपोत्तमं रिति

*upottamam riti*  
*/upottamam 1/1 riti 7/1 = repha it yasya (bv.), tasmin/*  
*(udāttah #156)*

*ridantasyopottamam udāttam bhavati*

The penultimate of that which ends in an affix with *R* as an *it* is marked with *udātta*.

EXAMPLES:

*karaṇīyám*  
*haṇīyám*  
*paṭujāṭīyāḥ*  
*mṛdujāṭīyāḥ*

1. This rule offers *udātta* to an *upottama* ‘next to the last (vowel) of a word with three or more vowels’, where the derivate entails an affixal *R* as an *it*. Thus, *karaṇīyám* and *paṭujāṭīyāḥ* where *anīyaR* (3.1.96 *tavyattavyāṇīyarah*) and *jāṭīyaR* (5.3.96 *prakāravacane jāṭīyar*) are both marked with *R* as an *it*. This again is an exception to affixal accent of final *udātta*.

## 6.1.215 चड्यन्यतरस्याम्

*caṇī anyatarasyām*  
*/caṇī 7/1 anyatarasyām 1/1/*  
*(udāttah #156 ādih #191 upottamam #214)*  
*caṇante' nyatarasyām udāttam bhavati*

The next to the last of that which consists of at least three syllables and ends in *CaṄ* is marked *udātta*.

EXAMPLES:

*mā hi cīkaratām*  
*mā hi cīkarātām*

1. Refer to derivational details of *acīkarat* (II:507–9). Similar rules apply in deriving *cīkaratām* of *mā hi cīkaratām*. The *tas* of *cīkaratām* is replaced with *tām* (3.4.101 *tasthathampām* . . .). Augment *aT* is here blocked because of concurrent *māṄ* (6.4.74 *na māṇyoge*). The *anudātta* of *cīkaratām* (8.1.28 *tiṄ atīnah*) will also be blocked because of *hi* (8.1.34 *hi ca*) after which a *pada* ending in *tiṄ* occurs (8.1.28 *tiṄ atīnah*). The *anudātta*, however, will apply to *tām*, a *sārvadhātuka* replacement of *LA*, because it occurs after *a* (6.1.183 *tāsyanudātten* . . .). Our present rule offers *udātta* to the *a* of *ka* of *cīkara*. The *a* of *ra* will be marked *udātta* by affixal accent if the option of this rule is not accepted.

This accentual provision is not available to *mā hi dadhat*. For, *dadhat* con-

sists of only two vowels and thus the condition of *upottamam* cannot be met here.

### 6.1.216 मतोः पूर्वमात्संज्ञायां स्त्रियाम्

*matoh pūrvam āt samjñāyām striyām*

/*matoh* 5/1 *pūrvam* 1/1 *āt* 5/1 *saṁjñāyām* 7/1 *strijām* 7/1/ (*udāttah* #156)

*matoh pūrva ākāra udātto bhavati tac cen matvantam striliṅge saṁjñā bhavati*  
An ā before *matUP* is marked with *udātta* when the derivate signifies a name in the feminine.

EXAMPLES:

*udumbarāvātī* ‘name of a city’

*puskarāvātī* ‘name of a city’

*śarāvātī* ‘name of a city’

1. Recall that *matUP* of these derivates is introduced by 4.4.84 *nadyām matup*. The *m* of *matUP* is replaced with *v* (8.2.11 *saṁjñāyām*). The long ā which precedes *matUP* has its source in the application of 6.3.119 *matau bahvaco*. . . . The long of *śarāvātī*, however, is caused by 6.1.120 *śarādīnām ca*. These derivates of *NiP* are all marked *anudātta* at the end. For, *NiP* is an affix marked with *P* as an *it* (3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau*). Our present rule offers *udātta* to the ā which precedes *matUP*.

2. Counter-examples, such as *ikṣumaṭī* and *drumavaṭī*, illustrate how the absence of a long ā before *matUP* makes this rule inapplicable. A counter-example for *saṁjñāyām* is offered in *khaṭvāvati* ‘a place with many cots’. A counter-example for *strijām* is offered as *śarāvān*. Finally, *gavādinī* is offered as a counter-example for the condition of *matoh*.

### 6.1.217 अन्तोऽवत्याः

*anto' vatyāḥ*

/*antah* 1/1 *avatyāḥ* 6/1/

(*udāttah* #156 *saṁjñāyām* #218)

*avatīśabdāntasya saṁjñāyām anta udātto bhavati*

The final of that which ends in *avatī* is marked *udātta* when the signification is a name.

EXAMPLES:

*ajiravatī* ‘name of a place’

*khadīraqvatī* ‘name of a place’

*hamsavatī* ‘name of a place’

*kārgandavatī* ‘name of a place’

1. A word-form ending in *avatī* is here offered *udātta* at the end. This accentual provision is made against the final *anudātta* of the feminine affix *NīP* (3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitaū*). Here again we get the *m* of *matUP* replaced with *v* (8.2.11 *samjñāyām*). A long replacement for the short *a* before *matUP* is again accomplished by 6.3.120 *śarādinām ca*.

### 6.1.218 इवत्या:

*īvatyāḥ*

/īvatyāḥ 5/1/

(*udāttah* #156 *samjñāyām* #218 *antah* #219)

*īvatiśabdāntasyānta udātto bhavati striyām samjñāyām viśaye*

The final of that which ends in *īvatī* is marked with *udātta* when the signification is a name.

### EXAMPLES:

*ahīvati* ‘name of a place’

*kṛṣivati* ‘name of a place’

*munīvati* ‘name of a place’

1. The *v* of these examples is a replacement of *m* of *matUP*. The long *ā* has its source in the application of 6.3.120 *śarādinām ca*. Our present rule offers *udātta* against affixal *anudātta* of *NīP*.

### 6.1.219 चौ

*cau*

/cāu 7/1/

(*udāttah* #156 *antah* #217)

*cāu paratah pūrvasyānta udātto bhavati*

That which occurs in construction before *cu* is marked *udātta* at the end.

### EXAMPLES:

*dādhīcāḥ*

*dādhīcā*

*dādhīcē*

*mādhūcāḥ*

*mādhūcā*

*mādhūcē*

1. Note that *cau*, a locative singular form of *cu*, refers to verbal root *añcU* with its *it*-elements deleted. A specification with *cu* is made after deleting the nasal of *añcU*. Consider *dādhīc* where affix *KV1N* (3.2.59 *rtvigdadhṛg...*) is introduced after *añcU* to form an *upapada-samāsa* ‘conjoined compound’,

under the cooccurrence condition of *dadhi + am*. Recall that affix *KvIN* goes through total deletion. Given *dadhi + (am→∅) + añc*, where deletion of *am* is due to compound formation, 6.4.24 *aniditām hal . . .* deletes *ñ* of *añc*. The *a* of *dadhi + ac* is also deleted (6.4.138 *acah*). The preceding *i* is then replaced with its long counterpart (6.3.138 *cau*). Thus, *dādhicāh*, an accusative plural with *Śas*. Note that *a* of *añcU* is *udātta* by 6.2.130 *gatikārakopapadāt . . .* The nominal ending *Śas* was *anudātta* to start with (3.1.4 *anudāttau suppītau*). Rule 6.1.158 *anudāttasya . . .* then offered *udātta* to *Śas*, because it occurred after a deleted *udātta*, i.e., *a*. Our present rule made the proposal of *udātta* to *i* which precedes. Other examples follow similar derivational details.

### 6.1.220 समासस्य

*samāsasya*

/ *samāsasya* 6/1/

(*udāttaḥ* #156 *antah* #219)

*samāsasyānta udātto bhavati*

The final constituent of a compound is marked with *udātta* at the end.

#### EXAMPLES:

*rājapurusah* ‘king’s man’

*brāhmaṇakambalāḥ* ‘brāhmaṇa’s blanket’

*kanyāsvanah* ‘girl-noise’

*patahaśabdāḥ* ‘noise of the Paṭaha (war) drum’

*nadighosah* ‘river-noise’

*rājapṛṣat* ‘royal-seal’

*brāhmaṇasamit* ‘assembly of brāhmaṇas’

1. This rule assigns final *udātta* accent to a compound. Recall that a compound is formed by integrating two or more syntactically related nominals (2.1.4 *saha supā*). Constituents of a compound bring their own individual accents. Our present rule assigns a single final *udātta* accent to the compound as a whole. Thus, the final of *brāhmaṇasamit* will be marked *udātta*. Since vowels alone have the characteristic ability to carry accents we get *i* of *brāhmaṇasamit* to be marked *udātta*. More explanations, especially in relation to accentual interaction, will be offered under rules of the next quarter (*pāda*). For, rules of the second quarter of *adhyāya* six form an exception to this rule.

## PĀDA TWO

### 6.2.1. बहुवीहौ प्रकृत्या पूर्वपदम्

*bahuvrīhau prakṛtyā pūrvapadam*

/ *bahubrīhau* 7/1 *prakṛtyā* 3/1 *pūrvapadam* 1/1/

*bahuvrīhau samāse pūrvapadasya yah svarah sa prakṛtyā bhavati*

The accent of an initial constituent in a *bahuvrīhi* compound remains as it originally was.

EXAMPLES:

*kārṣṇōttarāsāṅgāḥ* ‘men who cover themselves with the hide of a black deer’

*yúvalajah* ‘that (a city) which has its entry point marked by a ritual post’

*brahmacāri�áriskandah* ‘a place where a celibate is the protector’

*snātākaputraḥ* ‘he whose son is a scholar’

*adhyāpākaputraḥ* ‘he whose son is a teacher’

*śrotṛiyaputraḥ* ‘he whose son is a presiding ritualist’

*manusyānāthah* ‘he whose lord is a man’

1. This rule marks the beginning of exceptions to provisions of the last *sūtra* of the preceding quarter. Rule 6.1.220 *samāsasya* requires the final constituent of a compound to be marked *udātta* at the end. Rule 6.1.155 *anudāttam padam ekavarjam* demands that all vowels, except for one, be marked *anudātta* in a compound. Thus, in view of the preceding, a compound will be marked *udātta* at the end. The remaining syllables of a compound will then have to be marked *anudātta*. It is here that our present rule intervenes. It offers the initial constituent of a compound to retain its original accent. That is, it does not have to conform to provisions of rule 2.1.220 *samāsasya*, read also in view of 6.1.155 *anudāttam padam*. . . . The original accent referred to here by *prakṛtyā* must then be an *udātta* or *svarita*. For, it cannot be one offered by the blanket *anudātta* of 6.1.155 *anudāttam padam*. . . .

2. Consider *kārṣṇottarāsāṅgah*, a *bahuvrīhi* compound, where its initial constituent *kārṣṇa* is a derivate of *aṄ*, introduced after *kṛṣṇa* + *Nas* (4.3.154 *prāṇirajatādibhyo' ū*) with the signification of *vikāra* ‘modification, product’. Rule 6.1.194 *ñnityādir nityam* assigns initial *udātta* to *kārṣṇa*, obligatorily, at the strength of *Nas* as an *it* in *aṄ*. Our present rule requires that this initial *udātta* accent be retained in the compound. A similar retention of initial *udātta* is witnessed in *yūpavalajah* ‘a city where a ritual post marks its entry point’, parallel to *yūpah valajah yasya*. The word *yūpa* is a derivate of affix *pa*, introduced after *yu* ‘join, unite, mix’ (*Uṇādi III:27: kusuyubhyāś ca*). The lengthening of *u* is gotten from *Uṇādi III:25: stuvo dīrghāś ca*. Affix *pa* is treated as marked with *Nas* as an *it* (*Uṇādi III:26: suśrbhyāṁ nic ca*).

A *bahuvrīhi* such as *brahmacāri�áriskandah*, parallel to *brahmacārī paris-kandah yasya yasmin vā* ‘he of whose (or a place where) a celibate is the protector’. The word *brahmacārin* is a derivate of affix *NinI* (3.2.80 *vrate*), used with the signification of an *upamāna* ‘standard of comparison’. This

derivate of *kṛt* is marked *udātta* at the end (6.2.139 *gatikārakopapadāt kṛt*). The word *snātaka*, in *snātakaputraḥ* ‘he whose son is a scholar’, is a derivate of *kaN* and is marked *udātta* at the beginning. The *adhyāpaka* ‘teacher’, of *adhyāpakaputraḥ* ‘he whose son is a teacher’, is marked *udātta* in the middle (*madhyodātta*) because it is a derivate of *Nvul* marked with *L* as an *it* (6.1.190 *līti*). The *śrotriya*, of *śrotriyaputraḥ* ‘he whose son is presiding retualist’, is a derivate of *ghaN*, via *nipātana*. It is marked *udātta* at the beginning because of *N* as an *it* in *ghaN* (5.2.84 *śrotriyaś chando’ adhīte*). The *manusa*, of *manusyanāthaḥ* ‘he of whose lord is a man’, is a derivate of *yaT* (4.1.161 *manorjātāv . . .*) with an additional provision of §UK Rule 6.1.182 *tit svaritam* assigns *svarita* to the affix. Consequently, *manusa* carries a *svarita* at the end.

It has been stated that *udātta* and *svarita* are understood here. Consequently, this rule will not apply where the initial constituent of the compound is all *anudātta* (*sarvānudātta*). An example is *samabhāgah* ‘a thing with equal parts’ where *sama* is marked *anudātta* on both syllables. The compound will thus be marked *udātta* at the end (6.1.220 *samāsasya*).

## 6.2.2 तत्पुरुषे तुल्यार्थत्रियासमप्रयुपमानाव्ययद्वितीयाकृत्वा:

*tatpuruṣe tulyārthatṛtiyāsaptamyupamānāvyayadvitīyākrtyāḥ*  
*/tatpuruṣe 7/1 tulyārtha-trtiyā-saptamy-upamāna-avyaya-dvitīyā-krtyāḥ 1/*  
*3 = tulyo’ rtho yasya (bv.); tulyārthaṁ ca trtiyā ca saptamī ca upamānam ca*  
*avyayaṇ ca dvitīyā ca krtyāś as (itar. dv.) /*  
*(prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1)*

*tatpuruṣe samāse tulyārthaṁ trtiyāntam̄ saptamyantam̄ upamānavāci*  
*avyayaṇ dvitīyāntam̄ krtyāntam̄ ca yat pūrvapadam̄ tat prakṛtisvaraṁ bhavati*  
 An initial constituent which, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, either denotes the sense of *tulya* ‘equal, similar’ or ends in *trtiyā* and *saptamī* or is an indeclinable denoting an *upamāna* ‘standard of comparison’ or ends in *dvitīyā*, or else, ends in a *krtya* suffix, retains its original accent.

### EXAMPLES:

- tulyāśvetah* ‘equally white’
- tulyālohitah* ‘equally red’
- sadrkchvētah* ‘similar white’
- sadr̥glōhitah* ‘similar red’
- sadr̥sāvetah* ‘similar white’
- sadr̥sālohitah* ‘similar red’
- śaṅkulākhāndah* ‘split by an axe’
- kirikāṇah* ‘made one-eyed by a boar’
- akṣaśāuṇḍah* ‘skilled at the game of dice’
- pānāśauṇḍah* ‘addicted to drinking’

śastrīśyāmā ‘black as a little knife’  
 kumūdaśyenī ‘lily-white’  
 haṃsagādgadā ‘swan-like sweet-speaking woman’  
 dūrvākāñḍāśyāma ‘black as a blade of grass’  
 śārakāñḍāgaurī ‘fair as a piece of reed’  
 abrāhmaṇah ‘non-brāhmaṇa’  
 kubrāhmaṇah ‘bad brāhmaṇa’  
 muḥūrttasūkham ‘momentary pleasure’  
 sarvarātrakālyāñī ‘entire night as auspicious’  
 bhogyoṣṇam ‘warm food’  
 bhogiyálavaṇam ‘salty food’

1. The first six examples are compounds termed *karmadhāraya* (2.1.68 *kṛtyatulyākhyā ajātyā*). The initial constituent of the first two, i.e., *tulya*, is a derivate of *yaT*. It is marked with *udātta* at the beginning (6.1.210 *yato’ nāvah*). The *sadr̥k* of *sadr̥khetāḥ* ends in *KvIN* (vt.: *samānānyayoś ceti* . . . ; ad 3.2.60 *tyadādiṣu* . . . ), and, hence, is marked *udātta* at the end (6.2.139 *gatikārakopapadāt* . . . ). Affix *KvIN*, as usual, goes through total deletion. This preceding *vārttika* proposal also derives *sadr̥ṣa* of *sadr̥ṣasvetāḥ* with affix *KaṄ*. The *sa* as a replacement for *samāna* comes from 6.3.89 *dṛgdṛṣa-vatuṣu* . . . *gatikārakopapadāt*. . . . The word *sadr̥ṣa*, a derivate of *kaṄ* introduced after *dṛṣ*, is marked *udātta* in the middle (*madhya*).

The word *śāṅkulā* derives with affix *Ka* used with the signification of *GHaṄ*. (vt.: *ghañarthe kavidhānam*; ad 3.3.58 *grahavidr̥niścigamaś ca*). The instrumental compound (*tṛtiyā-tatpuruṣa*) is formed by 2.1.29 *tṛtiyā-tatkr̥tarthena*. . . . Thus, *śāṅkulā* is marked with affixal *udātta* at the end. The word *kiri* of *kirikānah* is a derivate of *i* (*Uṇādi* 4.143 *kṛgr̥ṣ* . . . ) which is treated as marked with *K*. It is also marked *udātta* at the end.

The *akṣa* of *akṣaśauṇḍah* is a derivate of *sa* (*Uṇādi* 3.45 *arśer devane*). The *s* as a replacement for *ś* of verbal root *as*, and *k* for the resultant *s* as well, are gotten from the applications of 8.2.36 *varścabhrasjaś* . . . and 8.2.41 *kaḥ si*. The *s* as a replacement for affixal *s*, is gotten from 8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoh*. Here again, *akṣa* is marked with affixal *udātta* at the end. The *pāna* of *pānaśauṇḍah* has verbal root *pā* marked with *udātta*. For, it ends in *LyuT*, an affix marked with *L* as an *it* (6.1.184 *litī*). The compound in these examples is formed by 2.1.39 *saptamī śaundaih*.

Compounds such as *śastrīśyāmā*, *kumudaśyenī*, *haṃsagādgadā* and *dūrvākāñḍāśyāmā* are all formed by 2.1.55 *upamānāni sāmānyavacanaiḥ*. The word *śastrī* ends in *NiŚ*. It is marked *udātta* at the end. The word *kumuda* is a derivate of *Ka*, paraphrased as *kau modate ‘blossoms on earth’* (vt.: *kaprakaraṇe mūlavibhujādibhya upasamkhyānam*; ad 3.1.5 *tundaśokayaoh* . . . ). This again is marked *udātta* at the end. The *haṃsa* of *haṃsagādgadā* is a derivate of *sa* (*Uṇādi* III:62: *vṛtruvadivaci* . . . ). Here again, we get final *udātta* by affixal accent. The next compound constituents, i.e., *dūrvākāñḍa* and *śārakāñḍa*,

are both genitive *taṭpuruṣa*. The ā of their *kāñḍa* is marked *udātta* by 6.2.134 *sat ca kāñḍādīni*.

The negative *taṭpuruṣa* comppunds (2.2.6 *nañ*), i.e., *abrāhmaṇah*, etc., illustrate accentual provisions for indeclinables (*aryaya*). They are all marked *udātta* at the beginning (*Phiṭsūtra* 79: *nipātā ādyudāttah*). The accusative (*dvitīyā*) *taṭpuruṣa* of *muhūrtasukham*, where *muhūrta* is marked *udātta* at the end (6.3.107 *pr̥sodarādīni . . .*), is formed by 2.1.28 *atyantasaṁyoge ca*. The *sarvarātra* of *sarvarātrakalyāñi* ends in affix *TaC* (5.4.87 *ahaḥ sarvaikadeśa . . .*). It is marked *udātta* at the end in view of affixal accent.

The last two examples, *bhojoṣṇam* and *bhojyalavaṇam*, contain *bhojya*, a derivate of *NyaT* (3.1.124 *rhalor nyat*). It is marked *svarita* at the end by 6.1.182 *tit svaritam*.

These derivates are all exceptions to 6.1.120 *samāsasya*. Since our rule restores original accent of initial constituents, derivational details of only those constituents is offered. Refer to compound section of rules (vol. III) for further details.

### 6.2.3 वर्णो वर्णोच्चनेते

*varṇo varṇesv anete*

/ *varnah* 1/1 *varṇeṣu* 7/3 *anete* 7/1 = *na etah = anetaḥ* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasmin/ (prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1 taṭpuruṣe #2)*

*varnavāci pūrvapadam varnavāciṣu evottarapadeṣu etaśabdavarjiteṣu paratas taṭpuruṣe samāse prakṛtisvaraṁ bhavati*

An initial constituent which, in a *taṭpuruṣa* compound, signifies *varṇa* ‘color’ and combines with a following constituent signifying *varṇa*, though not constituted by *eta*, retains its original accent.

#### EXAMPLES:

*kṛṣnasāraṅgah* ‘variegated black’

*lohitásāraṅgah* ‘variegated red’

*kṛṣnakālmāṣah* ‘spotted black’

*lohitakālmāṣah* ‘spotted red’

1. Note that *kṛṣṇa* is a derivate of affix *naK* (*Uṇādi* III:4: *kṛṣer varṇe*). Thus, it is marked with *udātta* at the end by affixal accent. The *lohitā* of *lohitásāraṅgah* is a derivate of affix *taN* (*Uṇādi* III:94: *ruhe raś ca lo vā*). Rule 6.1.194 *īnityādir nityam* will thus mark it *udātta* at the beginning. All these examples involve an initial constituent denoting ‘color’ (*varṇa*). Elsewhere, in *paramakṛṣṇah* ‘absolutely black’ and *kṛṣṇatilāḥ* ‘black sesame’, this rule does not apply. For, *parama* is not a word denoting ‘color’ in the first, and *kṛṣṇa*, with the signification of ‘color’ in the second, is not a following constituent. Finally, *kṛṣṇaitah* ‘variegated black’ is also excluded since *etah* ‘variegated’, a word denoting color, follows.

### 6.2.4 गाधलवणयोः प्रमाणे

*gādhalavaṇayoh pramāṇe*  
*/ gādha-lavaṇayoh 7/2 pramāṇe 7/1/*  
*(prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1 tatpuruṣe #2)*  
*pramāṇavācini tatpuruṣe samāse ‘gādha, lavaṇa’ ity etayor uttarapadayoh*  
*pūrvapadam prakṛtisvaraṁ bhavati*

The initial constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound retains its original accent when *gādha* and *lavaṇa* combine to follow and the signification is *pramāṇa* ‘standard of measure’.

#### EXAMPLES:

*sambágādham udakam* ‘as deep as iron-head length of a pestle’  
*aritrágādham udakam* ‘as deep as the length of an ore’  
*golávaṇam* ‘as much salt as can be given to a cow’  
*aśválavaṇam* ‘as much salt as can be given to a horse’

1. Note that *śamba* ‘iron-head of a pestle’ is a derivate of affix *baN* (*Uṇādi* IV:94: *śamer ban*) and hence, because of its *N* as an *it*, it is marked *udātta* at the beginning. The next example has *aritra* ‘an ore’, a derivate of *itra* (3.2.184 *arttilūdūḥ* . . .), as its initial constituent. It is marked *udātta* in the middle by affixal accent (3.1.3 *ādyudāttāś ca*). The *go* of *golavaṇam* is a derivate of *Do* (*Uṇādi* II:62: *gamer doh*). This again is *udātta* by affixal accent. The *aśva* of *aśvalavaṇam* is a derivate of affix *KvaN* (*Uṇādi* I:151: *aśuprusilaṁ* . . .). It is marked *udātta* at the beginning in view of 6.1.194 *nnityādir nityam*. The original accent of all preceding constituents is retained.

### 6.2.5 दायाद्यं दायादे

*dāyādyam dāyāde*  
*/ dāyādyam 1/1 dāyāde 7/1/*  
*(prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1 tatpuruṣe #2)*  
*tatpuruṣe samāse dāyādaśabda uttarapade dāyādyavāci pūrvapadam prakṛtisvaraṁ bhavati*

An initial constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound with the signification of *dāyāda* ‘inheritance’ retains its original accent when *dāyāda* ‘inheritor’ follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*vidyādāyādah* ‘he who inherits knowledge’  
*dhanadāyādah* ‘he who inherits wealth’

1. Note that *vidyā* ‘knowledge’ is a derivate of *KyaP* (3.3.99 *saṃjñāyām* *saṃjāna* . . .), marked *udātta* at the end. Since it ends in *TāP*, it should be marked *anudātta* at the end (3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau*). This, however, is

not accepted. The final ā of *vidyā* remains *udātta* because it is a single replacement involving an *udātta*. The word *dhana* ‘wealth’ is a derivate of *Kyu* (*Unādi* II:81: *kṛprvṛjī* . . .), introduced after *dhāN*. The ā of *dhāN* is deleted (6.4.68 *āto lopa* . . .) and its *yu* is replaced with *ana* (7.1.1 *yuvor anākau*). Incidentally, the word *dāyāda* is explained as *dātavyo dāyah* = *bhāgah*, *dāyam ādatte dāyādah* ‘one who receives a share of inheritance’.

The genitive of the example compounds has been questioned. If one accepts it as introduced in consonance with rule 2.3.39 *svāmīśvarādhīpati* . . ., the formation of these compounds will be blocked. For, a genitive introduced by enumerating individual bases (*pratipadavidhāna*) cannot be combined in a compound (cf. *vt. ad* 2.2.9 *yājakādibhiḥ ca: pratipadavidhāna ca saṣṭhi na samasyate*). It must then be accepted as a case of residual genitive (*śesalakṣaṇā*) of 2.3.50 *saṣṭhi śeṣe*. That is, the genitive of these compounds will no longer be a genitive characterized with enumeration of individual bases (*pratipadavidhāna*). But why is the genitive offered in relation to *dāyāda*, etc., in 2.3.39 *svāmīśvarādhīpati* . . .? Note that 2.3.39 offers genitive along with an optional locative (*saptamī*). If genitive was not specified in 2.3.39, then its locative, because of being a special provision, would have blocked the genitive of 2.3.50, as far as *dāyāda*, etc., were concerned. The genitive of 2.3.39 can still be accepted as residual genitive. This way, the compounds can be interpreted as genitive (*saṣṭhi*) and locative (*saptamī*) *tatpuruṣa*, both.

### 6.2.6 प्रतिबन्धिचरकृच्छ्रयोः:

*pratibandhi cirakṛcchrayoh*

/ *pratibandhi* 1/1 *cirakṛcchrayoh* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*) /

(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *tatpuruṣe* #2)

*tatpuruṣe samāse cirakṛcchrayor uttarapadayoh pratibandhivācipūrvapadam prakṛtisvaraṇ bhavati*

The initial constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound which signifies *pratibandhi* ‘obstacle’ retains its original accent when *cira* ‘long, protracted’ and *kṛcchra* ‘difficult’ combine to follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*gamānaciram* ‘delayed departure’

*gamānakṛcchram* ‘difficult departure’

*vyāharāṇaciram* ‘delayed response’

*vyāharāṇakṛcchram* ‘difficult response’

1. This rule allows the initial constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound to retain its original accent provided it is used with the denotatum of *pratibandhi* ‘obstacle’. Thus, *gamana* ‘going’ and *vyāharana* ‘talking’, both derivates of *LyuT→ana* marked with *udātta* at the end (6.1.190 *liti*), retain their original accent. These *karmadhāraya-tatpuruṣa* compounds can be formed by 2.1.72

*mayūrvyamsakādayaś ca.* Their initial constituents, i.e., *gamana* and *vyāharana*, are viewed here as obstacles to realization of desired results.

### 6.2.7 पदेऽपदेशे

*pade' padēśe*  
*/pade' 7/1 apadēśe 7/1/*  
*(prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1 tatpuruṣe #2)*  
*apadēśe vācini tatpuruṣe samāse padaśabda uttarapade pūrvapadam*  
*prakṛtisvaraṁ bhavati*

The initial constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound retains its original accent when *pada* ‘place, excuse’ combines to follow and *apadēśa* ‘pre-text’ is denoted.

#### EXAMPLES:

*mūtrāpadena prasthitah* ‘... left on the pretext of urinating’  
*uccārapadena prasthitah* ‘... left on the pretext of defecating’

1. Note that *mūtra* is a derivate of *ŚtraN* (*tra*; *Uṇādi* IV:163: *sivimucyo . . .*). It is marked *udātta* at the beginning because of its *Nas an it* (6.1.194 *nityādir nityam*). The word *uccāra* is a derivate of *GHaÑ* and is marked *udātta* at the end (6.2.144 *thāthagaña . . .*). Incidentally, *apadēśa* and *uccāra* are explained as *vyāja* ‘pretext’ and *puñśakriyā* ‘defecating’, respectively. That is why, *viṣṇoh padam* = *viṣṇupadam* ‘place of Viṣṇu’ does not qualify for this accentual provision.

### 6.2.8 निवाते वातत्राणे

*nivāte vātatrāṇe*  
*/nivāte 7/1 vātatrāṇe 7/1 = vātāt trāṇam (pañc. tat.), tasmin/*  
*(prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1 tatpuruṣe #2)*  
*nivātāśabde uttarapade vātatrāṇavācini tatpuruṣe samāse pūrvapadam*  
*prakṛtisvaraṁ bhavati*

The initial constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound retains its original accent when *nivāta* combines to follow and *vātatrāṇa* ‘protection from wind’ is signified.

#### EXAMPLES:

*kuṭīnivātam* ‘hut alone as a shelter from winds’  
*śamīnivātam* ‘Śamī tree alone as a shelter from winds’  
*kudyānivātam* ‘wall alone as a shelter from winds’

1. Note that *nivāta* denotes ‘absence of wind’ (*vātābhāva*). It can be interpreted as an indeclinable (*avyayībhāva*) compound formed by 2.1.6 *avyayaṁvibhakti*. . . . One can also form a *bahuvrīhi*, paraphrased as *niruddhaḥ*.

*vātah asmin* ‘that in which the wind is blocked out’. A constituent such as *kuñi* which may serve as a cause for blocking winds can be combined with *nivāta*, a coreferential (*samānādhikarāṇa*) *pada*. The words *kuñi* and *śamī* both end in *NiS* and have been enumerated in the list headed by *gaura*, i.e., *gaurādi* (4.1.41 *sid gaurādibhyaś ca*). These are all marked *udātta* at the end by affixal accent. The word *kudya* ‘wall’ ends in affix *dyakI*, or *dyakI* (*Uṇādi VIII:20: kavater dyakic ca*). It is thus marked *udātta* at the end. Some even consider it as a derivate of *yaT*, marked *udātta* at the beginning (*ādyudātta*; 6.1.210 *yato' nāvah*).

Note that *nivāta* must denote *vātatrāṇa* ‘wind-protection’. For, elsewhere, in *rājanivāte vasati* ‘stays near the king’ and *sukham māṭrṇivātam* ‘happiness where the mother is’, this accentual provision will be blocked. The word *nivāta* is used here in the sense of ‘proximity, side’.

### 6.2.9 शारदेऽनार्तवे

*śārade' nārtave*

/ *śārade* 7/1 *anārtave* 7/1 = *rtau bhavam* = *ārtavam*; *na ārtavam* (*nañ. tat.*) /

(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *tatpuruṣe* #2)

*anārtavavācini śāradaśabde uttarapade tatpuruṣe samāse pūrvapadam prakritisvaraṁ bhavati*

The initial constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound retains its original accent when *śārada* ‘autumnal’ signifying something not pertaining to a season (*anārtava*) follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*rajjūśāradam udakam* ‘rope-fetched fresh water’

*dṛṣatśāradāḥ saktavah* ‘freshly stone-ground *saktu* (parched gram-flour)’

1. Note that *ārtavam*, of the negative *anārtave*, is explained as that which is found in its season (*rtau bhavam*). The word *śārada* is here used in the sense of *pratyagra* ‘new, fresh’. Elsewhere, it can mean autumnal. The word *raju* is a derivate of affix *u* (*Uṇādi I:15: srjer asum ca*), introduced after verbal root *srj* ‘to cease’. Augment *asUM* is also introduced here before the root-final consonant. Thus, *sr+asUM+j+u→sr+as+j+u*. The root-initial *s* of the string also goes through deletion, and *r* goes through a replacement in *yaN*. Thus, (*s→ϕ*) *r+as+j+u→(r→r)+as+j+u*. Rule 8.4.52 *jhalām jaś jhaśi* then replaces *s* with *d*, which, by application of 8.4.50 *stoś cunā scuh*, becomes *j*. Thus, *r+a(s→d→j)+j+u=raju*. This word is marked *udātta* at the beginning since *u* is qualified as *nit* (6.1.194 *nnityādir nityam*). The word *dṛṣad* ‘pebble, rock’ is a derivate of *adIK* (*Uṇādi I:131: dṛṇāteḥ sug hrasvaś ca*). It is thus marked *udātta* at the end. Verbal root *dṛ* ‘to tear, rip’ goes through shortening of its *r*, subsequently to which augment *sUK* is added.

The final *d* of *dṛśad* is replaced with *t* (8.4.54 *khari ca*). These compounds are both obligatory (*nitya*). A paraphrase with their individual constituents (*svapadavigraha*) is thus not possible.

### 6.2.10 अधर्व्युक्तशाययोज्जतौ

*adhvaryukaṣāyayor jātau*  
*/ adhvaryu-kaṣāyayoh 7/2 (itar. dv.); jātau 7/1/*  
*(prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1 tatpuruṣe #2)*  
*'adhvaryu, kaṣāya' ity etayor jātivācini tatpuruṣe samāse pūrvapadaṁ prakṛtisvaraṁ bhavati*

The initial constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound retains its original accent when *adhvaryu* and *kaṣāya* combine to follow and *jāti* 'class' is signified.

#### EXAMPLES:

*prācyādhvaryuh* 'a priest from the east'  
*kaṭhādhvaryuh* 'a priest who is a *Katha*'  
*kalāpādhvaryuh* 'a priest who is a *Kalāpa*'

1. Note that compounds such as *prācyādhvaryuh*, etc., are formed with coreferential constituents where their denotational scope (*viṣaya*) is also fixed (*niyata*) as *jāti* 'class'. The word *prācyā* is a derivate of *yaT* (4.2.100 *dyuprāgapāgu* . . .), and hence, is marked *udātta* at the beginning (6.1.210 *yato* 'nāvah').

Note that *kaṭha* is accepted as a derivate of *aC* (3.1.134 *nandigrahi* . . .), introduced after verbal root *kaṭhA* 'to live with difficulty'. Affix *NinI*, with the signification of *kaṭhena proktam* (3.4.101 *tena proktam*), is then introduced after a syntactically related *katha* (3.4.104 *kalāpivaiśampā* . . .). This affix is subsequently deleted by 3.4.107 *kaṭhacarakāl luk*. The word *kalāpa* is derived with affix *aN* (4.3.108 *kalāpino* 'n). These derivates of *NinI* and *aN* are both marked *udātta* at the end (*antodātta*). Refer to my notes under 4.3.107 *kathacarakāl luk* and 4.3.108 *kalāpino* 'n for additional details.

### 6.2.11 सदृशप्रतिस्तपयोः सादृश्ये

*sadrśapratirūpayoh sādṛśye*  
*/ sadṛśa-pratirūpayoh 7/2 (itar. dv.); sādṛśye 7/1/*  
*(prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1 tatpuruṣe #2)*  
*'sadrśa, pratirūpa' ity etayor uttarapadayoh sādṛśyavācini tatpuruṣe samāse pūrvapadaṁ prakṛtisvaraṁ bhavati*

The initial constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound retains its original accent when *sadrśa* 'same, similar' and *pratirūpa* 'identical' combine to follow and *sādṛśya* 'similarity' is signified.

EXAMPLES:

*pītrsādrśah* ‘like (his) father’  
*mātṛsādrśah* ‘like (his) mother’

1. Note that *mātṛ* and *pīṭṛ*, both derivates of *tr̥C* (*Uṇādi* II:95: *napt̥neṣṭṛtvāstr* . . .), are marked *udāttā* at the end via *nipātana*. Their compounds with *sadrśa* and *pratirūpa* are formed when the constituents end in *śaṣṭhī* ‘genitive’ and *tr̥tiyā* ‘instrumental’, respectively.

Why mention *sadrśa* in this rule when an instrumental *tatpuruṣa* compound formed under 2.1.30 *pūrvasadrśa* . . . with *mātṛ* and *pīṭṛ* in the instrumental (2.3.72 *tulyārtha* . . .) can be accounted for by 6.2.2 *tatpuruṣe tulyārtha* . . . Recall that 2.3.72 *tulyārtha* . . . introduces instrumental, optionally, with the genitive. The word *sadrśa* is used here to indicate that our present rule applies only when the compound is a genitive *tatpuruṣa*. That is, even when no deletion of genitive (6.3.21 *śaṣṭhyāḥ ākroṣe*) takes place. It is important so that non-deletion of genitive, as in *dāsyāḥsadrśah*, could further avail accentual provision of 6.1.171 *udāttayaño halpūrvāt*.

Since as instrumental *tatpuruṣa* is expressly formed by 2.1.30 *tulyārtha* . . ., and also since there is no rule that allows a parallel genitive *tatpuruṣa*, a *śaṣṭhī* interpretation characterized with *sadrśa* does not make sense. Nevertheless, a genitive *tatpuruṣa* is needed, as is indicated by non-deletion of genitive in compounds such as *dāsyāḥsadrśah* ‘maid-like’. If a constituent ending in the genitive is accepted to form a compound with *sadrśa*, *sadrśa* should not be used in a rule which allows formation of instrumental *tatpuruṣa* (2.130 *pūrvasadrśa* . . .). That may be needed where a genitive *tatpuruṣa* could not be formed with *sadrśa*. Consider *vidyayā* (*hetunā*) *sadrśah* = *vidyāsadrśah* ‘similar for reasons of scholarship’ as an example.

## 6.2.12 द्विगौ प्रमाणे

*dvigau pramāne*  
*/dvigau 7/1 pramāne 7/1/*  
*(prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1 tatpuruṣe #2)*  
*dvigāv uttarapade pramāṇavācini tatpuruṣe samāse pūrvapadam pra-*  
*kṛtisvaraṁ bhavati*

The initial constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound termed *dvigu* retains its original accent when the signification is *pramāṇa* ‘standard of measure’.

EXAMPLES:

*prācyāsaptaśamah* ‘seven year old easterner’  
*gāndhārisaptaśamah* ‘seven year old Gandharan’

1. Note that *saptaśama*, a compound termed *dvigu* (2.1.51 *samkhyāpūrvo*

*dviguḥ*), is combined after *prācyā* which, in turn, is marked *udātta* at the beginning (6.2.10 *adhvaryukaśāya* . . .). Incidentally, affix *mātraC* has been deleted after *saptasama* (5.2.37 *pramāne dvayasajdaghnac* . . .; *vt.*: *pramāne lo vaktavyam*; *dvigor nityam*). The word *gāndhāri*, because of its enumeration in the *kardamādi* class, is marked *udātta* at the beginning, or at the middle (*Phiṣṭra* 111:10).

Compounds such as *bṛihiprasthah* and *paramasaptasamah* cannot qualify for this accentual provision since the first is not a *dvigu* and the second does not denote *pramāṇa*.

### 6.2.13 गन्तव्यपण्य वाणिजे

*gantavyapanyam vānije*  
*/gantavya-paṇyam 1/1 (itar. dv.); vānije 7/1/*  
*(prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1 tatpuruse #2)*  
*vānijaśabda uttarapade tatpuruse samāse gantavyavāci paṇyavāci ca*  
*pūrvapadaṁ prakṛtisvaraṁ bhavati*

The initial constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound with the signification of *gantavya* ‘road, destination’ and *paṇya* ‘that which is bartered’ retains its original accent when *vānija* ‘trading’ combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

*madravāṇijah* ‘a trader on way to Madra’  
*kāśmīravāṇijah* ‘a trader on way to Kāśmīra’  
*govāṇijah* ‘cow-trader’  
*aśvavāṇijah* ‘horse-trader’

1. The initial constituent of these example compounds retain their original accent. Thus, *madra* ends in affix *raK* (*Uṇādi* II:13: *sphāyitañci* . . .) and is marked *udātta* at the end by affixal accent (*pratyayasvara*; 3.1.3 *ādyudāttāś ca*). The word *kāśmīra* is marked *udātta* at the middle (6.3.109 *pṛśodarādīni yathopadiṣṭam*). Refer to notes under 6.2.4 *gādhalavaṇayoh* *pramāṇe* for deriving *go* and *aśva*. They are marked *udātta* at the end and at the beginning, respectively.

### 6.2.14 मात्रोपज्ञोपक्रमच्छाये नपुंसके

*mātropajñōpakramacchāye naḍumṣake*  
*/mātropajñōpakramacchāye 7/1 (sam. dv.); naḍumṣake 7/1/*  
*(prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1 tatpuruse #2)*  
*‘mātrā, upajñā, upakrama, chāyā’ eteṣūttarapadeṣu naḍumṣakavācini*  
*tatpuruse samāse pūrvapadaṁ prakṛtisvaraṁ bhavati*

The initial constituent of a neuter *tatpuruṣa* compound retains its original constituent when *mātrā* ‘measure’, *upajñā* ‘ingenuity’, *upakrama* ‘initiative’ and *chāyā* ‘shade’ combine to follow.

## EXAMPLES:

*bhikṣāmātram na dadāti yācitah* ‘when asked, he does not even give an appropriate measure of alms’

*samudramātram na saro’ sti kiṃcana* ‘there is no pond equal to the size of an ocean’

*pāṇinopājñam akālakam vyākaraṇam* ‘a grammar with no notion of *kāla* ‘time’ is Pāṇini’s ingenuity’

*vyādyūpajñam duṣkaraṇam* ‘Vyādi’s ingenuity is hard to match’

*ādhyōpakramam prāśādah* ‘a mansion begun by Ādhyā; . . . begun by someone rich’

*darśanīyōpakramam* ‘a beautiful start’

*iśucchāyam* ‘shadow of a mass of arrows’

*dhanūśchāyam* ‘shadow of a bow’

1. The word *mātrā* is used here in the sense of *pramāṇa* ‘measure’, relative to the integration (*vṛtti*) of nominals in a compound. Our compound *bhikṣāpramāṇam* is a genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound paraphrased as: *bhikṣāyās tulyapramāṇam* ‘a measure equal to the measure of alms (desired)’. Recall that *bhikṣā* is derived with affix *a* introduced after *bhikṣ* (3.3.103 *guroś ca halah*). It is marked *udātta* at the end (3.1.3 *ādyudāttas ca*). Rule 4.1.4 *ajādyatas tāp* introduces *TāP*, subsequently. The word *samudra* is also marked *udātta* at the end (*Phīṭsūtra I:2: pātalāpāla . . .*).

The next four examples of *upajñā* and *upakrama* are genitive *tatpuruṣa* (2.4.24 *upajñopakramam . . .*) compounds. The word *pāṇina* (*Kāśikā* does not use *Pāṇina* here) is a derivate of *aN* signifying *paninah apatyam* ‘male offspring of Panin’. It is marked *udātta* at the end by affixal accent.

The word *ādhyā* is a derivate of affix *Ka*, introduced after *dhyā* with the preverb *ā*. The initial *dh* of the root is replaced with *dh*, due mainly to its membership in the *pr̥śodarādi* group (6.3.109 *pr̥śodarādīni . . .*) of nominals. The *ā* of *dhyā* goes through deletion. The derivate itself is marked *udātta* at the end (6.2.144 *thāthaghañ . . .*). The word *darśanīya* ‘worth seeing’, a derivate of *anīyaR*, is marked *udātta* at *nī* (6.1.214 *upottamam riti*). The final of *sukumāra* ‘tender’ is similarly marked *udātta* (6.2.172 *nañsubhyām*).

Examples with *chāyā* as a constituent are also interpreted as genitive *tatpuruṣa* compounds. Affix *u* (*Uṇādi I:13*), in *is + u → iṣu*, is treated as marked with *N* as its *it* (*Uṇādi I:9: dhānye nit*). We thus get its initial vowel marked with *udātta* (6.1.194 *nnityādir nityam*). The initial of *dhanuṣ* ‘bow’ is also marked with *udātta* (*Phīṭsūtra II:3: nabviṣayasyānisanṭasya*). Note that the neuter of these last two examples is in consonance with 2.4.22 *chāyā bāhulye*. Recall that this accentual provision will be blocked in *kūḍyacchažyā* ‘hut’s shade’. For, the compound is not a neuter.

### 6.2.15 सुखप्रिययोर्हिते

*sukhapriyayor hitē*

/sukha-priyayoh 7/2 hitē 7/1/

(prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1 tatpuruṣe #2)

'sukha, priya' ity etayor uttarapadayor hitavācini samāse pūrvapadam prakṛtisvaraṁ bhavati

The initial constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound retains its original accent when *sukha* 'comfort' and *priya* 'dear' combine to follow and the signification is *hita* 'beneficial; source of pleasure'.

EXAMPLES:

*gamānasukham* 'going will be a pleasure'

*vacānasukham* 'talking will be a pleasure'

*gamānapriyam* 'going will be dear'

*vacānapriyam* 'speaking will be dear'

1. These examples all entail *karmadhāraya* (1.2.42 *tatpuruṣah* . . .). Their initial constituents are derivates of *LyuT* and hence, are marked *udātta* before the affix (6.1.190 *liti*).

Note that this accentual provision will be blocked outside the meaning of *hita* 'benefic'. Consider *paramasukham* 'best comfort' and *paramapriyam* 'most dear' where *sukha* 'comfort' and *priya* 'dear' do not denote *hita*. They are used here with the denotatum of 'excellence' (*utkṛṣṭa*). The word *sukha* and *priya* of this rule are used with the signification of 'beneficial (to happiness, etc.)', where 'happiness, etc., are seen as *bhāvin* 'that which will happen in the future'.

### 6.2.16 प्रीतौ च

*prītau ca*

/prītau 7/1 ca φ/

(prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1 tatpuruṣe #2 sukhapriyayoh #15)

*prītau gamyamānāyām* 'sukha, priya' ity etayor uttarapadayos tatpuruṣe samāse pūrvapadam prakṛtisvaraṁ bhavati

The initial constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound retains its original accent, also when *sukha* and *priya* combine as following constituents and *prīti* 'pleasure' is signified.

EXAMPLES:

*brāhmaṇasukham pāyasam* 'a brāhmaṇa finds extreme pleasure in eating rice-pudding'

*chātrapriyo nadhyāyah* 'a student finds extreme pleasure in non-study days'

*kanyāpriyo mr̥daṅgah* ‘a girl finds pleasure in playing the Mr̥daṅga drum’

1. Note that the signification of *sukha* and *priya* necessarily includes some sense of *prīti* ‘affection’. Why should we then state *prītau* ‘when affection is denoted’? It is used here to denote its excellence (*atiśaya*). The words *brāhmaṇa* and *chātra* are *udātta* at the end by affixal accent. They are derivates of *aN* (4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam*) and *Na* (4.4.62 *chatrādibhyo nāḥ*), respectively. The last, *kanyā* ‘girl’, is marked *svarita* at the end (*Phītsūtra* 76 *tilyaśikya* . . .).

### 6.2.17 स्वं स्वामिनि

*svaṁ svāminī*

/ *svaṁ* 1/1 *svāminī* 7/1 /

(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *taṭpuruṣe* #2)

*svāminī* abda *uttarapade* *taṭpuruṣe* samāse *pūrvapadam* *prakṛtisvaraṁ bhavati*

The initial constituent of a *taṭpuruṣa* compound with the signification of *sva* ‘one’s own’ retains its original accent when *svāmin* combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

*gosvāmī* ‘cow-owner’

*aśvāsvāmī* ‘horse-owner’

*dhanāsvāmī* ‘owner of wealth’

1. Refer to derivational details of *go* ‘cow’, *aśva* ‘horse’ and *dhana* ‘wealth’ which have already been discussed (6.2.4 *gādhalavaṇayoh* . . .; 6.2.5 *dāyādyam* . . .). The initial *udātta* of *aśva* and *dhana*, and the final *udātta* of *go* as well, is retained. This accentual provision will be blocked where *sva* ‘one’s own’ is not denoted. Consider *paramāsvāmī*, where *parama* denotes *svāmin* by way of being a qualifier (*vīśeṣana*).

### 6.2.18 पत्यावैश्वर्ये

*patyāv aiśvarye*

/ *patyau* 7/1 *aiśvarye* 7/1 /

(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *taṭpuruṣe* #2)

*pati* abda *uttarapade* *aiśvaryavācini* *taṭpuruṣe* *pūrvapadam* *prakṛtisvaraṁ bhavati*

The initial constituent of a *taṭpuruṣa* compound formed with the signification of *aiśvarya* ‘affluence’ retains its original accent when *pati* ‘lord, husband’ combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

*grhaṇatīḥ* ‘householder’

*senāpatīḥ* ‘commander’

*narāpatih* ‘king’

*dhānyāpatih* ‘master of wealth’

1. The *senā* ‘army’ of *senāpatih* is a *bahuvrīhi* compound, paraphrased as *saha inena vartate* ‘that which exists with might’. It is marked *udātta* at the beginning (*Phīṭsūtra* 80: *nipātā ādyudāttāḥ*). The word *nara* ‘man’ is a derivate of affix *aP* (3.3.57 *ṛdor ap*), introduced after *nṛ*. It is marked *udātta* at the beginning because of the root-accent (*dhātu-svara*; 6.1.159 *dhātoḥ*). The affix, of course, is marked with *anudātta* (3.1.4 *anudāttau suppītāu*). The word *dhānya*, a derivate of *NyaT*, is marked with *svarita* (6.1.182 *titsvaritam*) at the end.

### 6.2.19 च भूवाक्त्रिदिदधिषु

*na bhūvākcidididhiṣu*

/ *na φbhū-vāk-cid-didhiṣu* 7/3 (sam. dv.) /

(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *tatpuruṣe* #2) *patyāv aiśvarye* #18)

*patiśabda uttarapade aiśvaryavācini tatpuruṣe samāse* ‘*bhū, vāk, cit, didhiṣu*’  
ity etāni pūrvapadāni prakṛtisvarāṇi na bhavanti

The initial constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound formed with the signification of *aiśvaryā* ‘affluence’ does not retain its original accent when *pati* ‘husband, lord’ combines to follow *bhū* ‘earth’, *vāk* ‘speech’, *cit* ‘mind, consciousness’ and *didhiṣu* ‘a woman who remarried’.

#### EXAMPLES:

*bhūpatih* ‘lord of the land’

*vākpatih* ‘master of speech’

*citpatih* ‘master of mind’

*didhiṣūpatih* ‘husband of a widowed woman’

1. This is an exception to the preceding rule. The preceding rule itself is an exception to 6.1.220 *samāsasya*. Thus, a negation of retention will reinstate final *udātta* of 6.1.220 *samāsasya*. The examples are all genitive *tatpuruṣa* compounds. The initial constituents of the first three compounds, i.e., *bhū, vāk, cit*, are derivates of *KvIP* (3.2.179 *bhuvaḥ samjñāntarayoh*; 3.2.117 *anyebhyo* ‘pi dṛṣyate; vt.: kvibvacipracchi . . .’), respectively. The initial constituent of the last compound, i.e., *didhiṣu*, is derived with *Kū* (*Uṇādi* I:176: *andūdrmbhūjambū* . . .), via *nipātana*, and is marked *anudātta*. The compound is, of course, marked with *udātta* at the end (6.1.220 *samāsasya*).

### 6.2.20 चा भूवनम्

*vā bhuvanam*

/ *vā φ bhuvanam* 1/1 /

(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *tatpuruṣe* #2 *patyāv aiśvarye* #18)

*patiśabda uttarapade aiśvaryavācini tatpuruṣe samāse bhuvanaśabdah pūrvapadam vā prakṛtisvaraṁ bhavati*

An initial constituent, namely *bhuvana*, of a *tatpuruṣa* compound formed with the signification of *aiśvarya*, optionally retains its original accent.

EXAMPLES:

*bhuvanapatiḥ* ‘lord of the universe’  
*bhuvánapatiḥ*

1. The word *bhuvana* ‘universe’ is a derivate of *KyuN* (*Uṇādi* II:80: *bhūṣūdhūbhṛasji* . . .). Thus, *bhū* + (*yu*→*ana*) = *bh(u*→*v)* + *ana* = *bhuvana*. It is marked *udātta* at the beginning because of *N* as an *it* in *Kyun*. This retention of the original accent of *bhuvana* is here made optional to the final *udātta* of 6.1.220 *samāsasya*.

### 6.2.21 आशङ्काबोधनेदीयस्य सम्भावने

*āśāṅkābādhaneḍīyassu saṃbhāvane*  
*/āśāṅka-ābādha-nedīyassu 7/3 (itar. dv.); saṃbhāvane 7/1/*  
*(prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1 tatpuruse #2)*  
*‘āśāṅka, ābādha, nedīyas’ ity eṭeṣūttarapadeṣu sambhāvanavācini tatpuruṣe samāse pūrvapadam prakṛtisvaraṁ bhavati*

The initial constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound formed with the signification of *sambhāvana* ‘assumption, supposition’ retains its original accent when *āśāṅka* ‘fear, apprehension’, *ābādha* ‘impediment’ *nedīyas* ‘proximate’ combine to follow.

EXAMPLES:

*gamānāśāṅkam* ‘apprehension about going’  
*vacānāśāṅkam* ‘apprehension about speaking’  
*gamānābādham* ‘possible departure’  
*vacānābādham* ‘possible speaking’  
*gamānanedīyah* ‘imminent departure’  
*vyāharāṇanedīyah* ‘imminent speaking’

1. Note that *āśāṅka* and *ābādha* are derives of *GHaṄ*, introduced after *śāṅk* and *bādha* conjoined with the preverb *āṄ*. They both are marked *udātta* at the beginning (6.1.194 *ñnityādir nityam*). Their compounds with *gamana* and *vacana* are formed by 2.1.56 *viśeṣaṇam* *viśesyena* . . . Since *gamana* and *vacana* are derives of *LyuṄ*, their accent will be determined in view of 6.1.190 *liti*.

Commentators explain *nedīyah* as *atiśayena antikah* ‘extremely closeby’, where *antika* is replaced with *ned* before *īyasUN* (5.3.63 *antikabādhayor* . . .).

### 6.2.22 पूर्वे भूतपूर्वे

*pūrve bhūtapūrve*

/ *pūrve* 7/1 *bhūtapūrve* 7/1 = *pūrvam bhūtah, tasmin/*

(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *tatpuruṣe* #2)

*pūrvaśabde uttarapade bhūtapūrvavācini tatpuruṣe samāse pūrvapadam prakṛtisvaraṁ bhavati*

The initial constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound formed with the signification of *bhūtapūrva* ‘former; that which existed before’ retains its original accent when *pūrva* ‘prior, earlier’ combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

*ādhyapūrvah* ‘formerly rich’

*darśanīyāpūrvah* ‘formerly handsome’

*sukumārapūrvah* ‘formerly tender’

1. Refer to notes under 6.2.14 *mātropajñopakrama* . . . where *ādhyā* ‘rich’, *sukumāra* ‘tender’ and *darśanīya* ‘worth seeing’ are discussed. The example compounds can be formed by 2.1.56 *viśeṣanam viśeṣyena*. . . Or else, one can resort to 2.1.72 *mayūravyāmsakādayaś ca*. These compounds are formed with the sense of *bhūtapūrva* ‘that which existed before’. The word *pūrva*, insofar as integration (*vṛtti*) is concerned, is used in the sense of *bhūtapūrva* ‘existed before’.

Why do we have to state the condition of *bhūtapūrve* ‘when existed before’? Consider *paramapūrvah* ‘that which is best and is also prior’ and *uttamapūrvah* ‘ibidem’ where the compounds are paraphrased as *paramaś cāsau pūrvaś ca* and *uttamaś cāsau pūrvaś ca*, respectively. They are not formed with paraphrases such as *paramo bhūtapūrvah* ‘formerly excellent’ and *uttamo bhūtapūrvah* ‘formerly best’ (*Kāś: atra paramaś cāsau pūrvaś ca iti samāso na tu paramo bhūtapūrvah iti*).

### 6.2.23 सविधसनीडसमर्यादसवेशसदेशेषु सामीच्ये

*savidhasanīḍasamaryādasaveśasadešeṣu sāmīpye*

/ *savidha-sanīḍa-samaryāda-saveśa-sadešeṣu* 7/3 (itar. dv.); *sāmīpye* 7/1/

(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *tatpuruṣe* #2)

‘*savidha, sanīḍa, samaryāda, saveśa, sadešeṣa*’ ity eteṣūttarapadeṣu *sāmīpya-vācini tatpuruṣe samāse pūrvapadam prakṛtisvaraṁ bhavati*

The initial constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound formed with the signification of *sāmīpya* ‘proximity’ retains its original accent when *savidha, sanīḍa, samaryāda, saveśa* and *sadešeṣa* combine to follow.

EXAMPLES:

*madrasāvidham* ‘close to the country of the Madras’

*kāśmīrásavidham* ‘close to Kāśmīra’

*madrasānīḍam* ‘in the vicinity of . . .’  
*kāśmīrāsanīḍam* ‘in the vicinity of . . .’  
*madrasāmaryāḍam* ‘close to . . .’  
*kāśmīrāsamaryāḍam* ‘close to . . .’  
*madrasāveśam* ‘close to . . .’  
*kāśmīrāsavesam* ‘close to . . .’  
*madrasādeśam* ‘in the vicinity of . . .’  
*kāśmīrāsadeśam* ‘in the vicinity of . . .’

1. Note that *savidha*, etc., are neuters and denote *sāmīpya* ‘proximity’. One should not here interpret *vidhi*, *nīḍa* and *veśa*, etc., as used in the instrumental governed by *saha* ‘with, accompaniment’ (2.2.23 *tena saheti* . . .). The accent of initial constituents of these compounds has been discussed under 6.1.13 *gantavyapānyam*. . . . Their original accent is thus retained.

## 6.2.24 विस्पष्टादीनि गुणवचनेषु

*vispaṣṭādīni gunavacaneṣu*  
*/ vispaṣṭādīni* 1/3 = *vispaṣṭa ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*), *tāni*; *gunavacaneṣu* 7/3 = *gunān uktavantah* (*upa. tat.*), *teṣu*/  
*(prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1 tatpuruṣe #2)*  
*vispaṣṭādīni pūrvapadāni gunavacaneṣūttarapadeṣu prakṛtisvarāṇi bhavanti*  
The initial constituents, namely *vispaṣṭa* ‘apparent’, etc., of a *tatpuruṣa* compound retain their original accent when a constituent with the denotation of *guṇa* ‘quality’ (*guṇavacana*) combines to follow.

### EXAMPLES:

*vispāṣṭakaṭukam* ‘evidently sour’  
*vicitraκaṭukam* ‘variously sour’  
*vyāktakaṭukam* ‘clearly sour’  
*vispāṣṭalavaṇam* ‘evidently salty’  
*vicitralavaṇam* ‘distinctly salty’  
*vyāktalavaṇam* ‘clearly salty’

1. Note that *vispaṣṭa* is marked *udātta* at the beginning, where its *vi* is also termed *gati* (1.4.60 *gatiś ca*; 6.2.49 *gatir anantaraḥ*). Rule 6.2.2 *tatpuruṣe* . . . also offers initial *udātta* to *vicitra*, where *vi* itself is marked *udātta* (*Phīśūtra* 80: *nipātā ādyudāttāḥ*). The word *vyakta* ‘clear, manifest’ ends in the *niṣṭhā* suffix *Kta* which, in turn, is introduced after *añjŪ* used with the preverb *vi*. It is marked *udātta* at the beginning (6.2.49 *gatiranantarah*). The *a* of *vya*, in *vyakta*, is *svarita* (8.2.4 *udāttasvaritayor* . . .). For, given *vi + ak + ta*, we get *vi* and *ak* marked with an *udātta* and *anudātta* respectively. That is, before a replacement in *yaN* for *i* of *vi* is accomplished. The *a* of *vya*, an *anudātta*, which now occurs after *y*, a replacement for *i* of *vi*, is to be replaced with a *svarita*.

Compounds such as *viśpaṣṭakaṭukam*, etc., are formed under the condition of 2.1.4 *saha supā*, parallel to *viśpaṣṭam kaṭukam*. These compounds should not be formed by 2.1.56 *viśeṣaṇam viśesyena*. . . . For, a *karmadhāraya* will require syntactic coordination between *viśpaṣṭa* and *kaṭuka*, where *viśpaṣṭa* ‘evidently, obviously’ is a qualifier to *kaṭukatva* ‘acidity’. This qualifier here constitutes the basis for usage (*pravṛttinimitta*) of *kaṭuka*. The word *kaṭuka*, in turn, denotes a ‘thing’ (*dravya*) so qualified. Syntactic coordination is thus impaired. As a result, we cannot form a *karmadhāraya*.

Among the other words which are cited here, *sampanna* ‘rich, prosperous’ is marked with *udātta* at the end by 6.2.144 *thāthaghañktāj*. . . . The words *paṭu* ‘clever’ and *pandita* ‘wise’ are marked with *udātta* at the end by affixal accent (3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś ca*). The word *kuśala* is a derivate of the *kṛt* affix *Ka*. Consequently, it is marked with *udātta* at the end by 6.2.139 *gatikārakopapadāt kṛt*. Similar accentual provisions are made available for other words.

Note that, because of the condition of *viśpaṣṭādīni*, *paramalavāṇam* ‘excellent salt’ and *uttamalavāṇam* ‘best salt’ fall outside the scope of this accentual provision. One must also exclude *viśpaṣṭabrahmaṇah* ‘clearly a brāhmaṇa by caste’ since *viśpaṣṭa* here denotes a class (*jāti*) of brāhmaṇas. It does not denote quality (*guṇavacana*).

### 6.2.25 श्रज्यावमकन्पापवत्सु भावे कर्मधारये

*śrajyāvamakanpāpavatsu bhāve karmadhāraye*  
*/ śra-jya-avam-kan-pāpavatsu 7/3 = sraś ca jyaś ca avamaś ca pāpavāṁś ca*  
*(itar. dv.), teṣu; bhāve 7/1 karmadhāraye 7/1/*  
*(prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1)*  
*‘śra, jya, avam, kan’ ity eteṣu pāpaśabdavati cottarapade karmadhāraye samāse*  
*bhāvavāci pūrvapadam prakṛtisvaram bhavati*

The initial constituent of a compound termed *karmadhāraya* retains its original accent when it signifies *bhāva* ‘root-sense, state’ and *śra, jya, avam, kan*, and a constituent containing *pāpa*, combine to follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

- gamānaśreṣṭham* ‘auspicious departure’
- gamānaśreyah* ‘ibidem’
- vacānajyeṣṭham* ‘auspicious talk’
- vacānajyāyah* ‘ibidem’
- gamānāvamam* ‘final departure’
- vacānāvamam* ‘final words’
- gamānakaniṣṭham* ‘short departure’
- gamānakaniyāḥ* ‘shorter departure’
- gamānapāpiṣṭhah* ‘a rather wicked departure’
- gamānapāpiyāḥ* ‘most wicked departure’

1. Recall that *gamana* and *vacana* which are used here as initial constituents are derivates of *LyuT*. They are marked *udātta* at the beginning, mainly because of *L* as an *it* (6.1.190 *liti*).

2. Note that *śra*, *jya* and *kan* specify compound constituents which follow. They are primarily replacements. Thus, *śra* and *jya* are replacements of *praśasya* when vowel-initial affixes *iṣṭhaN* and *īyasUN* follow (5.3.60 *praśasyasya śrah*; 5.3.61 *jay ca*). Rule 5.3.64 *yuvālpayoh kan anyatarasyām* introduces *kan* as an optional replacement after *yuvan* and *alpa*. A specification with these replacements obviously refers to forms which contain them. The following constituents, as examples of *pāpavat*, etc., are given as *pāpiṣṭha* and *pāpiṣṭya*. Their *matUP* is deleted (5.3.65 *vinmator luk*) before *iṣṭhaN* and *īyasUN*.

3. Since this accentual provision applies only when we find *śra*, etc., as replacements, *gamanaśobhanam* ‘nice going’ will be treated as a counter-example. The denotatum of *gamana* must also be *bhāva* ‘root-sense’. It is for this reason that *gamanaśreyah* ‘going is good fortune’, a *karmadhāraya* paraphrased as *gamanam ca tat śreyaś ca* is a counter-example. The word *gamana* is here interpreted as denoting ‘means’ (*karaṇa*): *gamyate anena* ‘that by means of which one goes’. This counter-example can also be interpreted as a genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound, as against the *karmadhāraya*. Thus, *gamanasya śreyah* = *gamanaśreyah* ‘the best of going’.

## 6.2.26 कुमारश्च

*kumāraś ca*

/kumārah 1/1 ca φ/

(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1 karmadhāraye #25*)

*kumāraśabdah pūrvapadam karmadhāraye samāse prakṛtisvaram bhavati*  
An initial constituent, namely *kumāra*, of a compound termed *karmadhāraya* retains its original accent.

### EXAMPLES:

*kumāraśrāmaṇā* ‘young female ascetic’

*kumārakūlatā* ‘young female mendicant’

*kumāratāpasi* ‘young female ascetic’

1. Note that *kumāra*, when paraphrased with *śramana* ‘ascetic’ and *tāpasi* ‘ascetic’, is construed as *kumāri* ‘girl’, its feminine counterpart. That is, *kumāra* is gotten via masculine transformation (*puṇyavadbhāvū*) cf. *kumāri* (*Paribhāṣā* (72): *prātipadikagrahane lingavistūṣyāpi grahaṇam*). The word *kumāra* is a derivate of *aC* (3.1.134 *nandigrahipacādy* . . .) introduced after verbal root *kumār* ‘to play, sport’. Since affix *aC* is marked with *C* as an *it*, its derivate, here *kumāra*, is supposed to be marked *udātta* at the end (6.1.160 *citah*).

## 6.2.27 आदि: प्रत्येनसि

*ādiḥ pratyenasi*

/ *ādiḥ* 1/1 *pratyenasi* 7/1 = *pratigatam enah*  
*yasya* (bv.), *tasmin*/

(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *karmadhāraye* #25 *kumārah* #26)

*pratyenasi uttarapade karmadhāraye kumārasyādir udātto bhavati*

The initial constituent of a *karmadhāraya* compound, namely *kumāra*, is marked *udātta* at the beginning when *pratyenas* combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

*kumārapratyenāḥ* ‘an innocent prince’

1. Note that this section of rules deal with retention of original accents. A constituent such as *kumāra* is allowed to retain its final *udātta* in the earlier rule. Our present rule does not make any explicit provision of *udātta* at the beginning (*ādiḥ*). Its provision can at best be interpreted as retention of original accent of *kumāra* at its beginning. That is, *ādiḥ* has to be interpreted as *kumārasya ādiḥ* ‘the initial of *kumāra*’. Since the original accent of *kumāra* is *udātta* at the end, it will be retained. However, this retention, as is specified by *ādiḥ*, must take place at the beginning. Thus, the final *udātta* of *kumāra* is hereby restored to its initial position. The word *udāttah* thus must be inferred here. For, otherwise, this *sūtra* would not make any sense. That is, this rule offers retention of original accent of an initial compound constituent, namely *kumāra*. This is based on interpreting *ādiḥ* as *kumārasya ādiḥ* ‘the initial of *kumāra* . . .’. We must supply *udāttah* to complete the sense: *udāttah bhavati* ‘becomes *udātta*’. What was *udātta* at the end thus becomes *udātta* at the beginning. The word *ādi* ‘beginning’ is used here to replace what, in the earlier context, was *anta* ‘end’.

## 6.2.28 पूगोष्वन्यतरस्याम्

*pūgesu anyatarasyām*

/ *pūgesu* 7/3 *anyatarasyām* 7/1 /

(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *karmadhāraye* #25 *kumārah* #26 *ādiḥ* #27)

*pūgavaciny uttarapade karmadhāraye samāse kumārasyānyatarasyām ādir*  
*udātto bhavati*

The initial of *kumāra*, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound termed *karmadhāraya*, is optionally marked with *udātta* when a constituent denoting *pūga* ‘group’ combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

*kumāracātakāḥ* ‘a group of youths whose leader is Cātaka’

*kumāracātakāḥ* ‘ibidem’

*kumāralohadhvajāḥ* ‘a group of youths whose leader is Lohadhvaja’  
*kumāralohadhvajāḥ* ‘ibidem’

*kumārabalāhakāḥ* ‘a group of youths whose leader is Balāhaka’  
*kumārabalāhakāḥ* ‘ibidem’

1. Refer to notes under 5.3.112 *pūgāñ* . . . for an explanation of *pūga*. An optional *udātta* at the beginning is offered against the option of *udātta* at the end. This, of course, is in accord with the *pratipadokta* ‘nominals specified via individual enumeration’ rule of interpretation (*Paribhāṣā* 114: *lakṣaṇapratipadoktayoh pratipadoktasya* . . .). Recall that *kumāra* is being assigned accent by way of specific enumeration (*pratipadokta*). Outside of this *pratipadokta* consideration, a compound such as *kumāracātaka* can be either marked *udātta* at the end (of its initial constituent *kumāra*), or at the end of the compound (6.1.220 *samāsasya*) itself. Note that *cātaka*, etc., are derivates of affix *Nya* (5.3.112 *pūgāñ* . . .) where *LUK* causes affixal deletion (2.4.62 *tadrajasya bahuṣu* . . .).

### 6.2.29 इगन्तकालकपालभगालशरावेषु द्विगौ

*igantakālakapālabhagālaśarāveṣu dvigau*  
*/iganta-kāla-kapāla-bhagāla-śarāveṣu* 7/3 (itar. dv.; *igantah* = *ig ante yasya* (bv.); *dvigau* 7/1/  
*(prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1)*

*'iganta uttarapade kālavācini kapāla bhagāla śarāva'* ity eteṣu dvigau samāse  
*pūrvapadam prakṛtisvaraṁ bhavati*

The initial constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound termed *dvigu* retains its original accent when a constituent which either ends in a vowel denoted by the abbreviatory term *iK*, or denotes *kāla* ‘time’, or else, is constituted by *kapāla* ‘bowl’, *bhagāla* ‘skull’ and *śarāva* ‘tray, (clay) cups’, follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*pañcāratnih* ‘a measure of five cubits (7.05 feet)’  
*daśāratnih* ‘a measure of ten cubits (15 feet)’  
*pañcamāsyah* ‘five months old’  
*daśamāsyah* ‘ten months old’  
*pañcākapālah* ‘a ritual oblation prepared in five bowls’  
*daśākapālah* ‘a ritual oblation prepared in ten bowls’  
*pañcābhagālah* ‘a ritual oblation prepared in five skulls’  
*daśābhagālah* ‘a ritual oblation prepared in ten bowls’  
*pañcāśarāvah* ‘a ritual oblation prepared in five cups’  
*daśāśarāvah* ‘a ritual oblation prepared in ten cups’

1. Note that *pañcan* ‘five’ and *daśan* ‘ten’ are marked *udātta* at the be-

ginning (*Phīṭsūtra* 28: *nrah saṃkhyāyāḥ*). Refer to derivational details of *pañcakapālah* (appendix, 2.1.50 *taddhitārtha* . . .). Similar rules apply in deriving *pañcasārāvah* and *pañcabhagālah*. Their *dvigu* is formed under the condition of *taddhitārtha* (2.1.51 *taddhitārthottarapda* . . .). Their *aṄ* (4.2.17 *samskrtaṁ bhakṣāḥ*) is deleted by 4.1.88 *dvigor lug anapatye*.

Examples of *iganta* ‘that which ends in an *iK*’ involve *aratni* ‘a measure of eighteen inches’ as a following constituent. We thus get the *dvigu* compound: *pañcāratnīḥ*, parallel to *pañcāratnayāḥ pramāṇam asya*. Affix *māṭraC* (5.2.37 *pramāṇe dvyasac* . . .) of these compounds has been deleted by a *vārttika* (ad 5.2.12 *dvigau pramāṇe, pramāṇe lo dvigor nityam*). Examples of *kāla* ‘time’, i.e., *pañcamāsyāḥ* and *daśamāsyāḥ*, involve deletion of *yaP* (5.1.81 *dvigor yaP*). Finally, derivates with *vara* involve deletion of affix *thaṄ* (5.1.88 *varṣāl luk*).

2. The condition of *iganta* is necessary so that *pañcāsvah* ‘purchased for five horses’ and *daśāsvah* ‘purchased for ten horses’, etc., can be excluded. It is observed that this condition of *iganta* is still met in compounds where *iK* goes through modification by *guṇa* and *yaṄ*. Thus, *pañcāratnayāḥ/daśāratnayāḥ* and *pañcāratnayāḥ/daśāratnayāḥ*. The first two involve *yaṄ* and the next two *guṇa*. Since these modifications take place with reference to nominal endings, they are externally conditioned (*bahirāṅga*). The assignment of accent is comparatively internal (*antarāṅga*). That is, externally conditioned modifications become suspended (*asiddha*) and the concerned bases remain *iganta* (Kāś: *pañcāratnyo daśāratnya iti pañcāratnayo daśāratnaya iti ca yanguṇayor bahiraṅgalakṣaṇayor asiddhatvāt sthānivadbhāvād vā dvigusvara igantakalakṣaṇāḥ pravartate*). One can even take recourse to *sthānivadbhāva* ‘treating x as what it replaced’ for getting these bases to end in *iK*.

### 6.2.30 बहुन्यतरस्याम्

*bahu anyatarasyām*

/ *bahu* 1/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1/

(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1 igantakālakapālabhagāla-śarāveṣu dvigau #29*)  
*bahuśabdaḥ pūrvapadam igantādiśūttarapadeṣu dvigau samāse' nyatarasyām prakṛtisvaram bhavati*

The initial compound constituent, namely *bahu* ‘many’, of a *tatpurusa* termed *dvigu*, retains its original accent optionally, when a constituent which ends in *iK*, or denotes *kāla* ‘time’, or else, is constituted by *kapāla*, *bhagāla* and *śarāva*, follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*bahvāratnih* ‘that of which many aratnis are a measure’  
*bahvāratnih* ‘ibidem’

*bahūmāsyah* ‘he who is many months old’

*bahūmāsyah* ‘ibidem’

*bahukāpālah* ‘that which is prepared in many bowls’

*bahukāpālah* ‘ibidem’

*bahubhāgālah* ‘that which is prepared in many skulls’

*bahubhāgālah* ‘ibidem’

*bahuśārāvah* ‘that which is prepared in many cups’

*bahuśārāvah* ‘ibidem’

1. An initial constituent, namely *bahu*, retains its original accent only optionally. Recall that *bahu* ends in *Ku* (*Uṇādi*: I:29: *lamghibahyor* . . .) and is marked *udātta* at the end by affixal accent (*pratyayasvara*). This accent, a *svarita* in view of 8.4.65 *udāttasvaritayor* . . ., will be retained by *hva* after *u* of *bahu* gets replaced with *v*. Rule 6.1.220 *samāsasya* will assign final *udātta* if an option to retain *svarita* is not accepted.

### 6.2.31 दिष्टिवितस्त्योश्च

*diṣṭivitastyoś ca*

/ *diṣṭi-vitastyoḥ* 7/2 (itar. dv.), *tayoh*; *ca* φ /

(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *dvigau* #29 *anyatarasyāṁ* #30)

‘*diṣṭi*, *vitasti*’ ity etayor *uttarapadayor* *dvigau samāse pūrvapadam anyatarasyāṁ prakṛtisvaraṁ bhavati*

The initial constituent of a  *tatpuruṣa* compound termed *dvigu*, optionally, retains its original accent when *diṣṭi* and *vitasti* combine to follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*pañcādiṣṭih* ‘a length equal to five *diṣṭis*’

*pañcadīṣṭih*

*pañcāvitastih* ‘a length equal to five *vitastis*’

*pañcavītastih*

1. Note that *diṣṭi* ‘a measure of length’ and *vitasti* ‘a measure of length’ denote *pramāna* ‘measure’. Their compounds also involve deletion of *mātraC* (see *vt ad* 5.2.12). Here again, we get the option of retention against final *udātta* (6.1.220 *samāsasya*).

### 6.2.32 समर्पी सिद्धशुष्कपक्वबन्धेष्वकालात्

*saptamī siddhaśuṣkapakvabandheṣu akālāt*

/ *saptamī* 1/1 *siddha-śuṣka-pakva-bandheṣu* 7/3 (itar. dv.) *akālāt* 5/1 (*na kālāt* (*nañ. tat.*)) /

(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1)

‘*siddha, śuṣka, pakva, bandha*’ ity etayor *uttarapadayor* *dvigau samāse pūrvapadam anyatarasyāṁ prakṛtisvaraṁ bhavati*

The initial constituent of a compound which signifies something other than *kāla* ‘time’ and ends in *saptamī* ‘seventh triplet’, retains its original accent when *siddha* ‘accomplished’, *śuṣka* ‘dried’, *pakva* ‘cooked, ripe’ and *bandha* ‘yoked, tied’ combine to follow.

EXAMPLES:

*sāṅkāśyasiddhah* ‘made in Sāṅkāśya’  
*sāṅkāśyásiddhah*  
*ūkaśuṣkah* ‘sun-dried’  
*nīdhanaśuṣkah* ‘dried in the eighth lunar month’  
*kumbhīpákvah* ‘cooked in a clay pot’  
*kalaśīpákvah* ‘cooked in a pitcher’  
*cakrabándhah* ‘tied with a wheel’  
*cārākabandhah* ‘caught in a wrestling move named cāraka’

1. Note that *sāṅkāśya* and *kāmpilya* are derivates of *Nya* (4.2.79 *vuñ-chāṅkatha* . . .). They are marked *udātta* at the end by affixal accent (3.1.3 *ādy udāttas ca*). A *phiṣṭūtra* (65) considers *sāṅkāśya* and *kāmpilya* optionally *udātta* in the middle. This too can be accepted as optionally retained. The word *ūka* is derived with *kaK* (*Uṇādi* III:40: *sṛbhūṣuṣi* . . .) introduced, variously (*bahulam*), after verbal root *av* ‘to protect, assist’. The root, when replaced with *ūTH* (6.4.20 *jvaratvarasriviavi* . . ., will produce (*av*→*ūTH*) + *ka(K)* = *ūka*. This too is *udātta* by affixal accent. The word *nīdhana* is a derivate of *Kyu* (*Uṇādi* II:81: *krprvṛjī* . . .), introduced after *dhāṄ*, where *ā* of *dhā* gets deleted (6.4.64 *āto lopa* . . .). The *yu*, of course, will get replaced with *ana* (7.1.1 *yuvor anākau*). The word itself is marked *udātta* in the middle by affixal accent. Derivates such as *kumbhī* and *kalaśī*, because they end in *ṄS* (4.1.41 *śidgaurādibhyaś ca*), are marked *udātta* at the end. The word *bhrāṣṭra*, being a derivate of *ŚtraN* (*Unādi* IV:160: *bhrasjigami* . . .), is marked *udātta* at the beginning (6.1.194 *nnityādir nityam*). The word *cakra* is treated as marked *udātta* at the end. But, *cāraka*, as a derivate of *NvuL*, is marked *udātta* at the beginning (6.1.190 *liti*).

2. Why is this provision not applicable to *pūrvāhnasiddhah* ‘made in the morning’ and *aparāhnasiddhah* ‘made in the afternoon’? Because their initial constituent denotes ‘time’ (*kāla*). Note that these are locative *tatpuruṣa* compounds. The retention of their original accent, per 6.2.2 *tatpuruṣe tulyārtha* . . ., is, however, blocked by the final *udātta* of 6.2.144 *thāthaghāṄ*. . . . This rule blocks the final *udātta* of 6.2.144 and restores the accentual provision of 6.2.2 *tatpuruṣe tulyārtha*. . . .

### 6.2.33 परिप्रत्युपापा वर्ज्यमानाहोरात्रावयवेष्

*paripratyupāpā varjyamānāhorātrāvayavesu*  
*/ paripratyupāpāḥ 1/3 (itar. dv.); varjyamānāhorātrāvayavesu 7/3 = ahaś*

*ca rātriś ca = ahorātrau; ahorātrayor avayavāḥ* (*sas. tat. with int. dv.*) /  
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1)

*'pari, prati, upa, apa' ity ete pūrvapadabhūtā varjyamānavācini aharavayavavācini rātryavayavavācini cottarapade prakṛtisvarā bhavanti*

The initial compound constituents, namely *pari*, *prati*, *upa* and *apa*, retain their original accent when a constituent with the signification of *varjyamāna* ‘that which is to be excluded’, *aharavayava* ‘part of day’, or *rātryavayava* ‘part of night’, combines to follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*parītrigarttam vṛṣṭo devah* ‘it rained around (but not in) Trigartta’  
*parisauvīram . . .* ‘it rained around (but not in) Sauvīra’

*pratīpūrvāhṇam* ‘each forenoon’

*pratyāparāhṇam* ‘each afternoon’

*pratīpūrvavarātram* ‘around the first quarter of every night’

*pratyāpararātram* ‘around the last quarter of every night’

*upāpūrvāhṇam* ‘close to forenoon’

*upāpūrvavarātram* ‘around the first quarter of the night’

*apātrigarttam vṛṣṭo devah* ‘it rained away from Trigarta’

*apāsauvīram* ‘it rained away from Sauvīra’

1. Note that *pari*, *prati*, *upa* and *apa* are marked *udātta* at the beginning (*Phīṭsūtra* 80–81: *nipātāḥ ḍyudāttāḥ; upasargāś cābhivarjam*). Additionally, *apa* and *pari* are termed *karmapravacanīya* by 1.4.87 *apaparī varjane*. The indeclinable compounds are formed by 2.1.11 *vibhāsā* *paparibahirañcavah*. A following constituent with the signification of *varjyamāna* ‘that which is to be excluded’ is combined only with *apa* and *pari* as its initial constituents. For, these are the only two which are termed *karmapravacanīya* when *varjana* is the signification. Recall that *prati* and *upa* combine in an indeclinable compound in consonance with 2.1.13 *lakṣaṇenābhīpraty ābhīmukhyē* and 2.1.6 *avyayam vibhaktisamīpa . . .*, respectively.

2. Note that retention of original accent in a *tatpurusa* (6.2.2 *tatpuruse . . .*) and *bahuvrīhi* (6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau prakṛtyā . . .*) compound is already recommended. This rule offers retention of original accent in an *avyayībhāva* compound.

#### 6.2.34 राज्यबहुवचनद्वन्द्वे अथकवृणिषु

*rājanyabahuvacanadvandve' ndhakavṛṣṇiṣu*

/ *rājanya-bahuvacana-dvandve* 7/1 = *rājanyāni ca etāni bahuvacanāni* (*karm.*); *rājanyabahuvacanānāṁ dvandvah* (*sas. tat. with int. karm.*);

*andhaka-vṛṣṇiṣu* 7/3 = *andhakāś ca vṛṣṇayaś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *teṣu/ rājanya-vācinānāṁ bahuvacanāntānāṁ yo dvandvo' ndhakavṛṣṇiṣu varttate tatra pūrvapadaṁ prakṛtisvaraṁ bhavati*

The initial constituent of a *dvandva* compound, namely one which ends in plural with the signification of *rājanya* ‘kṣatriya’, retains its original accent when the compound is formed with the denotatum of *andhaka* and *vṛṣṇi*.

EXAMPLES:

*śvāphalkacaitrakāḥ* ‘many kṣatriya descendants of Śvaphalka and Caitraka in the lineage of Andhaka’

*caitrakakrōdhakāḥ* ‘many kṣatriya descendants of Caitraka and Rodhaka in the lineage of Andhaka’

*śinivāsudevāḥ* ‘many kṣatriya descendants of Śini and Vasudeva in the lineage of Vṛṣṇi’

1. Note that *śvāphalka* and *caitraka*, as derivates of *aN* (4.1.144 *r̥syandhaka* . . .), are marked *udātta* at the end. The next *śini*, a derivate of *ni* (*Uṇādi IV:51: vahiśriśruyu* . . .), requires the long *i* of *śiN* ‘to recline’ to be replaced with *i* (*hrasva*). The derivate, in turn, is marked *udātta* at the beginning because of *N* as an *it* in *ni*.

2. Note that this accentual provision is not applicable to *samkarsana-vāsudevau* where the compound denotes dual based on the singular denotatum of its constituents. It can also not be made available to *vṛṣṇikumarāḥ* where the compound is a genitive *tatpuruṣa*. Similarly, we must exclude *kurupañcālāḥ* where compound constituency does not denote the lineage of Andhaka and Vṛṣṇi.

### 6.2.35 संख्या

*saṃkhyā*

/ *saṃkhyā* 1/1 /

(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *dvandve* #34)

*dvandvasamāse saṃkhyāvāci pūrvapadam* *prakṛtisvaraṁ bhavati*

The initial constituent of a *dvandva* compound which denotes *saṃkhyā* ‘number’ retains its original accent.

EXAMPLES:

*ekādaśa* ‘eleven’

*dvādāśa* ‘twelve’

*trayodāśa* ‘thirteen’

*trayodāśa* ‘ibidem’

1. Note that *eka* is a derivate of *kaN* (*Uṇādi III:43: inbhikāpāśalya* . . .). It is marked *udātta* at the beginning, mainly because of its affixal *N* as an *it*. The word *dvi* is marked *udātta* at the end in view of nominal stem accent (*prātipadikasvara*). The *trayas* replacement of *tri* is marked *udātta* at the

end, via *nipātana* (6.3.47 *tres trayah*). A replacement in long ā (ātva) for the short in *ekādaśa* and *dvādaśa* is accomplished by 6.3.46 *ānmahataḥ* . . . and 6.3.47 *dvyaṣṭanah saṃkhyāyām*, respectively.

### 6.2.36 आचार्योपसर्जनश्चातेवासी

*ācāryopasarjanāś cāntevāśi*  
*/ācāryopasarjanāḥ 1/1 = ācārya upasarjanam apradhānam yasmin (bv.);*  
*(prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1 dvandve #34)*  
*ācāryopasarjanāntevāśināṁ yo dvandvas tatra pūrvapadam prakṛtisvaraṁ*  
*bhavati*

The initial constituent of a *dvandva* compound retains its original accent when constituents signify *antevāśin* ‘student’ and *ācārya* ‘preceptor, teacher’ is used as a qualifier.

#### EXAMPLES:

*āpiśala-pāṇiniyāḥ* ‘students of Āpiśali and Pāṇini’  
*pāṇiniyāraudhiyāḥ* ‘students of Pāṇini and Raudhi’

1. This rule allows retention of original accent of those initial constituents which may have *antevāśin* ‘student’ or *ācārya* as an *upasarjana* ‘secondary (qualifier)’. Note that *āpiśala-pāṇiniyāḥ* is a *dvandva* compound formed with *āpiśalā* ca *pāṇiniyā* ca, where *āpiśala* and *pāṇiniya* could be derivates with the signification of *tasyāpatyam* ‘male offspring’ (with aN; iṄ after *āpiśali*), *tena proktam* ‘enunciated by him’ (4.3.101; aN; iṄ after *āpiśali* cf. 4.2.111 *iñā* ca) and 4.2.59 *tad adhīte tad veda* ‘those who study or know’ (4.2.59). The aN of 4.3.101 *tena proktam* is deleted by 4.2.64 *proktāl luk*. The aN-derivate of *āpiśali*, i.e., *āpiśala*, is marked *udātta* at the end by affixal accent. The word *pāṇiniya*, a derivate of *cha*, is *udātta* in the middle. Its final *anudātta* becomes *svarita* when the rest of it becomes *anudātta*. This same is also true of *raudhiya*.

### 6.2.37 कार्तकौजपादयश्च

*kārtakaujaḍādayaś ca*  
*/kārtakaujaḍādayāḥ 1/3 = kārtakaujaḍa ādir*  
*yeṣām (bv.); ca φ/*  
*(prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1 dvandve #34)*  
*kārtakaujaḍādayo ye dvandvāḥ teṣu pūrvapadam prakṛtisvaraṁ bhavati*  
The initial constituent of a *dvandva* compound formed with *kārta* and *kaujaḍa* also retains its original accent.

#### EXAMPLES:

*kārtakaujaḍapau* ‘male descendants of Kṛta and Kujapa’

*sāvārṇimāṇḍūkeyau* ‘male descendants of Savarṇa and Maṇḍūka’  
*avāntyāśmakāḥ* ‘many descendants of Avanti and Aśmaka’  
*pailasyāparneyāḥ* ‘young male descendant of Paila, and young male descendant of Śyāparṇī’

1. Note that *kārtakaujapa* is a *dvandva* compound formed with *kārta* and *kaujapa*, where *kārta* and *kaujapa* are derivates of *aN* (4.1.114 *r̥syandhaka* . . .), paraphrased as *kṛtasyāpatyam* ‘male offspring of Kṛta’ and *kujapasyāpatyam* ‘male offspring of Kujapa’. The initial constituent *kārta* is marked *udātta* at the end by affixal accent (*pratyayasvara*). Incidentally, *ca* in the *sūtra* is used for carrying the *anuvṛtti* of *dvandve*.

The initial constituent of *sāvārṇimāṇḍūkeyau* is a derivate of *iṄ* (4.1.94 *ata iñ*). Consequently, it is marked *udātta* at the beginning (6.1.194 *ñnityādir nityam*). It is marked *svarita* at the end (8.4.66 *udāttādanudāttasya svaritah*), after its remainder has become *anudātta* (6.1.155 *anudāttam padam* . . .). Incidentally, *māṇḍūkeya* is a derivate of *dhaK* (4.1.119 *dhak ca māṇḍūkāt*). Affix *ÑyaṄ* (4.1.171 *vrddhetkosalājādāñña*) is introduced after *avanti* + *Ñas* to derive *avantayah*, parallel to *avanter apatyāni bahūni*. This affix is deleted by 2.4.62 *tadrājasya* . . . Affix *aN* (4.2.69 *tasya nivāsaḥ*) is then introduced after *avanti* + *ām*, parallel to *avantīnāṁ nivāso janapadah* ‘a principality (*janapada*) which is the residence of Avantis’. This affix is also deleted, though by 4.2.81 *janapade lup*. This same also applies to the derivation of *āśmakāḥ* which combines as the following constituent with *avantayah*. Consequently, a final *udātta* (*Phiṭsūtra* 21: *ghṛtādināṁ ca*) is assigned to *avanti*. The *ya* which results subsequent to *y*-replacement of *i* (of *avanti*) then becomes *svarita* (8.2.4 *udāttasvaritayor* . . .).

Note that *pailasyāparneyāḥ* is a *dvandva* compound with its constituents denoting *yuvan* ‘young descendant’. Thus, a son of *pīlā* will be *paila* (4.1.118 *pīlāyā vā*). His young son will also be called *paila*, since affix *phiṄ* (4.1.156 *aṇo dvyacah*) will be deleted (2.4.59 *pailādibhyaś ca*). The word *śyāparṇī* is a derivate of *ÑiṄ* (4.1.15 *tdidhānañ* . . .) introduced after *śyāparṇa*, itself a derivate of *aṄ* (4.1.104 *anṛsyānantarye bidādibhyo* ‘ñ’), parallel to *śyāparṇasyāpatyam* ‘male offspring of Śyāparṇa’. A young descendant of *śyāparṇī* will be *śyāparneya*, a derivate of *dhak* (4.1.120 *stribhyo dhak*; 7.1.2 *āyaneyī* . . .). A *dvandva* compound with *śyāparneya* as a following constituent will have *paila*, under the provision of this rule, marked with affixal *udātta* at the end.

### 6.2.38 महान् ब्रीह्यपराह्णगृष्टीष्वासजाबालभारभारतहैलिहिलरौरवप्रवृद्धेषु

*mahān brīhyaparāhṇagr̥ṣṭīṣvāsa-jābāla-bhāra-bhārata-hailihilaraurava-pravrddhesu*

/ *mahān 1/1 brīhy-aparāhṇa-gr̥ṣṭīṣvāsa-jābāla-bhāra-bhārata-haili-hilaraurava-pravrddhesu* 7/3 (itar. dv.) /

(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1*)

‘mahān’ ity etat pūrvapadam vrīhi, aparāhṇa, gr̄ṣti, iṣvāsa, jābāla, bhāra, bhārata, hailihila, raurava, prabuddha’ ity eteṣūttarapadeṣu prakṛtisvaraṁ bhavati

An initial compound constituent, namely *mahān* ‘great’, retains its original accent when *vrīhi* ‘rice’, *aparāhṇa* ‘afternoon’, *gr̄ṣti* ‘cow’, *iṣvāsa* ‘bow, archer’, *jābāla* ‘name of a sage’, *bhāra* ‘burden, load’, *bhārata* ‘Mahābhārata’, *hailihila* ‘sportsman’, *raurava* ‘hell’ and *pravṛddha* ‘very old’ combine as following constituents.

#### EXAMPLES:

- mahāvṛīhiḥ* ‘long-grain rice’
- mahāpārāhṇaḥ* ‘late afternoon’
- mahāgr̄ṣṭiḥ* ‘a pregnant cow’
- mahēṣvāsaḥ* ‘great archer’
- mahājābālaḥ* ‘elder Jābāla’
- mahābhāraḥ* ‘heavy load’
- mahābhārataḥ* ‘the great epic’
- mahāhailihilaḥ* ‘a great sportsman’
- mahārauravaḥ* ‘most dreaded hell’
- mahāpravṛddhaḥ* ‘excessively old’

1. Note that *mahat* is marked *udātta* at the end (*Uṇādi II:84: vartamāne pṛṣadbrhan . . .*), via *nipātana*. It combines in a *tatpuruṣa* compound under provisions of 2.1.61 *sanmahat*. . . . That is, this accentual provision applies only to compounds formed with specific bases enumerated (*pratipadokta*) by rule 2.1.61. Elsewhere, in *mahadvīhiḥ*, a genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound paraphrased as *mahato vrīhiḥ*, this rule will not apply. The compound will be marked *udātta* at the end (6.1.220 *samāsasya*).

2. Why is *mahāpravṛddha* listed here when the compound, based upon *pravṛddha* being a derivate of *Kta*, can be covered by 6.2.46 *karmadhāraye niṣṭhā*. Rule 6.2.46 *karmadhāraye niṣṭhā* also covers compound-formation of similar bases which are enumerated in the list headed by *śrenī* ‘guild’. Our present rule cites *pravṛddha* so that retention of the original accent of a compound with *pravṛddha* could be secured.

#### 6.2.39 क्षुलकश्च वैश्वदेवे

*kṣullakaś ca vaiśvadeve*  
*/kṣullakah 1/1 ca φ vaiśvadeve 7/1/*  
*(prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1 mahān #39)*  
*‘kṣullaka’ ity etat pūrvapadam mahāmś ca vaiśvadeva uttarapade prakṛtisvaraṁ bhavati*

The initial constituents, namely *kṣullaka* ‘insignificant’ and *mahān*

'great, big', of a compound retain their original accent when *vaiśvadeva* 'an oblation to all gods' combines as the following constituent.

EXAMPLES:

*ksullakavaiśvadevam* 'a small ritual pot for all gods'

*mahāvaiśvadevam* 'a big ritual pot for all gods'

1. Note that *ksullaka* is a derivate of *Ka* (5.3.86 *hrasve*) with the significance of *hrasva* 'small, insignificant, short'. It is marked *udātta* at the end by affixal accent (*pratyayasvara*; 3.1.3 *ādyudāttāś ca*). The accent of *mahat* is already discussed. These two derivates both are names of ritual pots, sacrifices, or luminaries.

#### 6.2.40 उत्त्रः सादिवाम्योः

*uṣṭraḥ sādivāmyoḥ*

/ *uṣṭraḥ* 1/1 *sādivāmyoḥ* 7/2 (itar. dv.) /

(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1*)

*uṣṭrasabdaḥ pūrvapadam sādivāmyor uttarapadayoh prakṛtisvaraṁ bhavati*

An initial compound constituent, namely *uṣṭra* 'camel', retains its original accent when *sādi* 'rider' and *vāmi* 'rider' combine as following constituents.

EXAMPLES:

*uṣṭrásādi* 'camel rider'

*uṣtrávāmi* 'rider of a female camel'

1. Recall that *uṣṭra*, as a derivate of *ṣtraN* introduced after *uṣ* 'be hot' (*Uṇādi IV:125: uṣikhanibhyām . . .*), is marked *udātta* at the beginning (6.1.194 *ñnityādir nityam*). Note also that the two neuter derivates of *iṄ*, introduced after *sad* and *vam* (*Uṇādi IV:125*), i.e., *sādi* and *vāmi*, can be combined with *uṣṭra* to either form a genitive *tatpuruṣa*, or a *karmadhāraya*, compound. The words *sādi* and *vāmi* are used as general references to also include *sādī* and *vāmī*, both derivates of *NinI*.

#### 6.4.41 गौः सादसादिसारथिषु

*gauḥ sādasādisārathiṣu*

/ *gauḥ* 1/1 *sāda-sārathiṣu* 7/3 (itar. dv.) /

(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1*)

*gośabdaḥ pūrvapadam 'sāda, sādi, sārathi' ity eieṣūttarapadeṣu prakṛtisvaraṇi bhavati*

An initial compound constituent, namely *go* 'cow', retains its original accent when *sāda*, *sādi* and *sārathi* combine as following constituents.

EXAMPLES:

*gosādah* ‘one who drives the cows’

*gosādiḥ* ‘one who rides a bull’

*gosārathīḥ* ‘one who drives a cart pulled by bulls’

1. Recall that *go* (6.2.17 *svam svāmini*) is *udātta* by affixal accent (*pratyayasvara*).

2. Note that *sāda* could be interpreted as a derivate of *GHaṄ* introduced after *sad*. It can also be interpreted as a derivate of *aṄ* introduced after causal *sādi*, under the cooccurrence condition of *go* as object (*karman*). Affix *NinI* is then introduced after the derivate of *aṄ* to derive *gosādin*. The compound constituents *sada* and *sādin* constitute exceptions to accents assigned to derivates of *kṛt*. But a compound with *sārathi* constitutes an exception to accentual provisions of 6.1.219 *samāsasya*.

### 6.2.42 कुरुगार्हपतिरक्तिगर्वसूतजरत्यश्लीलदृढस्पपारेवडवातैतिलकद्रूः पण्यकम्बले दासीभारणां च

*kurugārhapatitariktagarvasūtajaratyāślīladṛdhārūpā pārevadavātaitilakadrūḥ panyakambalo dāsibhārāṇāṁ ca*

/ *kurugārhapata* (1/1 deleted) *riktaguru* (1/1 deleted) *asūtajaratī* 1/1  
*asīladr̥dhārūpā* 1/1 *pārevadavā* 1/1 *taitilakadrūḥ* 1/1 *panyakambalaḥ*  
 1/1 *dāsibhārāṇāṁ* 6/3 *ca* φ/

(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1*)

‘*kurugārhapatata, riktaguru, asūtajaratī, asīladr̥dhārūpā, pārevadavā, taitilakadrū, panyakambala*’ ity ete *samāsās tesām dāsibhārādīnām ca pūrvapadām prakṛtisvarām bhavati*

The initial constituents of compounds such as *kurugārhapata*, *riktaguru*, *asūtajaratī*, *asīladr̥dhārūpā*, *pārevadavā*, *taitilakadrū*, *panyakambala*, and also constituents of compounds headed by *dāsibhāra* ‘maid’s load’, retain their original accent.

EXAMPLES:

*kurugārhapatam* ‘headship of the clan of the Kurus’

*riktāguruh* ‘an unworthy teacher’

*riktagurūḥ*

*asūtajaratī* ‘a woman too old to bear a child’

*asīladr̥dhārūpā* ‘an ugly woman with strong body’

*pārevādavā* ‘a mare on the other side of the river’

*taitilakādrūḥ* ‘the soma vessel of the descendants of Titilin’

*panyākambalaḥ* ‘a blanket on sale’

*dāsibhārah* ‘maid’s load’

*devahūtih* ‘invocation to gods’

1. Note that *kuru*, as a derivate of *Ku* (*Uṇādi* (24): *kṛgror uc ca*) is marked *udātta* at the end by affixal accent. The word *rikta* is marked *udātta* at the beginning, or at the end, optionally (6.1.205 *rikte vibhāṣā*). The *naṄ* of *asūta* and *asīla* will be marked *udātta* at the beginning (*Phīśūtra* (80): *nipātā ādyudāttāḥ*), as against what 6.2.2 *tatpuruṣe tulyārtha . . .* provides for. The compound-formation of *pārebaḍavā*, with no deletion (*aluk*) of its nominal endings, is accomplished via *nipātana*. The word *pāra* is a nominal of the *ghṛtādi* class (*Phīśūtra* 21: *ghṛtādināṁ ca*). It is thus marked *udātta* at the end.

A final *udātta* is also assigned to *taitilah* ‘son of Titilin’, a derivate of *aN* (4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam*) with the signification of *apatyā* ‘offspring’. The *panya* of *panyakambalaḥ*, as a derivate of *yaT* (3.1.101 *avadyapanya . . .*), is assigned *udātta* at the beginning (6.1.210 *yato' nāvah*). The word *dāsa* is derived with affix *Ta* introduced after *dans* (*Uṇādi* V:10: *daṁseṣṭaṭanau na ā ca*), where the root-nasal also gets replaced with *ā*. This derivate is marked *udātta* at the end by affixal accent. Affix *NīP* (4.1.15 *tiḍḍhāṇañ . . .*) is then introduced to derive *dāsi*. Note that the *dāsibhārādi* nominals constitute a class of *tatpuruṣa* compounds whose first constituents are not covered for retention of original accent elsewhere (*Kāś*: *yasya tatpuruṣasya pūrvaprakṛtisvaratvam isyate, na ca vihitam, sa sarvo dāsibhārādiṣu draṣṭavyah*). A constituent such as *deva*, of *devahūtiḥ*, etc., is, as a derivate of *aC* (3.1.134 *nandigrahipacādy . . .*), marked *udātta* at the end.

### 6.2.43 चतुर्थी तदर्थे

*caturthī tadarthe*

/ *caturthī* 1/1 *tadarthe* 7/1 = *tasmai*

*idam* (cat. tat.), *tasmin*;

(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1*)

*caturthyantam pūrvapadam tadarthe uttarapade*

*tadabhidheyārthaṁ yat tadvāciny uttarapade prakṛtisvaraṁ bhavati*

The initial constituent of a compound which ends in *caturthī* ‘fourth triplet of nominal ending’ retains its original accent when a constituent with the signification of *tadartha* ‘intended for that’ follows.

EXAMPLES:

*yūpādāruḥ* ‘wood intended for ritual post’

*kundalahirāṇyam* ‘gold intended for ear-rings’

1. Refer to my discussion of *yūpa* under 6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau . . .* The word *kundala* ‘ear-ring’ is variously (*bahulam*) derived as a derivate of *KalaC*, marked with *C* as an *it* (*Uṇādi* I:106: *vṛṣādibhyāś cit*). It is marked *udātta* at the end (6.1.160 *citah*). The word *ratha*, as a derivate of *KhaN* (*Uṇādi* II:2: *hanikuṣinī . . .*), is marked *udātta* at the beginning (6.1.194 *nnityādir nityam*).

The word *vallī*, a feminine ending in *NiŚ* (4.1.41 *śidgaurādibhyaś ca*), is marked *udātta* at the end by affixal accent (3.1.3 *ādyudāttas ca*).

Commentators offer *kuberabalih* ‘ritual oblation offered to Kubera’ as a counter-example to indicate that *caturthī* of these compounds must be interpreted within the context of *prakṛti-vikṛtibhāva* ‘material modification’. That is, this accentual retention is desired only where modification of a material cause is involved (*Kāś: prakṛtivikṛrabhāve svaro' yam iṣyate*).

#### 6.2.44 अर्थे

*arthe*

/ *arthe* 7/1 /

(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1 caturthī #43*)

*arthaśabda uttarapade caturthyantam pūrvapadam prakṛtisvaraṁ bhavati*

The initial constituent of a compound which ends in *caturthī* retains its original accent when *artha* ‘purpose’ combines to follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*mātrártham* ‘intended for mother’

*pitrártham* ‘intended for father’

*devatártham* ‘intended for gods’

*atithyartham* ‘intended for guests’

1. Refer to my discussion of *māṭr* ‘mother’ and *pitr* ‘father’ under 6.2.11 *sadr̥ṣa-pratirūpayoḥ sādr̥ṣye*. The *tra*, resulting from *r*-replacement of *r* of *māṭr* and *pitr*, becomes *svarita* (8.2.4 *udātt-svaritayor...*). The *udātta* in the middle of *devatā*, a derivate of *taL* with the feminine affix *TāP* (5.4.27 *devāt taL*), has its source in the final *udātta* characterized with *L* as an *it* (6.1.190 *liti*). The word *atithi*, as a derivate of *ithiN* (*Unādi IV:2: ṛtanyañji...*) with *N* as an *it*, is marked *udātta* at the beginning (6.1.194 *nnityādir nityam*).

2. How is this accentual provision, especially as it relates to the use of *tadarthe* and *arthe*, different from the provision of the preceding rule? The preceding rule will apply only where *prakṛtivikṛtibhāva* ‘modification of a material cause’ is involved.

#### 6.2.45 के च

*kte ca*

/ *kte* 7/1 *ca* φ /

(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1 caturthī #43*)

*ktāntē cottarapade caturthyantam pūrvapadam prakṛtisvaraṁ bhavati*

The initial constituent of a compound which ends in *caturthī*, also retains its original accent when a constituent ending in *Kta* follows.

## EXAMPLES:

*gohitam* ‘beneficial to cows’  
*aśvāhitam* ‘beneficial to horses’  
*manuṣyāhitam* ‘beneficial to humans’  
*gorakṣitam* ‘reserve for cows’  
*tāpasarākṣitam* ‘reserved for ascetics’

- Refer to notes of 6.2.13 *gantavya* . . . for details of *aśva* and *go*. Refer to notes under 6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau* . . . for details of *manuṣya* ‘human’. The *tāpasa* ‘ascetic’ of the last example is a derivate of *aN* (5.2.103 *añ ca*). It is marked *udātta* at the end by affixal accent.

## 6.2.46 कर्मधारयेऽनिष्टा

*karmadhāraye' niṣṭhā*  
*/karmadhāraye* 7/1 *aniṣṭhā* 1/1 (*nañ. tat.*) /  
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *kte* #45)  
*karmadhāraye samāse ktānta uttarapade' niṣṭhāntam pūrvapadam*  
*prakṛtisvaraṁ bhavati*

The initial constituent which ends in an affix termed *niṣṭhā* in a *karmadhāraya* compound retains its original accent when a constituent ending in *Kta* follows.

## EXAMPLES:

*śrenikṛtāḥ* ‘those which were previously not arranged in a row are now so arranged’  
*ūkakṛtāḥ* ‘those which were not spread about are so done now’  
*pūgakṛtāḥ* ‘those which were previously not arranged in a group are now so arranged’  
*nīdhanakṛtāḥ* ‘made poor which they were previously not’

- Note that *śreni*, as a derivate of *Ni* (*Uṇādi* IV:51: *vahiśrīsruyudru* . . .), is marked *udātta* at the beginning (6.1.194 *nnityādir nityam*). Refer to my discussion of *ūka* and *nīdhana* under notes of 6.2.32 *saptamī śuṣkapakva* . . . A final *udātta* is applicable to *pūga*.

## 6.2.47 अहीने द्वितीया

*ahīne dvitīyā*  
*/ahīne* 7/1 (*nañ. tat.*) *dvitīyā* 1/1 /  
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *kte* #45)  
*ahīnavācini samāse ktānta uttarapade dvitīyāntam pūrvapadam*  
*prakṛtisvaraṁ bhavati*

The initial constituent which ends in *dvitīyā* ‘accusative’ retains its

original accent when the compound is formed with the signification of *ahīna* ‘non-separable, unabandoned’ and a constituent ending in affix *Kta* combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

*kastaśritah* ‘fallen into grief’  
*triśākalapititah* ‘that which has three pieces’  
*grāmāgatah* ‘gone to the village’

1. Note that *kasta*, a derivate of *Kta* where *iT* is blocked by 7.2.22 *kṛcchragahanayoh kasah*, is marked *udātta* at the end by affixal accent. The *tri* of *triśakala*, a *bahuvrīhi* paraphrased as: *trīṇi śakalāni sanyasya* ‘that of which there are three parts’, is marked *udātta* by nominal stem accent. A derivate such as *grāma* ‘village’, derived with *maN* (*Uṇādi I:143*: *graser ā ca*), is marked with *udātta* at the beginning (6.1.194 *n̄nityādir nityam*). All these compounds denote a meaning where initial constituents are semantically non-separable (*ahīna*) from their following counterparts.

2. A *vārttika* proposal is made to block the provision of this rule where a participial constituent begins with a preverb. Thus, consider *sukhaprāptah* ‘he who has reached comfort’ and *sukhāpānnah* ‘he who has attained comfort’. The compound itself is here marked *udātta* at the end.

This rule is an exception to 6.2.143 *antah* and 6.2.144 *thāthaghāñ*. . . .

## 6.2.48 तृतीया कर्मणि

*trīyā karmanī*  
*/ trīyā 1/1 karmanī 7/1 /*  
*(prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1 kte #45)*  
*karmavācini ktānta uttarapade trīyāntam pūrvapadam prakṛtisvaram bhavati*

The initial constituent of a compound which signifies *karman* ‘object’ and ends in *trīyā* ‘third triplet of nominal ending’ retains its original accent when a constituent ending in *Kta* combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

*ahihátaḥ* ‘bitten by a snake’  
*vajrahátaḥ* ‘killed by the Vajra’  
*mahārājahátaḥ* ‘killed by the king’

1. Note that *ahi* ‘snake’ is marked *udātta* at the end by affixal accent. It is a derivate of *iN*, introduced after *han* used with the preverb *āN* (*Uṇādi IV:138*: *āni śrihinibhyām hrasvaś ca*). The *ā* of *āhan* is replaced with its short counterpart *a* and *an* is assigned the term *ti*. This, in turn, gets deleted by the same rule. The word *vajra*, as a derivate of *raK* (*Uṇādi II:28*: *rjendrā-*

*gravajra . . .) via nipātana*, is also marked *udātta* at the end by affixal accent. This final *udātta* accent is also applicable to *mahārāja* ‘great king’, a derivate with *TaC* (5.4.91 *rājāhaḥsakhibhyām . . .*). The word *nakha* ‘nail’, a *bahuvrīhi* paraphrased as *nāsti kham asya* ‘that which does not have life’, is marked *udātta* at the end by 6.2.171 *nañsubhyām*. The word *dātra* ‘sickle’ is a derivate of *ŚtraN* (3.2.182 *dāmnīśasa . . .*). Consequently, it is marked *udātta* at the beginning (6.1.194 *ñnityādir nityam*).

### 6.2.49 गतिरनन्तरः:

*gatir anantarah*

/ *gatiḥ 1/1 anantarah 1/1 = avidyamānam antaram yasya (bv.) /*

(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1 kte #45 karmanī #48*)

*karmavācini ktānta uttarapade gatir anantarah pūrvapadam prakṛtisvaram bhavati*

This initial constituent of a compound termed *gati* retains its original accent when a constituent which ends in *Kta* and signifies *karman* ‘object’ immediately follows.

EXAMPLES:

*prakṛtah* ‘made’

*prahṛtah* ‘thrown’

1. This rule allows an initial *gati* constituent to retain its original accent if it occurs immediately followed by *Kta* denoting *karman*. Thus *pra*, termed *gati* (1.4.49 *gatiś ca*), is marked with *udātta* (*Phīṭsūtra* 80: *upasargāś cābhivarjam*).

Note that a *gati*, when occurring interrupted by something else, does not qualify for this accentual provision. Thus, consider *abhy-ud-dhṛtah* and *sam-ud-dhṛtah*, where *abhi* and *sam* do not occur immediately before *dhṛtah*.

Commentators explain that this rule covers examples where *Kta* denotes *karman* ‘object’. Thus, *prakṛta* of *prakṛtah kāṭam devadattah* ‘Devadatta made a mat’ does not qualify. The *Kta* here denotes agent. Note that the *paribhāṣā* (29): *kṛdgrahaṇe gatikārakāpūrvasyāpi grahanam* ‘a specification made by an item ending in a *kṛt* also includes reference to that which begins with a *gati* and *kāraka*’ does not apply here. Consequently, an example such as *dūrād āgataḥ* ‘arrived from a distant place’ where *dūrāt* ‘from far’ denotes *apādāna* cannot be covered here.

This rule is an exception to 6.2.144 *thāthaghāñ . . .*

### 6.2.50 तादौ च निति कृत्यतौ

*tādau ca niti kṛtya atau*

/ *tādau 7/1 = takāra ādir yasya (bv.), tasmin; ca φ niti 7/1 = nakāra it*

*yasya* (*bv.*); *kṛti* 7/1 atau 7/1 = *na tu* (*nañ. tat.*) *tasmin/*  
*(prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1 gatir anantarah #49)*  
*takārādau ca tuśabdavarjite niti kṛti parato gatir anantarah prakṛtisvaraṁ*  
*bhavati*

The initial constituent, termed *gati*, of a compound retains its original accent when a constituent which begins with *t*, with the exception of *t* of *tu*, and ends in a *kṛt* affix marked with *N* as its *it*, immediately follows in combination.

#### EXAMPLES:

*prakārtā* ‘producer, maker’  
*prakārtum* ‘to begin to make’  
*pakṣṭih* ‘produced, brought about’

1. Note that *pra* retains its *udātta* before derivates of *tṛN*, *tumUN* and *KtiN*, as these cited examples illustrate. These affixes are all marked with *N* and begin with *t*. Consequently, their derivates are marked with *udātta* at the beginning (6.1.194 *nnityādir nityam*).

This accentual provision will not be applicable to *prajalpāka* ‘he who talks excessively’ since the affix, i.e., *SākaN*, does not begin with *t*. It can also not apply to *prakartā* ‘doer’ where the affix is *tṛC*. Finally, a derivate such as *āgantuḥ* ‘desirous to come’ is also out because of exclusion specified by *tu* in the rule.

#### 6.2.51 तवै चान्तश्च युगपत्

*tavai cāntāś ca yugapat*  
*/tavai* (1/1 deleted) *ca* *∅ antah* 1/1 *ca* *∅ yugapat* 1/1/  
*(prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1 gatir anantarah #49)*  
*tavaipratyayasyānta udātto bhavati gatiś ca anantarah prakṛtisvara iti etad*  
*ubhayam yugapad bhavati*

The final constituent of that which ends in affix *tavai* is marked *udātta*, with the additional provision that an immediately preceding *gati* simultaneously retain its original accent.

#### EXAMPLES:

*anvētavai* ‘to follow’  
*parīstānīgai* ‘to enclose; strewn around’  
*paripātavai* ‘to procure from all sides’

1. This rule offers two *udātta* accents simultaneously (*yugapat*). Thus, consider *anvētavai* where *tavai* is marked *udātta*, and the preceding *anu* is also marked *udātta* by way of retaining its original accent (also see 6.1.155 *anudāttam padam . . .*). All preverbs, except for *abhi*, are marked *udātta* at

the beginning (*Phitsūtra* 80: *upasargāś cābhivarjam*). Thus, *abhicaritavai* cannot be marked *udātta* at the beginning. It is marked *udātta* at the end by nominal stem accent, instead.

### 6.2.52 अनिगन्तोऽस्तौ वप्रत्यये

*aniganto' āncatau vapratyaye*  
*/ anigantah 1/1 = ig ante yasya (bv.); na igantah*  
*(nañ. tat.); āncatau 7/1 vapratyaye 7/1 = vakāra pratyayo yasya (bv.),*  
*tasmin/*  
*(prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1 gatiḥ #49)*  
*aniganto gatiḥ prakṛtisvaro bhavat� aāncatau vapratyaye paratah*  
 A *gati*, which does not end in *iK*, retains its original accent when verbal root *aāncU*, followed by affix *va*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

*prāñ* 'eastward; nominative singular of *prāñc'*  
*prāñcaú* 'nominative dual . . .'  
*prāñcāh* 'nominative plural . . .'  
*prāñ* 'nominative singular . . .'  
*prāñcau* 'nominative dual . . .'  
*prāñcah* 'nominative dual . . .'  
*parāñ* 'turned away; nom. sing. of *parāñc'*  
*parāñcau* 'nominative dual . . .'  
*parāñcah* 'nominative plural . . .'

1. Note that *pra* and *parā* are termed *gati*, and obviously, do not end in a vowel denoted by the abbreviatory term (*pratyāhāra*) *iK* (Śs. 1–2). The examples are all derives of *KvIN*, introduced after verbal root *aāncU*. This is how *aānc(U)*, when occurring immediately before (*K*) *v(IN)*, can be accepted as ending in *v*. Refer to derivational details of *prāñ* (vol. III:738) under the appendix of 3.2.59 *r̥tvigdadhṛk* . . . Other examples can be similarly derived. Retention of original accent means initial *udātta* in these examples. Examples which involve single replacement may optionally have *svarita* by 8.2.6 *svarito vā' nudātte*. This optional application of *svarita* may not be available to *parāñ*, etc., because *parā* is *udātta* at the beginning. That is *ā*, which goes through single replacement, is not *udātta*.

2. Note that examples with *prati*, i.e., *pratyāñ*, *pratyāñcau* and *pratyāñcah*, will constitute counter-examples since *prati* ends in a sound denoted by *iK*.

3. A proposal is made in the *Mahābhāṣya* to let the accentual provision of this rule, as characterized with the qualification of non-*iK* (*aniganta*), block the accentual provision characterized with *cu* (6.1.219 *cau*), on the basis of *paratva*. Commentators explain that 6.1.219 *cau* has its independent scope where there is no *gati*. Thus, we get *dadhicah* and *dadhicā*. An

accentual provision conditioned by a form not ending in an *iK* (*aniganta*) has its independent scope where *añc* does not lose its *a* and *ñ* to deletion. Thus, we get *parāñ* and *parāñcau*. But consider *parācaḥ* and *parācā* where both of these rules become simultaneously applicable. The *Mahābhāṣya* here invokes 1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe param kāryam* and allows the accentual provision of the subsequent rule to win.

## 6.2.53 न्याधी च

*nyadhī ca*

/ *nyadhī* 1/2 = *niś ca adhiś ca* (*itar. dv.*); *ca* φ /  
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1 añcatau vapratyaye #52*)

'*ni*, *adhi*' *ity etau cāñcatau vapratyaye parataḥ prakṛtisvaro bhavataḥ*  
*ni* and *adhi* also retain their original accent when verbal root *añcU* ending in affix *va* follows.

EXAMPLES:

*nyáñ* 'directed downwards; nom. sing. of *nyañc'*

*nyáñcau* 'nom. dual . . .'

*nyáñcaḥ* 'nom. plural . . .'

*adhyáñ* 'directed inwards; nom. sing. of *adhy-añc'*

*adhyáñcau* 'nom. dual . . .'

*adhyáñcaḥ* 'nom. plural . . .'

1. Note that *ni* and *adhi* are here allowed retention because they, obviously, are exceptions to the preceding rule. Here again, *ni* is marked *udātta*. The *ya*, of *nyañ*, *nyañcau* and *nyañcaḥ*, becomes *svarita* as usual (8.2.6 *udāttasvaritayor . . .*). The *a* of *adhi* is also *udātta*. Rule 6.1.219 *cau* was applicable to *adhyanyañcaḥ*, *adhičaḥ* and *adhičā*. Our present rule is an exception to that.

## 6.2.54 ईषदन्यतरस्याम्

*īśad anyatarasyām*

/ *īśat* φ *anyatarasyām* 7/1 /  
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1*)

'*īśat*' *ity etat pūrvapadam anyatarasyām prakṛtisvaraṁ bhavati*

An initial constituent, namely *īśat* 'a little', optionally retains its original accent.

EXAMPLES:

*īśatkádārah* 'somewhat tawny'

*īśatkadārah*

*īsatpīngalah* 'somewhat yellowish-brown'

*īsatpīngalah*

1. Note that *īsat* is marked with *udātta* at the end by nominal stem accent. This optional retention allows compounds to be marked *udātta* at the end (6.1.220 *samāsasya*). These compounds are all formed by way of specific enumeration of bases (*pratipadokta*; 2.2.7 *īsad akṛtā*). That is why, this accentual provision cannot apply to a derivate such as *īṣadbhedā* ‘slightly cracked’. For, accentual provision of compounds with a following constituent in a *kṛt* affix (*kṛduttarapada*; 6.2.139 *gatikārakopapadāt kṛt*) will block it. Some do not accept specific enumeration of bases (*pratipadokta*) as basis for resolving possible conflicts between these accentual provisions. They accept conflict and invoke 1.4.2 *vipratisēdhe param kāryam*, whereby a subsequent accentual provision wins.

### 6.2.55 हिरण्यपरिमाणे धने

*hiranyaparimāṇe dhane*

/ *hiranyaparimāṇe* 7/1 = *hiranyam ca tat parimāṇam ca* (karm. tat.), *tasmin; dhane* 7/1 /

(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1 anyatarasyām #54*)

*hiranyaparimāṇavāci pūrvapadam dhanaśabda uttarapade' nyatarasyām prakṛtisvaram bhavati*

An initial constituent which signifies a measure (*parimāṇa*) of ‘gold’ (*hiranya*) retains its original accent when *dhana* combines as a following constituent.

EXAMPLES:

*dvisuvarṇadhanam* ‘wealth consisting of two measures of gold’

*dvisuvarṇadhanam*

1. Not that *dvisuvarṇa* is a *dvigu* compound (2.1.51 *taddhitārthottara* . . .), where a subsequently introduced *taddhita* affix, i.e., *thaṄ* (5.1.18 *prāg vates thaṄ*), gets deleted (5.1.28 *adhyardha* . . .). This *dvigu* is assigned *udātta* at the end (2.1.220 *samāsasya*). When *dhana* is combined to form a *karma-dhāraya*, paraphrased as *dvisuvarṇam eva dhanam* ‘wealth consisting of only two measures (sixteen ounces) of gold’, then the final *a* of *dvisuvarṇa* is allowed to retain its original accent. A *bahuvrīhi* interpretation of *dvisuvarṇadhana*, paraphrased as *dvisuvarṇam dhanam asya* ‘he whose wealth is two sixteen ounce coins’, will also have the initial obligatory *udātta* (6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau prakṛtyā pūrvapadam*) made optional. For, this rule is subsequent (*para*). Thus, *dvisuvarṇadhanah* and *dvisuvarṇadhanah*.

### 6.2.56 प्रथमोऽचिरोपसम्पत्तौ

*prathamo' ciropasampattau*

/ *prathamah* 1/1 *aciropasampattau* 7/1 = *na cirāt* (naṄ. tat.); *acirā upasampatiḥ* (karm.), *tasmin/*

(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1 anyatarasyām #54)*  
*prathamaśabdah pūrvapadam aciropasampattau gamyamānāyām anyatarasyām prakṛtisvaraṁ bhavati*

An initial constituent, namely *prathama*, retains its original accent, optionally, when a relatively recent (*acira*) connection is denoted.

#### EXAMPLES:

*prathamavaiyākaraṇah* ‘a novice student of grammar’  
*prathamavaiyākaraṇah* ‘ibidem’

1. Note that *prathama* is a derivate of *amaC* (*Uṇādi V:68*: *prather amac*), marked with *C* as an *it*. It is thus marked *udātta* at the end (6.1.160 *citah*). The compound itself will be marked *udātta* at the end. That is, if the option of *prathama* is not accepted.

2. Note that this optional *udātta* is consequential for meaning. The compound would get final *udātta*, obligatorily (*nitya*), if the meaning is outside the scope of *aciropasampatti*. Thus, consider *prathamavaiyākaraṇah* ‘the first, or best, among grammarians’. Commentators explain *aciropasampatti* as *aciropaśleṣah, abhinavatvam* ‘relatively recent contact, newness’.

#### 6.2.57 कतरकतमौ कर्मधारये

*katarakatamau karmadhāraye*  
*/katarakatamau 1/2 (itar. dv.) karmadhāraye 7/1/*  
*(prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1 anyatarasyām #54)*  
*kataśabdah katamaśabdāś ca pūrvapadāṁ karmadhāraye samāse’ nyatarasyām prakṛtisvaraṁ bhavati*

The initial constituents, namely *katara* and *katama*, optionally retain their original accent in a *tatpuruṣa* compound termed *karmadhāraya*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*katarakāṭhah* ‘who among you two is a follower of the  
 Kāṭha school’  
*katarakāṭhah*  
*katamakāṭhah* ‘who among you is a follower of the Kāṭha school’  
*katamakāṭhah*

1. An optional *udātta* is also offered here to initial constituents of *karmadhāraya* with *katara* and *katama*. Note that *katara* and *katama* end in affixes *DataraC* and *DatamaC* (5.4.92 *kimyattado . . . ; 5.4.93 vā bahūnām . . .*), respectively. They are both thus marked with *udātta* at the end (6.1.160 *citah*). The compound gets marked *udātta* at the end, if this option is not accepted.

2. Why use *karmadhāraye* when its purpose can be served automatically

by the compound-formation rule (2.1.63 *katarakatamau jātipariṣprāśne*), where *katara* and *katama* are specifically enumerated (*pratipadokta*)? An explicit use of *karmadhārāye* is intended for *anuvṛtti* in the following rule.

### 6.2.58 आर्यो ब्राह्मणकुमारयोः:

*āryo brāhmaṇakumārayoḥ*  
*/āryah 1/1 brāhmaṇa-kumārayoḥ 7/2 (itar. dv.) /*  
*(prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1 anyatarasyāṁ #54 karmadhārāye #57)*  
*āryaśabdaḥ pūrvapadam brāhmaṇakumāraśabdayor uttarapadayoḥ karma-*  
*dhārāye samāse’ nyatarasyāṁ prakṛtisvaraṁ bhavanti*  
 An initial constituent, namely *ārya*, optionally retains its original accent in a *tatpuruṣa* compound termed *karmadhārāya*, when it combines with *brāhmaṇa* and *kumāra* as following constituents.

EXAMPLES:

*āryābrāhmaṇah* ‘a noble brāhmaṇa’  
*ārya  
brāhmaṇah*  
*āryakumāraḥ* ‘a noble youth or prince’  
*ārya  
kumāraḥ*

1. Note that *ārya*, as a derivate of *NyaT* (3.1.124 *rhalor nyat*), is marked with *svarita* at the end (6.1.182 *tit svaritam*). Not accepting this option will again lead to a final *udātta* of the compound.

2. Note that *paramaḥbrāhmaṇah* and *paramaḥkumāraḥ* cannot qualify for this option because they do not have *ārya* as their initial constituent. Similar exclusion will also be applicable to compounds such as *ārya  
ksatriyāḥ* and *ārya  
brāhmaṇah*, where the first one lacks *brāhmaṇa* and *kumāra* as following constituents, and the second is a genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound.

### 6.2.59 राजा च

*rājā ca*  
*/rājā 1/1 ca φ/*  
*(prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1 anyatarasyāṁ #54 karmadhārāye #57 brā-  
hmaṇakumārayoḥ #58)*  
*rājā ca pūrvapadam brāhmaṇakumārayor uttarapadayoḥ karmadhārāye  
samāse’ nyatarasyāṁ prakṛtisvaraṁ bhavati*

An initial compound constituent, namely *rājan* ‘king’, also optionally retains its original accent when *brāhmaṇa* and *kumāra* combine as following constituents.

EXAMPLES:

*rājabrāhmaṇah* ‘a brāhmaṇa king’

*rājabrāhmaṇah*  
*rājākumārah* ‘a prince who is king’  
*rājakumārah*

1. Why was *rājā* not combined with *ārya* in the earlier rule? A separate mention is made for its *anuvṛtti* in the next rule. Besides, making it part of the earlier rule may have caused assignment of equivalency in order of enumeration (*yathāsamkhya*; 1.3.10 *yathāsamkhya anudeśah samānām*).

Incidentally, *rājan* is a derivate of *KanIN* (*Uṇādi I*: 56 *yuvṛṣṭa* . . .). Consequently, it is marked *udātta* at the beginning (6.1.194 *ñnityādir nityam*). The option of this rule will not apply if *rājabrāhmaṇah* is interpreted as a genitive *tatpuruṣa*.

## 6.2.60 षष्ठी प्रत्येनसि

*saṣṭhī pratyenasi*  
*/saṣṭhī 1/1 pratyenasi 7/1 = pratigatam enah yasya = pratyenāḥ (bv.), tasmin/*  
*(prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1 anyatarasyām #54 rājā #59)*  
*saṣṭhyanto rājaśabdah pūrvapadam pratyenasy uttarapade' nyatarasyām prakṛtisvaraṁ bhavati*

An initial compound constituent, namely *rājan* ending in *saṣṭhī* ‘genitive’, optionally retains its original accent when *pratyenas* combines as following constituent.

EXAMPLES:

*rājāpratyenāḥ* ‘kings’ emissary  
*rājapratyenāḥ* ‘ibidem’

1. Note that there will be four examples: two, where genitive is deleted and the option of this rule is accepted; two, where, because of the signification of anger (6.3.21 *saṣṭhyā* ‘*kroṣe*’), genitive is not deleted. This option will be blocked if the compound is interpreted as a *karmadhāraya* signifying *rājā cāsau pratyenā ca* ‘the king who is also his own emissary’.

## 6.2.61 के नित्यार्थे

*kte nityārthe*  
*/kte 7/1 nityārthe 7/1 = nityaḥ artha yasya (bv.), tasmin/*  
*(prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1 anyatarasyām #54)*  
*ktānta uttarapade nityārthe samāse pūrvapadam anyatarasyām prakṛtisvaraṁ bhavati*

The initial constituent of a compound formed with the signification of *nitya* ‘always’, optionally, retains its original accent when a constituent ending in *Kta* follows.

EXAMPLES:

*nityáprahasitah* ‘always laughing’

*nityaprahasitah*

*sata<sub>t</sub>apráhasitah* ‘ibidem’

*sata<sub>t</sub>aprah<sub>s</sub>itah*

1. The word *nitya* is used with *arthe*, so that an initial constituent synonymous with *nitya* can also be included. This explains why *satata* can also retain its original accent here. Of course, when it combines as an initial with a following derivate of *Kta*. The word *nitya* is a derivate of *tyaP* (cf. vt. ad 4.2.104 *avyayāt tyap*). Its *ya* is *anudāttā* by affixal accent (3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitaū*). But its *ni* is marked with *udāttā* (*Phītsūtra* 80: *upasargā . . .*). This accent then will be retained. The word *satata* can be interpreted as a derivate signifying *bhāva* ‘root-sense’ or *karman* ‘object’. It will be marked with *udāttā* at the end (6.2.144 *thāthaghañkta . . .*) when the signification is *bhāva*. It will be marked *udāttā* at the beginning when the signification is *karman* (6.2.49 *gatir anantaraḥ*). These accusative *tatpuruṣa* compounds are formed by 2.1.27 *kālāḥ*. The compounds, optionally, may also be marked with *udāttā* at the end.

## 6.2.62 ग्रामः शिल्पिनि

*grāmaḥ silpini*

/ *grāmaḥ* 1/1 *silpini* 7/1 /

(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam #1 nyatarasyām #54*)

*grāmaśabdah pūrvapadam silpavāciny uttarapade' nyatarasyām prakṛtisvaram bhavati*

An initial compound constituent, namely *grāma* ‘village’, optionally retains its original accent when a constituent with the signification of *silpin* ‘artisan’ combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

*grāmānāpitah* ‘village barber’

*grāmanāpitah* ‘ibidem’

*grāmākulālah* ‘village potter’

*grāmakulālah* ‘ibidem’

1. Refer to notes under 6.2.47 *ahīne dvitīyā* for accentual details of *grāma*. These examples are all genitive *tatpuruṣa* compounds. They may also be marked with *udāttā* at the end, optionally.

## 6.2.63 राजा च प्रशंसायाम्

*rāja ca praśamsāyām*

/ *rājā* 1/1 *ca* φ *praśamsāyām* 7/1 /

(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* 1/1 *anyatarasyām* #54 *śilpini* #62)  
*rājaśabdah pūrvapadam śilpavāciny uttarapade praśamsāyām gamya-*  
*mānāyām anyatarasyām prakṛtisvaraṁ bhavati*

An initial compound constituent, namely *rājan* ‘king’, retains its original accent optionally when *śilpin* combines as a following constituent and *praśamsā* ‘praise’ is denoted.

#### EXAMPLES:

*rājānāpitah* ‘royal barber’  
*rājanāpitah* ‘ibidem’  
*rājākulālah* ‘royal potter’  
*rājakulālah* ‘ibidem’

1. A compound such as *rājanāpitah* can be interpreted both as a *karmadhāraya* and genitive *tatpuruṣa*. A *karmadhāraya* interpretation will involve a figurative transfer of royal qualities to the barber. This is how the compound will denote ‘praise.’ A genitive will similarly denote ‘praise’ by attributing qualities of a royal barber to the barber. Refer to notes under 6.2.59 *rājā ca* for accentual details of *rājan*. The compounds are both given here as *karmadhāraya*.

Note that a simple statement of fact, as in *rājanāpitah* ‘king’s barber’, will not qualify the compound for this accentual provision. It must also be limited to *śilpini* ‘when an artisan . . .’. Thus, an example such as *rājahastī* ‘king’s elephant’ will again be excluded.

#### 6.2.64 आदिरुदात्तः:

*ādir udāttah*  
*/ādiḥ* 1/1 *udāttah* 1/1/  
*(pūrvapadam* #1)  
*ita uttarāṁ yad vaksyāmas tatra pūrvapadasyādir udātto bhavaती evam*  
*veditavyam*

The initial constituent of a compound, from here onwards, will be marked with *udātta* at the beginning.

#### EXAMPLES:

Look under rules which follow.

1. This is an *adhikāra*, valid prior to rule 6.2.143 *antaḥ*, insofar as *ādiḥ* is concerned. It carries prior to 6.2.137 *prakṛtyā bhagālām*, in connection with the assignment of the *udātta* accent. Examples covered by this rule will have their initial constituents marked with *udātta* at the beginning. Consider rule 6.2.25 *saptamihārināu dharmye’ harane*, whereby an initial compound constituent which ends in the locative and signifies *hārin* ‘he who accepts a share’ is marked *udātta* at the beginning. That is, when a constituent with

the signification of something other than *dharma* ‘that which is given as part of established practice’ combines to follow. Look under individual rules for further details.

### 6.2.65 सप्तमीहारिनौ धर्म्ये ऽहरणे

*saptamīhārinau dharmye' harane*

/ *saptamīhārinau* 1/2 = *saptamī ca hārī ca* (*itar. dv.*); *dharma* 7/1 *aharane* 7/1 (*nañ. tat.*) /

(*pūrvapadam* #1 *ādir udāttah* #64)

*saptamyantam hārivāci ca pūrvapadam dharmyavācini haranaśabdād anyasminn uttarapade ādyudāttam bhavati*

An initial compound constituent, namely one which ends in *saptamī* ‘seventh triplet of nominal endings’ or one which is constituted by *hārin*, is marked *udātta* at the beginning, provided a constituent other than *harana* combines to follow with the signification of *dharma* ‘a proper gift’.

#### EXAMPLES:

*stūpēśānah* ‘a gold coin traditionally offered to a king in commemorating the building of a Stūpa’

*mukutekārśāpanam* ‘a Kārśāpana (gold coin) traditionally offered to a king at his coronation’

*halēdvipadikā* ‘a tax levied on a piece of land farmed with two plows’

*halētripadikā* ‘a tax levied on a piece of land farmed with three plows’

*yājñikāśvah* ‘ritualist’s (gift of a) horse’

*vaiyākaraṇahastī* ‘grammatician’s (gift of an) elephant’

1. Note that *dharma* and *hārin* are not interpreted here as referring to their forms (*svarūpa*). They are used here with reference to their meanings, instead. Thus, *dharma*, a derivate of *yaT* (4.4.92 *dharma*-*pathyarthā* . . .), is to be interpreted as *ācāraniyatam* *deyam* ‘that (a fixed amount) which ought to be given someone following some standard familial and social practice’. A person who accepts what is given him as *dharma* is called *hārin* = *deyah yah svikaroti* ‘he who accepts what is given him’.

Note that all locative *tatpuruṣa* compounds involve non-deletion (*aluk*; 6.3.10 *kārināmni ca prācām halādau*) of the locative (*saptamī*). They are formed by rule 2.1.44 *saṃjñāyām*. Examples of *hārin* are all genitive *tatpuruṣa* compounds. Both compound types constitute exceptions to 6.1.220 *saṃsasya*.

2. Remember that the conditions of *dharma* and *hārin* must be satisfied. Thus, consider the two counter-examples: *stāmberamah* ‘an elephant’ and *karmakāravarḍhitakah*, where the following constituent of these compounds denotes something different. Thus, *ramah* means ‘sportful’ and *vardhitakah*

means ‘a thick conical pile of cooked rice given as part of wages to labourers’. The restriction of something other than *harāṇa* which, in turn, may constitute the following constituent is also important. Thus consider *vāḍavaharāṇam* ‘rich food offered to a studhorse, particularly after impregnation of (*bījaniseka*) a mare’. The initial constituent, i.e., *vāḍava* ‘mare’s own; horse’, here denotes *hārin*, but the following constituent is *harāṇa*. This compound is also out. The specification of *aharane* has yet another implication. That is, this rule, except where *harāṇa* is a following constituent, will allow retention of original accent of an initial constituent used with the signification of *hārin*. Since *harāṇa* is a derivate formed with *kṛt*, its exclusion also specifies derivates ending in a *kṛt*. That is, a derivate of *kṛt* with the exception of *harāṇa*. . . . This rule then becomes an exception to 6.2.139 *gatikārakopapadāt kṛt*. Consider *vāḍavahāryam*, where *vāḍava* retains its original accent of initial *udāttā*.

### 6.2.66 युक्ते च

*yukte ca*

/ *yukte* 7/1 *ca* φ/

(*pūrvapadam* #1 ādir *udāttah* #64)

*yuktavācini ca samāse pūrvapadam ādyudāttam bhavati*

The initial constituent of a compound formed with the signification of *yukta* ‘yoked, engaged’ is marked *udāttā* at the beginning.

#### EXAMPLES:

*gobāllavah* ‘one whose duty is to tend cows’

*gomāñindah* ‘ibidem’

*asvabāllavah* ‘one whose duty is to care of horses’

*asvāmanindah* ‘ibidem’

1. The word *yukta* is explained as *samāhita* ‘engrossed’, or *kartavye tatparah* ‘diligent; persuing what is one’s duty’. These compounds all are formed with a following constituent which denotes: ‘those who take care of cows and horses as part of their duty’.

### 6.2.67 विभाषा अध्यक्षे

*vibhāṣā*’ *dhyakṣe*

/ *vibhāṣā* 1/1 *adhyakṣe* 7/1/

(*pūrvapadam* #1 ādir *udāttah* #64)

*adhyakṣaśabda uttarapade vibhāṣā pūrvapadam ādyudāttam bhavati*

The initial constituent of a compound is optionally marked with *udāttā* at the beginning when *adhyakṣa* ‘chief’ combines as a following constituent.

## EXAMPLES:

*gavādhyakṣah* ‘chief among those who take care of cows’

*gavādhyakṣah* ‘ibidem’

*aśvādhyakṣah* ‘chief among those who take care of horses’

*aśvādhyakṣah* ‘ibidem’

1. This optional initial *udātta* is offered against the final *udātta* of 6.1.220 *samāsasya*.

## 6.2.68 पापं च शिल्पिनि

*pāpam ca śilpini*

/ *pāpam* 1/1 *ca* φ *śilpini* 7/1 /

(*pūrvapadam* #1 ādir *udāttah* #64)

*pāpaśabdaḥ śilpavāciny uttarapade vibhāṣā* ‘*dyudātto bhavati*

An initial compound constituent, namely *pāpa* ‘despicable’, is optionally marked with *udātta* at the beginning when *śilpin* combines as a following constituent.

## EXAMPLES:

*pāpānāpitah* ‘a bad barber’

*pāpanāpitah* ‘ibidem’

*pāpākulālah* ‘a bad potter’

*pāpākulālah* ‘ibidem’

1. Note that *pāpa* is interpreted as referring to its form (*svarūpa*) and *śilpini* is interpreted as referring to its meaning. Here again we find an optional *udātta* at the end of a compound. A syntactic coordination (*sāmā-nādhikaranya*) between constituents leads towards compound formation by 2.1.54 *pāpānake kutsitaiḥ*. A genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound, parallel to *pāpasya nāpitah* = *pāpanāpitah*, cannot qualify for this accentual provision.

## 6.2.69 गोत्रान्तेवासिमाणवब्राह्मणेषु

*gotrāntevāsimāṇavabrahmāṇeṣu*

/ *gotra-antevāsi-māṇava-brāhmaṇeṣu* 7/3 (itar. dv.) *kṣepa* 7/1 /

(*pūrvapadam* #1 ādir *udāttah* #64)

*gotravāciny antevāsiny cottarapade māṇavabrahmāṇayoś ca kṣepavācini samāse pūrvapadam ādyudāttam bhavati*

The initial constituent of a compound formed with the signification of *kṣepa* ‘censure’ is marked *udātta* at the beginning, provided the constituent which follows signifies a *gotra* ‘descendant, grandson on,’ an *antevāsin* ‘pupil, student’, or else, is constituted by *brāhmaṇa* and *māṇava* ‘young initiate, boy’.

EXAMPLES:

*jaṅghāvātsyah* ‘a non-Vātsya claiming to be a Vātsya’

*bhāryāśauśrūtah* ‘a henpecked son of Suśruta’

*vaśābrāhmaṇakṛteyah* ‘a barren woman . . .’

*odānapāniniyāḥ* ‘students who study Pāṇini’s grammar so that they can get rice to eat’

*bhikṣāmāṇavah* ‘a young initiate who becomes a celibate boasting, ‘I can survive on alms’’

*dāśibrāhmaṇah* ‘a brāhmaṇa who longs for his maid’

*bhayābrāhmaṇah* ‘one who, for fear (of beating), claims to be a brāhmaṇa’

1. Note that *gotra* ‘offspring’ and *antevāsin* ‘student’ are used with reference to their popular meanings (*artha*). The other two, i.e., *māṇava* and *brāhmaṇa*, are used with reference to their form (*svarūpa*). The word *gotra*, since it is used outside the domain of the technical term *gotra*, here refers to its popular meaning of an offspring. Unless a particular specification is made otherwise, all these compounds will be formed by 2.1.4 *saha supā*.

## 6.2.70 अङ्गानि मैरेये

*aṅgāni maireye*

/ *aṅgāni* 1/3 *maireye* 7/1/

(*pūrvapadam* #1 ādir *udāttah* #64)

*maireyaśabda uttarapade tadaṅgavācīny pūrvapadāny ādyudāttāni bhavanti*

An initial compound constituent which signifies an *aṅga* ‘major ingredient, source’ is marked with *udātta* at the beginning, when a constituent signifying *maireya* ‘liquor’ combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

*guḍamaireyah* ‘liquor, distilled from molasses’

*madhumaireyah* ‘liquor, distilled from honey’

1. Note that the compound derivate must denote *maireya* ‘liquor’ and the sense of its initial constituent must serve as the major ingredient for distilling liquor. Consider the following counter-examples: *paramamaireyah* and *phalāśavah* ‘fruit-juice’, where *parama* ‘best’ does not denote an ingredient and *āsava* ‘juice’ does not denote liquor.

## 6.2.71 भक्ताख्यास्तदर्थेषु

*bhaktākhyās tadartheṣu*

/ *bhaktākhyāḥ* 1/3 *tadartheṣu* 7/1/

(*pūrvapadam* #1 ādir *udāttah* #64)

*bhaktam annam tadākhyāḥ tadvācinah śabdāḥ tadarthesūttarapadeśu  
ādyudāttā bhavanti*

The initial constituent of a compound which names *bhakta* ‘grain, food’ is marked *udātta* at the beginning when a constituent signifying something intended for the food thus named (*tadartha*) combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

*bhiksākamsah* ‘a pot intended for begging food’

*śrānākamsah* ‘a pot intended for making barley-gruel’

1. Note that *bhakta* is used here with the signification of *anna* ‘food’. The word *ākhyā* ‘naming’, in *bhaktākhyā*, is used so that synonyms of *bhakta* could also be included as constituents.

### 6.2.72 गोबिडालसिंहसैन्यवेषूपमाने

*gobidālasimhasaindhavesūpamāne*

/ go-bidāla-simha-saindhavesu 7/3 (itar. dv.); upamāne 7/1/  
(pūrvapadam #1 ādir udāttah #64)

*gavādisūpamānavāciṣūttarapadeśu pūrvapadam ādyudāttam bhavati*

The initial constituent of a compound is marked *udātta* at the beginning, when a constituent with the signification of *go* ‘cow’, *biḍāla* ‘cat’ and *simha* ‘lion’ combines to follow as a standard of comparison (*upamāna*).

EXAMPLES:

*dhānyágavah* ‘grain arranged in the shape of a cow’

*hirānyagavah* ‘gold similar in shape to a cows limb’

*bhikṣābidālah* ‘(very little) alms arranged in the shape of a cat’

*trṇásimhah* ‘grass arranged in the shape of a lion’

*kāṣṭhásimhah* ‘wood shaped like a lion’

*saktusaindhavah* ‘Saktu (barley meal) arranged in the shape of a horse’

*pānásaindhavah* ‘a drinking vessel shaped like a horse’

1. Note that the example compounds are formed by 2.1.56 *upamitam vyāghrādibhiḥ*, especially with paraphrases such as *hiranyam gaur iva* ‘gold (shaped) like a cow’, etc. The *vyāghrādi* group of nominals (2.1.56 *upamitam . . .*) is also considered open-ended (*ākyṛtigāṇa*). The idea of an *upamāna* ‘standard of comparison’ must follow established usage.

### 6.2.73 अके जीविकार्थे

*ake jīvikārthe*

/ ake 7/1 *jīvikārthe* 7/1 = *jīvikāyā arthah* (sas. tat.), *tasmin/*

(*pūrvapadam* #1 *ādir udāttah* #64)

*akapratyayānta uttarapade jīvikārthavācini samāse pūrvapadam ādyudāttam bhavati*

The initial constituent of a compound formed with the signification of *jīvikā* ‘livelihood’ is marked *udāttā* at the beginning when a constituent ending in affix *aka* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*dantālekhakah* ‘painter of teeth’

*nakhālekhakah* ‘manicurist; painter of nails’

*ramāṇīyakārakah* ‘beautician’

- These compound are formed by 2.2.17 *nityam krīḍājīvikayoh*.

#### 6.2.74 प्राचां क्रीडायाम्

*prācām krīḍāyām*

/ *prācām* 6/3 *krīḍāyām* 7/1 /

(*pūrvapadam* #1 *ādir udāttah* #64 *ake* #73)

*prāg deshavarttinā yā krīḍā tadvācini samāse’ kapratyayānta uttarapade pūrvapadam ādyudāttam bhavati*

The initial constituent of a compound formed with the signification of a sport of the people in the east in marked *udāttā* at the beginning, when a constituent ending in affix *aka* combines to follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*uddālakapuṣṭapabbhañjikā* ‘a sport in which the *uddālaka* flowers were crushed’

*vīrānapuṣṭapracāyikā* ‘a sport in which the *vīraṇa* flowers were crushed’

*śālābhāñjikā* ‘a doll, puppet’

*tālābhāñjikā*

- Refer to my notes under 2.2.17 *nityam . . .* for additional details.

#### 6.2.75 अणि नियुक्ते

*aṇi niyukte*

/ *aṇi* 7/1 *niyukte* 7/1 /

(*pūrvapadam* #1 *ādir udāttah* #64)

*aṇanta uttarapade niyuktavācini samāse pūrvapadam ādyudāttam bhavati*

The initial constituent of a compound formed with the signification of *niyukta* ‘commissioned’ is marked *udāttā* at the beginning when a constituent ending in affix *aṇi* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*chattrādhārah* ‘bearer of the parasol’

*tūṇiradhārah* ‘bearer of the quiver’

*kamāṇḍalugrāhah* ‘bearer of the *kamandalu* (water-pot)’

*bṛṅgāradhārah* ‘bearer of *bṛṅgāra* (gold-pitcher)’

1. Note that the compound must denote the meaning of *niyukta* ‘commissioned to perform specific duty’. Consider *śaralāvah* ‘reed-cutter’ where agency (*kartṛtva*) alone is denoted. That is, the compound does not indicate whether the person who is currently engaged in the action of cutting reeds is commissioned to do that.

### 6.2.76 शिल्पनि चाकृतः:

*śilpini cākṛñnah*

/ *śilpini* 7/1 ca φ *akṛñnah* 1/1 (*nañ. tat.*) /

(*pūrvapadam* #1 ādir *udāttah* #64 *ani* #75)

*śilpivācini samāse' ḡanta uttarapade pūrvapadam ādyudāttam bhavati, sa ced an kr̥no na bhavati*

The initial constituent of a compound formed with the signification of *śilpin* ‘artisan’ is also marked with *udātta* at the beginning, provided a constituent ending in *aṄ* with the exception of one introduced after *kr̥Ṅ* ‘to do’ combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

*tantuvāyah* ‘a weaver’

*tunnāvāyah* ‘a tailor’

*vālāvāyah* ‘a hair-dresser’

1. Refer to derivational details of *tantuvāyah* under 3.2.2 *hvāvāmaś ca*. Note that the derivate must denote an artisan (*śilpin*). This is why *kāṇḍalāvah* ‘reed-cutter’ becomes an exception to this rule. The condition of *akṛñnah* ensures that examples like *kumbhakārah* ‘potter’ and *ayaskārah* ‘blacksmith’ do not come under the scope of this rule. For, they have their *aṄ* introduced after *kr̥Ṅ*.

### 6.2.77 संज्ञायां च

*saṃjñāyām ca*

/ *saṃjñāyām* 7/1 ca φ /

(*pūrvapadam* #1 ādir *udāttah* #64 *ani* 75 *akṛñnah* #76)

*saṃjñāyām viṣaye' ḡanta uttarapade' kr̥ñnah pūrvapadam ādyudāttam bhavati*

The initial constituent of a compound formed with the derivational scope of a name (*saṃjñā*) is also marked with *udātta*, provided a constituent ending in *aṄ* with the exception of one introduced after *kr̥Ṅ* combines to follow.

## EXAMPLES:

*tantūvāyo nāma kītah* ‘*tantuvāya* is a worm which builds a cocoon; silk-worm’

*vālāvāyo nāma parvatah* ‘*vālavāya* is a mountain’

1. Note that the condition of *akṛṇah* is still valid. Thus, *rathakāro nāma brāhmaṇah* ‘a *brāhmaṇa* named *rathakāra* (chariot-maker)’ will serve as a counter-example.

## 6.2.78 गोत्तियवं पाले

*gotantiyavam pāle*

/ *gotantiyavam* 1/1 (*sam. dv.*); *pāle* 7/1/

(*pūrvapadam* #1 *ādir udāttah* #64)

‘*go, tanti, yava*’ *ity etāni pūrvapadāni pālaśabda uttarapade ādyudāttāni bhavanti*

The initial constituents, namely *go* ‘cow’, *anti* ‘cord, string’ and *yava* ‘barley’, are marked *udātta* at the beginning, provided *pāla* combines as a following constituent.

## EXAMPLES:

*gopālah* ‘one who takes care of cows’

*tantipālah* ‘one who guards calves (tied to posts with ropes); a king’

*yavāpālah* ‘one who guards the barley field’

1. Note that *gorakṣah* ‘protector of cows’ falls outside the scope of this rule, simply because *pāla* ‘guard’ is not the final constituent.

## 6.2.79 णिनि

*nini*

/ *nini* 7/1/

(*pūrvapadam* #1 *ādir udāttah* #64)

*ṇinanta uttarapade pūrvapadam ādyudāttam bhavati*

The initial constituent of a compound is marked *udātta* at the beginning when a constituent ending in affix *NinI* combines to follow.

## EXAMPLES:

*puspāhārī* ‘he who brings flowers over and over again’

*phalāhārī* ‘he who brings fruits over and over again’

*parṇāhārī* ‘he who brings leaves over and over again’

1. Note that *NinI* (3.2.80 *vrate*) is used in the derivate examples with the signification of *vratā* ‘a ritual vow’. This signification is especially desired in the context of verbal root *hṛN* ‘to carry, fetch’. Elsewhere, we can also get the meaning of *ābhikṣṇya* ‘doing something over and over again’.

### 6.2.80 उपमानं शब्दार्थप्रकृतावेव

*upamānaṃ śabdārthaaprakṛtāv eva*  
*/ upamānam 1/1 śabdārthaaprakṛtau 7/1 = śabdo' rthah yasyāḥ sā (bv);*  
*śabdārthā prakṛtir yasya (bv. with int. bv.), tasmin; eva φ/*  
*(pūrvapadam #1 ādir udāttāḥ #64 ṇini #79)*  
*upamānavāci pūrvapadam śabdārthaaprakṛtāv eva ninanta uttarapada*  
*ādyudāttām bhavati*

An initial compound constituent which denotes a standard of comparison (*upamāna*) is marked with *udātta* when a constituent ending in *NinI*, and carrying the base-meaning of *śabda* ‘noise’, combines to follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*uṣṭrākroṣī* ‘he who makes a noise like a camel’

*dhvāṅkṣárāvī* ‘he who caws like a crow’

*kharánādī* ‘he who brays like a donkey’

1. Note that the final compound constituent must signify *śabda* ‘noise’. That is why I translate, ‘carrying the base-meaning of *śabda*’. Consider *vañcī* and *prekṣī* of *vṛkavañcī* ‘cunning as a wolf’ and *vṛkaprekṣī* ‘observing like a wolf’ which must be excluded from the scope of this rule since *vañcA* ‘to deceive’ and *prekṣA* ‘to observe’ do not denote *śabda*. Additionally, this meaning of *śabda* should be considered independently of preverbs (*Kāś: prakṛtir eva yatropasarganirapeksā śabdārthā bhavati tatraiva syāt . . .*). Thus, *gardabhoccānī* ‘he who makes noises like a donkey’ and *kokilābhivyāhārī* ‘he who makes noises like a cuckoo’ must also be excluded since the meaning of *śabda* ‘noise’ is here complemented by the preverbs.

2. The word *eva* ‘only’ is used for exact specification of the scope of this rule by way of *upamāna* ‘standard of comparison’. Note that this initial *udātta* could have been made available by the preceding rule to compounds with their initial constituents denoting an *upamāna*, or something other than an *upamāna*, anyway. This use of *eva* is then restrictive in case of initial constituents used with the signification of *upamāna*. That is, an initial *udātta* under the condition of *śabdārthaaprakṛtau* will be available only when *upamāna* is the initial constituent. *Nyāsa* correctly observes that if *upamāna* was not specified here, the scope of application of the preceding rule, as against this current, could not be known. A specification with *upamāna* makes the scope of the preceding rule general (*sāmānya*). This rule then specifies the particular scope relative to the preceding general, by way of *upamāna* (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś: yady upamānagrahaṇāṇam na kriyeta tadā pūrvasya yogasyāsyā ca viṣayavibhāgo na jñāyeta*).

### 6.2.81 युक्तारोह्यादयश्च

*yuktārohyādayaś ca*

/yuktārohyādayah 1/3 yuktārohī ādir yeṣām (bv.); ca φ/

(pūrvapadam #1 ādir udāttah #64 ḡnī #79)

yuktārohyādayah samāsaḥ ādyudāttā bhavanti

The initial constituents of compounds such as *yuktārohī* 'a well equipped rider', etc., are marked *udātta* at the beginning.

#### EXAMPLES:

*yuktārohī* 'supervisor of horses'

*āgātayodhī* 'one who fights a newly arrived'

*kṣirāhotā* 'sacrificer of rice-pudding'

*bhāginībharttā* 'sister's husband'

1. Note that nominals included within the list headed by *yuktārohin* are all derivates of affix *NiN*. Consequently, they simply illustrate the provision of 6.2.79 *nīni*. Some claim that since Pāṇini offers this rule even though its purpose can be served by 6.2.79 *nīni*, this rule must be accepted as restrictive. It offers restrictions applicable to both the preceding as well following constituents of example compounds. Thus, this rule applies only when the compounds are formed with *yukta*, etc., as initial constituents, and *ārohin*, etc., as final (*Nyāsa ad Kāś*: *teṣām iha pāṭhasya prayojanāntaram darśayati. pūrvottarapadayor niyamo' rtho yeṣām te tathoktāḥ. yatra yuktādīny eva pūrvapadāny ārohyādīny eva uttarapadāni tatraive yathā syād iti*). Thus, we cannot find the provision of this rule applicable to *dhvāṅkṣārohī*, etc. These compounds get *udātta* at the end, instead.

The first two derivates of this rule end in *NiN*. The next two compounds are both genitive *tatpuruṣa*, formed on the basis of constituency in the *yājakādi* group (2.2.9 *yājakādibhiḥ ca*) of nominals.

#### 6.2.82 दीर्घकाशतुषभ्राष्टवटं जे

*dīrghakāśatuṣabhrāṣṭravaṭam je*

/dirgha-kāśa-tuṣa-bhrāṣṭra-vaṭam 1/1 (sam. dv.); je 7/1/

(pūrvapadam #1 ādir udāttah #64)

'dīrghāntam pūrvapadam, kāśa, tuṣa, bhrāṣṭra, vaṭa' ity etāni ca je uttarapade ādyudāttāni bhavanti

An initial compound constituent which ends in a long vowel, or one which is constituted by *kāśa* 'reed', *tuṣa* 'chaff', *bhrāṣṭra* 'roasting place, oven' and *vaṭa* 'banyan', is marked with *udātta* at the beginning when *ja* combines to follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*kuṭījah* 'born in a hut'

*śamījah* 'found in a Śamī tree'

*kāśājah* 'found in grass'

*tusájah* ‘found in bran’  
*bhrāstrájah* ‘found in a roasting place’  
*vatájah* ‘found in a banyan tree’

1. Note that *ja* is derived by introducing affix *Da* after verbal root *jan* (3.2.97 *saptamyām janer dah*). This rule is an exception to 6.2.138 *gatikārakopapadāt kṛt*.

### 6.2.83 अन्त्यात्पूर्व बहृचः:

*antyāt pūrvam bahvacah*  
 / *antyāt* 5/1 *pūrvam* 1/1 *bahvacah* 1/1  
 (*pūrvapadam* #1 *udāttah* #64 *je* #82)

*je uttarapade bahvacah pūrvapadasyāntyāt pūrvam udāttam bhavati*  
 The next to the last vowel of an initial compound constituent consisting of many vowels (*bahvac*) is marked *udātta* when *ja* combines to follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*upasarājah* ‘born from first impregnation’  
*māndurājah* ‘born or found in a stable’  
*āmalakījah* ‘found in the Āmalaki fruit’  
*vāḍavājah* ‘stud-horse; . . . found in groups of mares’

1. Note that *a* of *ra* will be marked *udātta*, since it happens to be next to the last among vowels of the polysyllabic derivate *upasarajah*. The condition of *bahvacah* will block initial *udātta* in examples such as *daghajāni tṛṇāni* ‘grass growing at a place which was burned’ where the initial constituent, i.e., *dagdha*, consists of two vowels only. This again is an exception to 6.2.139 *gatikārakopapadāt* . . .

### 6.2.84 ग्रामे इनिवसन्तः:

*grāme' nivasantah*  
 / *gāme* 7/1 *anivasantah* 1/3 = *na nivasantah* (*nañ. tat.*) /  
 (*pūrvapadam* #1 *ādir udāttah* #64)

*grāmaśabda uttarapade pūrvapadam ādyudāttam bhavati*  
 An initial compound constituent is marked *udātta* at the beginning when it does not signify a resident and when *grāma* combines with it as a following constituent.

#### EXAMPLES:

*mallāgrāmah* ‘group of wrestlers’  
*vaniggrāmah* ‘group of traders’  
*devágrāmah* ‘a village with divine lordship’

1. Note that *grāma* ‘village’ is here used with the signification of *samūha* ‘group’. The condition of *anivasat* ‘non-living’ is also important. Consider *dāksigṛāmāḥ* ‘a village where descendants of Dakṣa, etc., live’ and *māhakigrāmāḥ* ‘a village where Māhaki, etc., live’ as counter-examples.

### 6.2.85 घोषादिषु च

*ghoṣādiṣu ca*

/ *ghoṣādiṣu* 7/2 = *ghoṣa ādir yeṣām* (bv.), *teṣu; ca* φ /  
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *ādir udāttah* #64)

*ghoṣādiṣu cottarapadeṣu pūrvapadam ādyudāttam bhavati*

The initial constituent of a compound is marked *udātta* at the beginning when a constituent enumerated in the list headed by *ghoṣa* ‘a settlement of herdsmen’ combines to follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*dāksighoṣāḥ*

‘a settlement where descendants of Dakṣa live’

*dāksikataḥ* ‘a crematorium of the descendants of Dakṣa’

*dāksīhradaḥ* ‘a pond of the descendants of Dakṣa’

1. The examples are all genitive *tatpuruṣa* compounds. Note that the *ghoṣādi* group also includes words which, when used as initial constituents, may qualify for initial *udātta* even against the condition of *anivasat* (cf. 6.2.84 *grāme* ‘nivasantah’). Some, therefore, do not carry the *anuvṛtti* of *anivasat* in this rule.

### 6.2.86 छात्र्यादयः शालायाम्

*chātryādayaḥ śālāyām*

/ *chātryādayaḥ* 1/3 = *chātriḥ ādir yeṣām; śālāyām* 7/1 /  
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *ādir udāttah* #64)

*śālāyām uttarapade chātryādaya ādyudāttā bhavanti*

An initial compound constituent enumerated in the list headed by *chātri* ‘student’ is marked *udātta* when *śālā* ‘hall’ combines as a following constituent.

#### EXAMPLES:

*chātriśālā* ‘home of Chātri’

*pailiśāla* ‘home of Paili’

*bhāndiśālā* ‘home of Bhāndi’

1. Note that all the *chatrādi* nominals denote an *apatya* ‘offspring’ and end in *iṄ* (4.1.95 *ata iṄ*). The first and third compounds can also be interpreted as a ‘barber’s shop’. The second also has a slightly different form:

*peliśālā*. Our second example also has a slightly different form and meaning: *peliśāla* ‘stable’.

### 6.2.87 प्रस्थेऽवृद्धमक्कर्यादीनाम्

*prasthe' vṛddham akarkyādīnām*

/prasthe 7/1 avṛddham 1/1 (na vṛddham (nañ.)); akarkyādīnām 6/3 = karkī ādir yeśām te karkyādayah; na karkyādayah (nañ. with int. bv), teśām/ (pūrvapadam #1 ādir udāttah #64)

*prasthaśabda uttarapade karkyādivarjitam avṛddham pūrvapadam ādyudāttam bhavati*

The initial constituent of a compound with the exception of one enumerated in the list headed by *karkin* ‘born in the zodiacal sign Cancer’, or one which is termed *vṛddha*, is marked *udātta* at the beginning, provided *prastha* ‘plain, level country’ combines with it as a following constituent.

EXAMPLES:

*indrāprasthah* ‘the city of Indraprastha’

*kunḍāprasthah* ‘a place named Kunḍaprastha’

*hradāprasthah* ‘a place named Hradaprastha’

1. Note that *vṛddha* refers to constituents termed *vṛddha* by 1.1.72 *vṛddhir yasyācām ādis tad vṛddham*. How come these exceptions are specified with the nominative and genitive, two different nominal endings. This just illustrates a variation in the Pāṇinian style.

### 6.2.88 मालादीनां च

*mālādīnām ca*

/mālādīnām 6/3 = māla ādir yeśām (bv.); ca φ/

(pūrvapadam #1 ādir udāttah #64 prasthe #87)

*prastha uttarapade mālādīnām ādir udātto bhavati*

An initial compound constituent enumerated in the list headed by *māla* ‘garland’ is also marked *udātta* at the beginning.

EXAMPLES:

*mālāprasthah* ‘name of a place’

*śālāprasthah* ‘name of a place’

1. Note that the preceding rule does not allow a compound with its initial constituent termed *vṛddha* to be marked *udātta* at the beginning. Our present rule allows it. For, the *mālādi* group consists of nominals termed *vṛddha*.

## 6.2.89 अमहन्नवं नगरे ऽनुदीचाम्

*amahannavam nagare' nudicām*

/ *amahannavam* 1/1 = *mahat ca navam ca* = *mahannavam* (sam. dv.); *na mahannavam* (*nañ. tat.*); *nagare* 7/1 *anudicām* 6/3 = *na udañcah* (*nañ. tat.*), *teśam*/

(*pūrvapadam* #1 ādir *udāttah* #64)

*nagaraśabda uttarapade mahannavaśabdavarjitam pūrvapadam ādyudāttam bhavati*

An initial compound constituent, with the exception of one constituted by *mahat* ‘big’ and *nava* ‘new’, is marked *udātta* at the beginning, provided *nagara* ‘city’ combines as a following constituent and the signification excludes a city of the northerners.

## EXAMPLES:

*sūhmanagaram* ‘name of a city’

*pañdrānagaram* ‘name of city’

1. Why specify *mahat* and *nava* as part of exclusion? Consider *mahānagaram* ‘a big city’ and *navaṇagaram* ‘a new city’ where we find *udātta* at the end. The exclusion of *anudicām* is similarly important.

## 6.2.90 अर्मै चावर्णं द्वयच् त्रयच्

*arme cāvarnam̄ dvyac tryac*

/ *arme* 7/1 *ca* φ *avarṇam* 1/1 *dvyac* 1/1 = *dvau acau yasmin* (bv.); *tryac* 1/1 = *trayo' co yasmin* (bv.)/

(*pūrvapadam* #1 ādīr *udāttah* #64 c*mahannavam* #89)

*armaśabda uttarapade dvyac tryac pūrvapadam avaraṇāntam ādyudāttam bhavati*

The initial compound constituent which, with the exception of *mahat* and *nava*, ends in *a* and contains two or three vowels is marked *udātta* at the beginning when *arma* ‘ruins’ combines to follow.

## EXAMPLES:

*dattārmam* ‘name of a locality’

*guptārmam* ‘name of a locality’

*kujjūtārmam* ‘name of a locality’

*vāyásārmam* ‘name of a locality’

1. Note that the example derivates must end in *a*. Consider *bṛhadārmam* where *bṛhat* ‘non-big’ does not end in *a*. The conditions of *dvyac* ‘that which consists of two vowels’ and *tryac* ‘that which consists of three vowels’ will exclude examples such as *kapiñjalārmam*, etc. Finally, *māhārmam* and *ngāvārmam* will also be excluded since *mahat* and *nava* are initial compound constituents.

## 6.2.91 न भूताधिकसञ्जीवमद्राश्मकज्जलम्

*na bhūtādhikasañjīvamadrāśmakajjalam*

/na φ bhūta-adhika-sañjīva-madra-aśma-kajjalam 1/1 (sam. dv.)/

(pūrvapadam #1 adir udāttah #64 arme #89)

'bhūta, adhika, sañjīva, madra-aśman, kajjala' ity etāni pūrvapadāni armaśabda uttarapade nādyudāttāni bhavanti

The initial compound constituents, namely *bhūta* 'past', *adhika* 'more', *sañjīva* 'living together', *madra* 'name of a locality', *aśman* 'rock' and *kajjala* 'collyrium', are not marked *udātta* at the beginning when *arma* 'ruins' combines as a following constituent.

EXAMPLES:

*bhūtārmam* 'name of locality'

*adhikārmam* 'name of a locality'

*sañjīvārmam* 'name of a locality'

*madrārmam* 'name of a locality'

*aśmārmam* 'name of a locality'

*madrāśmārmam* 'name of a locality'

*kajjalārmam* 'name of a locality'

1. Note that a specification with *madrāśma* is here made so that *madra* and *aśman*, individually, and *madrāśma* as a combined base, can qualify for this accentual provision (*Kāś: madrāśmagrahanām samghātavigr̥hitārtham*). Thus, we get *aśmārmam*, *madrāmam* and *madrāśmārmam*. Most of these constituents could have qualified for initial *udātta*, based on their specifications with *dvyc* 'consisting of two vowels' and *tryac* 'consisting of three vowels'. This rule negates such provisions of the preceding rule. That is, the final *udātta* accent of the compound will prevail. All derivates name a locality and are formed as genitive *tatpuruṣa* compounds.

2. A proposal for initial *udātta* is also made in the Vedic usage of *divodāsa*. . . . Thus, consider *divódāsāya gāyata* and *vaddhryaśvāyā dāśusé*.

## 6.2.92 अन्तः:

*antah*

/antah 1/1/

(pūrvapadam #1 udāttah #64)

'antah' ity adhikṛtam; ita uttarām yad vakyāmas tatra pūrvapadasyānta udātto bhavatīty evam veditavyam

An initial compound constituent, from here onwards, is marked *udātta* at the end.

EXAMPLES:

*sarvaśvētah* 'all white'

*sarvakṛṣṇāḥ* 'all black'

1. This is an *adhikāra*, valid prior to rule 6.2.110 *nosthopasarga*. . . It offers *udātta* at the end of an initial compound constituent.

### 6.2.93 सर्वं गुणकात्म्ये

*sarvam guṇakārtsnye*

/ *sarvam* 1/1 *guṇa-kārtsnye* 7/1 = *guṇasya kārtsnyam* (*śas. tat.*), *tasmin/* (*pūrvapadam* #1 *udāttah* #64 *antah* #92)

*sarvaśabdah pūrvapadam guṇakārtsnye vartamānam antodāttam bhavati*  
An initial compound constituent, namely *sarva* ‘all’, when used with the signification of entirety of quality, is marked with *udātta* at the end.

EXAMPLES:

*sarvaśvētah* ‘all white’

*sarvakṛṣṇah* ‘all black’

*sarvamāhān* ‘all great’

1. The condition of *guṇakārtsnya* ‘entirety of quality’ must be met. Thus, we do not get final *udātta* in *sarvasaṃvarnah* ‘a thing all gold’ and *sarvaśvetah* ‘a thing all white’, parallel to *sarvesām śvetah* ‘whitest of all’, where *sarva* in the first two examples denotes entirety of a thing (*dravya*). The last example denotes quality, though not in its entirety. A statement of entirety cannot be accepted as one made with reference to a group within larger groups. It must be made relative to the entirety of groups.

### 6.2.94 संज्ञायां गिरिनिकाययोः

*saṃjñāyām girinikāyayoh*

/ *saṃjñāyām* 7/1 *giri-nikāyayoh* 7/2 = *giriś ca nikāyas ca* (*itar. dv.*) *tayoh/* (*pūrvapadam* #1 *udāttah* #64 *antah* #92)

*saṃjñāyām viṣaye* ‘*giri*, *nikāya*’ *ity etayor uttarapadayoh pūrvapadam antodāttam bhavati*

An initial compound constituent is marked *udātta* at the end when *giri* ‘mountain’ and *nikāya* ‘multitude, house’ combine to follow and derivates denote a name (*saṃjñā*).

EXAMPLES:

*añjanāgirih* ‘name of a mountain’

*bhañjanāgirih* ‘ibidem’

*śāpindinikāyah* ‘the clan of Śāpiṇḍis’

*mauṇḍinikāyah* ‘the clan of Mauṇḍis’

1. Note that *paramagirih* ‘highest mountain’ and *brāhmaṇañikāyah* ‘clan of brāhmaṇas’, both counter-examples to the condition of *saṃjñāyām*, are marked *udātta* at the end (6.1.220 *saṃsasya*). Our first two examples are

both genitive *tatpuriṣa* compounds where the final *a* of *añjana* and *bhañjana* has gone through lengthening (6.3.115 *vanagiryoh samjñāyām*). The initial constituents of the last two examples are derivates of *iN* (4.1.95 *ata iñ*).

### 6.2.95 कुमार्या वयसि

*kumāryām vayasi*

/ *kumāryām* 7/1 *vayasi* 7/1 /

(*pūrvapadam* #1 *udāttah* #64 *antah* #92)

*kumāryām uttarapade vayasi gamyamāne pūrvapadam antodāttam bhavati*

An initial compound constituent is marked *udātta* at the end when *kumārī* combines as a following constituent and *vayas* ‘age’ is denoted.

#### EXAMPLES:

*vṛddhakumārī* ‘an old virgin woman’

*jaratkumārī* ‘ibidem’

1. Note that *kumārī* ‘girl’ is used in two senses of *prathamam vayah* ‘initial stage of life’ and *pumsām sahāsamprayogah* ‘no sexual contact with a male’. A syntactic coordination of *kumārī*, with *vṛddha* ‘old’ and *jara* ‘decaying’ signifying the final stage of life, is impaired. That is, if *kumārī* is used with the signification of the initial stage of life. There is no impairment of syntactic coordination if *kumārī* is used with the signification of a virgin.

2. The compound formation of *vṛddhakumārī* is in consonance with 2.1.56 *viśeṣaṇam viśeṣyena bahulam*. The second example compound is formed in accord with 2.1.48 *pūrvakālaikasarvajarat*. . . . The masculine transformation of *vṛddhā*→*vṛddha* and *jara*→*jarat* is accomplished by 6.3.40 *pumvat karmadhāraya*. . . . The *NiP* of *kumārī* is introduced by 4.1.20 *vayasi prathame*.

### 6.2.96 उदकेऽकेवले

*udake' kevale*

/ *udake* 7/1 *akevale* 7/1 (*nañ. tat.*) /

(*pūrvapadam* #1 *udāttah* #64 *antah* #92)

*akevalam* = *miśram tadvacini samāse udakaśabda uttarapade pūrvapadam antodāttam bhavati*

The initial constituent of a compound formed with the signification of *akevala* ‘not by itself; mixed, combined’ is marked *udātta* at the end when *udaka* ‘water’ combines to follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*gudodákam* ‘water mixed with jaggery’

*tilodákam* ‘water with sesame seeds

(offered as libation to ancestors)’

1. Note that this final *udātta* of an initial constituent may, in case of *o* as a single replacement for *a* and *u*, also qualify for an optional replacement with *svarita* (8.2.6 *svarito vā' nudätte padādau*). Thus, we get *gudodakam* and *tilodakam*, both *karmadhāraya-tatpuruṣa* compounds, formed in view of a *vārtika* (*samānādhikarānādhikāre sākāpārthivādīnām siddhaye uttarapadalopasyo-pasamkhyānam* (ad 2.1.60 *ktena nañviśiṣṭena . . .*)). The condition of *akevale*, if not satisfied, will produce *śitodakam* ‘cold water’ and *usnodakam* ‘hot water’.

### 6.2.97 द्विगौ क्रतौ

*dvigau kratau*

/ *dvigau* 7/1 *kratau* 7/1 /

(*pūrvapadam* #1 *udāttah* #64 *antah* #92)

*dvigāv uttarapade kratuvācini samāse pūrvapadam antodāttam bhavati*

The initial constituent of a compound formed with the signification of *kratu* ‘ritual sacrifice’ is marked *udātta* at the end when a constituent termed *dvigu* combines to follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*gargatrīrātrah* ‘the *trirātra* sacrifice of the Gargas’

*carakatrīrātrah* ‘the *trirātra* sacrifice of the Carakas’

1. Note that *trirātra* is a *dvigu* compound formed with *aC* (5.4.87 *ahāḥsar-vaikadeśa . . .*) introduced after *trirātri*, parallel to *tisṛṇām rātrīṇām samāhārah* ‘a grouping of three nights’. A genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound such as *gargatrīrātrah*, parallel to *gargānām trirātrah*, thus has its initial constituent *garga* marked with *udātta* at the end.

A compound such as *atirātrah*, an *avyayībhāva* ‘indeclinable’ compound not meeting the condition of *dvigau* ‘when combined in a *dvigu* compound’, is marked with *udātta* at the end. The final *udātta* of an initial constituent, for example *bilva*, will be blocked in *bilvāṣaptarātrah* ‘a group of seven nights when *bilva* ‘a wild fruit’ is offered as oblation to Agni’. This compound meets the condition of *dvigau* but *kratu* ‘ritual sacrifice’ is not its signification.

### 6.2.98 सभायां नपुंसके

*sabhāyām napuṁsake*

/ *sabhāyām* 7/1 *napuṁsake* 7/1 /

(*pūrvapadam* #1 *udāttah* #64 *antah* #92)

*sabhāśabda uttarapade napuṁsakalinge samāse pūrvapadam antodāttam bhavati*

The initial constituent of a compound used in the neuter is marked with *udātta* at the end when *sabhā* ‘assembly’ combines as its following constituent.

EXAMPLES:

*gopālasábham* ‘a gathering of cowherds’  
*paśupālasábham* ‘an assembly of those who tend cows’  
*strisábham* ‘an assembly of women’  
*dāsīsábham* ‘an assembly of maids’

1. Note that *napumsake* here refers to usage in the neuter, as is clear from the enumeration of individual nominal bases (*pratipadokta*). Thus, consider the neuter of *gopālasabham* which has been specified by 2.4.24 *asāla ca*. The *ramanīyasabham* ‘beautiful gathering’, of *ramanīyasabham brāhmaṇakulam* ‘the beautiful gathering of the clan of brāhmaṇas’, cannot qualify because the neuter of *sabhā* is accomplished by way of its qualification of *kulam* ‘clan’. It is not enumerated by a rule as an individual nominal stem. Compounds with *sabhā* as their final constituent are accepted as neuter when *rājā* ‘king’ and *manuṣya* ‘humans’ do not combine as their initial constituents (2.4.23 *sabhā rāja . . .*). Thus, *rājasabhā* ‘royal assembly’ and *manuṣyasabhā* ‘assembly of humans’ will be excluded because of their non-neuter usage.

### 6.2.99 पुरे प्राचाम्

*pure prācām*

/ *pure* 7/1 *prācām* 6/3/

(*pūrvapadam* #1 *udāttah* #64 *antah* #92)

*puraśabda uttarapade prācām deśe pūrvapadam antodāttam bhavati*

The initial constituent of a compound formed with the signification of an eastern place is marked *udātta* at the end when *pura* ‘locality’ combines as its following constituent.

EXAMPLES:

*lalāṭapúram* ‘name of an eastern locality’  
*kāñcīpúram* ‘name of an eastern locality’  
*śivadattapúram* ‘name of an eastern locality’

### 6.2.100 अरिष्टगौडपूर्वे च

*ariṣṭagauḍapūrve ca*

/ *ariṣṭa-gauḍa-pūrve* 7/1 = *ariṣṭam ca gauḍaś ca = ariṣṭagauḍau; tau pūrvau*

*yasmin (bv. with int. dv.); ca φ/*

(*pūrvapadam* #1 *udāttah* #64 *antah* #92 *pure* #99)

‘*ariṣṭa, gauḍa*’ ity evam *pūrve samāse puraśabda uttarapade pūrvapadam antodāttam bhavati*

The initial constituent of a compound formed with *ariṣṭa* and *gauḍa* at its beginning is marked *udātta* at the end when *pura* combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

*ariṣṭapūram* ‘name of a locality’  
*gaudapūram* ‘name of a locality’  
*ariṣṭasṛitapūram* ‘name of a locality’  
*gaudabhr̥tyapūram* ‘name of a locality’

1. The word *pūrve* is used so that *ariṣṭa* and *gauḍa*, even when combined with an intervening constituent before their final compound constituent, could be covered by this rule. Thus, consider *ariṣṭasṛitapūram* and *gaudabhr̥tyapūram*. These example compounds were excluded from the scope of the preceding rule since they do not denote places in the east. This rule offers an exception.

### 6.2.101 न हास्तिनफलकमार्देयाः

*na hāstina-phalakamārdeyāḥ*  
*/ na φ hāstina-phalaka-mārdeyāḥ 1/3 (itar. dv.) /*  
*(pūrvapadam #1 udāttah #64 antah #92 pure #99)*  
*‘hāstina, phalaka, mārdeya’ ity etāni pūrvapadāni puraśabda uttarapade nāntodāttāni bhavanti*

The initial constituents of a compound, namely *hāstina*, *phalaka* and *mārdeya*, are not marked with *udātta* at the end when *pura* combines as a following constituents.

EXAMPLES:

*hāstinapuram* ‘name of a locality’  
*phalakapuram* ‘name of a locality’  
*mārdeyapuram* ‘name of a locality’

1. This again is an exception to 6.2.99 *pure prācām*. Since all these rules form an exception to the final *udātta* of a compound (6.1.220 *samāsasya*), a negation will only restore the said final *udātta*. Incidentally, affix *dhaK* is introduced after *mārdeya* by 4.1.123 *śubhrādibhyaś ca*. A genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound is then formed with *pura*.

### 6.2.102 कुसूलकूपकुम्भशालं बिले

*kusūlakūpakumbhaśālam* *bile*  
*/ kusūla-kūpa-kumbha-śālam 1/1 (sam. dv.); bile 7/1 /*  
*(pūrvapadam #1 udāttah #1 antah #92)*  
*‘kusūla, kūpa, kumbha, śālā’ ity etāni pūrvapadāni bilaśabde uttarapade nāntodāttāni bhavanti*

The initial compound constituents, namely *kusūla*, *kūpa*, *kumbha* and *śālā*, are marked *udātta* at the end when *bila* ‘hole’ combines as a following constituent.

EXAMPLES:

*kusūlabilam* ‘top of a granary’

*kūpabilam* ‘top of a well’

*kūmbhabilam* ‘mouth of a jar’

*sālābilam* ‘entry to a hall’

- These are all genitive *tatpuruṣa* compounds. Note that the condition of *kusūla*, etc., must be met. For, a compound such as *sarpabilam* ‘snake-pit’ will serve as a counter-example. The condition of *bile* must also be met. For, a compound such as *kusūlasvāmī* ‘owner of a granary’ will then also serve as a counter-example.

### 6.2.103 दिक्षब्दा ग्रामजनपदाख्यानचानराटेषु

*dikśabdā grāmajanapadākhyānacānarāṭeṣu*

/ *dikśabdāḥ* 1/3 = *diśi drṣṭāḥ śabdaḥ* (*sapt. tat.* with deletion of middle *pada*); *grāma-janapada-ākhyāna-cānarāṭeṣu* 7/3 (*itar. dv.*) /  
(*pūrvapadām* #1 *udāttāḥ* #64 *antaḥ* #92)

*dikśabdāḥ pūrvapadāni antodāttāni bhavanti grāma-janapada-ākhyāna-vāciṣūttarapadeṣu cānarāṭ śabde ca*

An initial compound constituent having the signification of a directional name (*diśi*) is marked with *udātta* at the end, when a word which is either used with the signification of a *grāma* ‘village’, *janapada* ‘principality’ and *ākhyāna* ‘story, episode’, or is constituted by *cānarāṭ* ‘name of a locality’, combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

*pūrveśukāmaśamī* ‘the eastern village of Iṣukāmaśamī’

*apāreśukāmaśamī* ‘the lower or little village of Iṣukāmaśamī’

*pūrvakṛṣṇamṛttikā* ‘the eastern village of Kṛṣṇamṛttikā’

*apārakṛṣṇamṛttikā* ‘the lower eastern village of Kṛṣṇamṛttikā’

*pūrvapāñcālāḥ* ‘the principally of the Pañcāla warriors’

*apārapāñcālāḥ* ‘ibidem’

*pūrvayāyātām* ‘a narrative with Yayāti as its focus’

*apārayāyātām* ‘ibidem’

*pūrvacānarāṭām* ‘name of a place’

*aparacānarāṭām* ‘ibidem’

- Note that, except for *cānarāṭa* which is specified here as referring to its form, all other specifications are denotational in nature. Compounds, such as *pūrveśukāmaśamī*, etc., are formed by 2.1.49 *diksamkhyē*. . . . Refer to their derivational details in the appendix. The signification of the word *cānarāṭa* is doubtful. The word *śabda* is used with *diśi* so that directional words, such as *pūrva*, etc., which may also denote *kāla* ‘time’, can be covered.

### 6.2.104 आचार्योपसर्जनश्चान्तेवासिनि

*ācāryopasarjanaś cāntevāsini*

/ *ācāryopasarjanah* 1/1 = *ācārya upasarjanam yasya antevāsinah* (bv.); *ca* φ *antevāsini* 7/1/

(*pūrvapadam* #1 *udāttah* #64 *antaḥ* #92 *dikṣabdāḥ* #103)

*ācāryopasarjanāntevāsivācīny uttarapade dikṣabdā antodāttā bhavanti*

An initial compound constituent with the signification of a directional name is marked with *udāttā* at the end when a word denoting a pupil derived from a secondary (*upasarjana*) word signifying a preceptor combines to follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*pūrvapāñinīyāḥ* ‘earlier students of Pāṇini’

*aparapāñinīyāḥ* ‘subsequent students of Pāṇini’

*pūrvakāśakṛtsnāḥ* ‘earlier students of Kāśakṛtsna’

*aparakāśakṛtsnāḥ* ‘subsequent students of Kāśakṛtsna’

1. Note that *pūrvapāñinīyāḥ* is derived parallel to *pūrve ca te pāñinīyāś ca* ‘those who are former and are students of Pāṇini’. The word *pāñinīya* refers to a student (*antevāsin*), a principal (*pradhāna*), qualified with a corresponding non-principal (*upasarjana*), i.e., *pāñini*, the teacher (*ācārya*). All these compounds are formed by 2.1.57 *pūrvāpara*. . . .

### 6.2.105 उत्तरपदवृद्धौ सर्वं च

*uttarapadavṛddhau sarvam ca*

/ *uttara-pada-vṛddhau* 7/1 = *uttarapadasya adhikṛtya yā vṛddhir*

*vihitā* = *uttarapadavṛddhiḥ* (bv.), *tasyām; sarvam* 1/1 *ca* φ/

(*pūrvapadam* #1 *udāttah* #64 *antaḥ* #92 *dikṣabdāḥ* #103)

‘*uttarapadasya*’ ity evam *adhikṛtya yā vihitā vṛddhis tadvaty uttarapade sarvaśabdo dikṣabdāś cāntodāttā bhavanti*

An initial compound constituent, namely *sarva* and also that which denotes a directional name, is marked with *udāttā* at the end, provided a constituent with a *vṛddhi*-replacement under the scope of *uttarapade* (7.3.10 *uttarapadasya*) combines to follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*sarvapāñcālakah* ‘found all over the country of the Pañcālas’

*pūrvapāñcālakah* ‘found in the eastern country of the Pañcālas’

*uttarapāñcālakah* ‘found in the northern country of the Pañcālas’

1. Note that *uttarapadavṛddhi* is here interpreted as ‘a replacement in *vṛddhi* accomplished within the domain of 7.3.10 *uttarapadasya*’. The rules of this domain accomplish *vṛddhi* of a vowel which occurs as initial in the

following constituent of a compound, provided an affix marked with  $\tilde{N}$ ,  $N$  and  $K$  follows. How do we know that *uttarapada* here refers to an *adhiκāra* ‘domain of rules’? By knowing that *uttarapada* is marked with *svarita* (1.3.11 *svaritenādhikāraḥ*). This yields the interpretation: ‘a *vṛddhi* which is accomplished with reference to rules of the domain of *uttarapadasya*’. Besides, what was the purpose of qualifying *vṛddhau* with *uttarapada* when *vṛddhau* itself would have served the purpose.

Note that affix *vu* $\tilde{N}$  of the example derivates, which subsequently yields *aka*, is introduced by 4.2.125 *avṛddhād api*. . . . The *vṛddhi* in *pāñcālaka* is accomplished by 7.3.12 *susarvārdhā*. . . . Elsewhere, it is accomplished by 7.3.13 *diśo*’ *madrānām*. A compound such as *sarvapāñcālaka* is formed by 2.1.57 *viśeṣanām viśeṣyena bahulam*. Other example compounds are formed by rule 2.1.51 *taddhitārthottarapade*. . . .

If the word *uttarapada* was not used, this *sūtra* would have simply read: *vṛddhau sarvāṇi ca*. This would have qualified the application of this rule also to *sarvabhāṣāḥ* ‘that which illuminates everything’ and *sarvakārakah* ‘he who does everything’. Recall that *bhāṣā* and *kāraka* are words with initial *vṛddhi*, though this *vṛddhi* has not been accomplished by any rule of the domain of 7.3.10 *uttarapadasya*.

### 6.2.106 बहुव्रीहौ विश्वं संज्ञायाम्

*bahuviṁhau viśvam samjñāyām*  
*/ bahuviṁhau 7/1 viśvam 1/1 samjñāyām 7/1/*  
*(pūrvapadam #1 udāttah #64 antah #92)*  
*bahuviṁhau samāse viśvaśabdah pūrvapadam samjñāyām viṣaye' ntodāttam bhavati*

An initial constituent, namely *viśva* ‘all’, in a *bahuviṁhi* compound, is marked *udātta* at the end when the derivate signifies a name (*samjñā*).

EXAMPLES:

*viśvadēvah* ‘all divinities’  
*viśvayāśāḥ* ‘he who is universally splendidorous’  
*viśvamāhān* ‘he who is universally great’

1. Note that *viśva* ‘all’, as a derivate of affix *KvaN*, is introduced after *viś* ‘to enter, pervade’ and is marked with *udātta* at the beginning. This is accomplished in view of an accentual provision made with *N* as an *it* (*nitsvara*). Rule 6.2.1 *bahuviṁhau prakṛtyā*. . . would have allowed retention of this initial *udātta* had it not been for the present rule. Thus, *viśva* as an initial constituent of a *bahuviṁhi* compound used with the signification of a name, is marked with *udātta* at the end. The examples cited here are all names. A *karmadhāraya* compound such as *viśvadēvah*, parallel to *viśve ca te devāḥ* ‘all gods’, is marked *udātta* at the end.

1. Commentators state that this rule finds its independent scope of application in *vīśadévah* and *vīśvayaśāḥ*. Rule 6.2.165 *samjñāyāṁ mitrājinayoh* finds its independent scope of application by marking the following constituent of *kulamitraḥ* ‘friendly to the clan’ / *kulājināḥ* ‘deer-skin of the clan?’ as *udātta* at the end. But now observe examples such as *vīśvāmitraḥ* ‘friendly to all’ and *vīśvājināḥ* where both rules become applicable. It is rule 6.2.165 *samjñāyāṁ mitrājinayoh* which, based on 1.4.2 *vipratisedhe param kāryam*, wins this conflict of equal strength (*vipratisedha*).

2. This domain of *bahuṛihau* gets canceled by *avyayībhāve* of 6.2.121 *kūlatiratūla*. . . .

## 6.2.107 उदारश्वेषु

*udarāśvesuṣu*

/ *udarāśvesuṣu* 7/3 (itar. dv.) /

(*pūrvapadam* #1 *udāttah* #64 *antah* #92 *bahuṛihau samjñāyām* #106)

‘*udara*, *aśva*, *iṣu*’ ity eteṣūttarapadeṣu *bahuṛihau samāse samjñāyām viṣaye pūrvapadam antodāttam bhavati*

The initial constituent of a *bahuṛīhi* compound is marked with *udātta* at the end when *udara* ‘belly’, *aśva* ‘horse’ and *iṣu* ‘arrow, archer’ combine as following constituents and the derivate signifies a name (*samjñā*).

### EXAMPLES:

*vṛkodárah* ‘he whose belly is wolf-like; Bhīma’

*dāmodárah* ‘he on whose belly there are lines; Krṣṇa’

*haryaśvāḥ* ‘he whose horses are of gold color; Indra’

*yauvānāśvāḥ* ‘he who is youthful as his horse’

*suvarṇapūṇkhesuh* ‘that, an arrow, the feathers on whose tail-end are golden (beautiful) in color’

*māhesuh* ‘he whose arrows are great’

1. This rule is an exception to 6.2.1 *bahuṛihau prakṛtyā*. . . . Note that *vṛka* ‘wolf’ is marked *udātta* at the beginning (*Phit* II:7: *prāṇināṁ ca* . . .). The word *dāma* ‘rope’ is a derivate of *marin* (*Uṇādi* IV:145), and hence, *udātta* at the beginning. The *hari* of *haryaśva*, a derivate of *in* (*Uṇādi* IV:118), is also marked *udātta* at the beginning. The word *yauvana* ‘youth’ is considered as underived (*avyutpanna*), and is marked *udātta* at the beginning (*Phit* II:19). If accepted as derived with affix *aN*, it will be marked *udātta* at the end. This accent can then be retained in view of 6.2.1 *bahuṛihau*. . . . Note that *suvarṇapūṇkhesu* is a *bahuṛīhi* compound with two internal *bahuṛīhi* compounds, i.e., *suvarṇah* and *suvarṇapūṇkhaḥ*. The first compound, parallel to *śobhano varṇo yeṣām* ‘those whose color is beautiful’, is marked *udātta* at the end by 6.2.172 *nañsubhyām*. The second, paraphrased as *suvarṇāḥ pūṇkhā*

*yesām* ‘those whose feathers have beautiful colors’, is marked with *udātta* on the *a* of *varṇa* ‘color’ in *suvarṇa* (6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau* . . .). Our final derivate *suvarṇapumkheṣu*, the third compound, is marked with *udātta* on *kha*. Note that *ya*, in *haryaśvah*, is marked with *svarita* in view of 8.2.4 *udāttasvaritayō*. . . .

2. Why is *mahat* ‘great’, of *maheśuh*, included as an example under this *sūtra* when it can already avail *udātta* at the end by 6.2.38 *mahānvrīhya*. . . . Rule 6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau* . . . can then allow retention. Well, *mahat* is then used here for some other purpose. That is, this rule alone, because of being an exception to 6.2.1, must allow the final *udātta* of *mahat*.

## 6.2.108 क्षेपे

*kṣepe*

/*kṣepe* 7/1/

(*pūrvapadam* #1 *udāttah* #64 *antah* #92 *bahuvrīhau samjñāyām* #106  
*udarāśveṣu* #107)

*kṣepe* *gamyamāne udarādiśūttarapadeṣu bahuvrīhau samāse samjñāyām viṣaye*  
*pūrvapadam antodāttam bhavati*

The initial constituent in a *bahuvrīhi* compound formed with the signification of a name is marked *udātta* when *udara*, *āśva* and *iṣu* combine as following constituents, and *kṣepe* ‘contempt’ is denoted.

### EXAMPLES:

*kundódarah* ‘he who has a pit-belly’

*ghattódarah* ‘he who has a pot-belly’

*kaṭukāśvah* ‘he whose horse has a wild temper’

*spanditāśvah* ‘he whose horse is slow’

*anighāteṣuh* ‘he whose arrow cannot pierce its target’

*calācaleṣuh* ‘an archer whose hands are not steady’

1. Here again we find this rule as an exception to 6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau*. . . . The word *ghaṭa* ‘pitcher’, because of being a derivate of *aC* (3.1.134 *nandigrahipacādy* . . .), is marked with *udātta* at the end. It can easily retain this accent in view of 6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau*. . . . It has been made part of an example here because this *sūtra* alone must assign the final *udātta* in this context. The word *kaṭuka* ‘sour’, a derivate of *kaN* (5.3.75 *samjñāyām kan*), is marked with *udātta* at the beginning. But *spandita* ‘vibrating’, a derivate of *Kta*, is marked *udātta* at the end in view of affixal accent (*pratyayasvara*). The word *anighāta*, an *avyayībhāva* paraphrased as *na nighātah* ‘absence of piercing’ where *nighāta* is a derivate of *GHaÑ* (3.3.121 *hala ca*), is marked *udātta* at the beginning. The word *calācala* is also marked *udātta* at the end.

2. Commentators also find a conflict of the nature of *tulyabalavirodha* ‘opposition of equal strength’ between rules 6.2.108 *kṣepe* and 6.2.172 *nañsubhyām*. Thus, an independent scope of application of 6.2.108 *kṣepe* can be

found in examples such as *kundodarah* and *ghatodarah*. An independent scope of 6.1.172 *nañsubhyām* can be similarly found in examples such as *ayaśāḥ* and *suyaśāḥ*. These two rules apply equally in examples such as *anudarah* and *sūdarah*. Rule 6.2.172 *nañsubhyām* blocks 6.2.108 *kṣepe* on the basis of *paratva* (1.4.2 *vipratisedhe param kāryam*).

3. Note that the *Mahābhāṣya* presents this *sūtra* jointly with the preceding. This should not give one the impression that these constitute a single *sūtra*. A joint reading is made to indicate the *anuvṛtti* of *udarāśvesu* in *kṣepe*. For, the *bhāṣya* does not explain this *sūtra* by resorting to split-interpretation (*yogavibhāga*).

### 6.2.109 नदी बन्धुनि

*nadī bandhuni*

/ *nadī* 1/1 *bandhuni* 7/1 /

(*pūrvapadam* #1 *udāttah* #64 *antah* #92 *bahuvrīhau* #106)

*bahuvrīhau samāse bandhuny uttarapade nadyantam pūrvapadam antodāttam bhavati*

The initial constituent in a *bahuvrīhi*, namely one ending in an item termed *nadī*, is marked *udātta* at the end when *bandhu* ‘friend, clansman’ combines as a following constituent.

#### EXAMPLES:

*gārgībāndhuḥ* ‘he whose friend is Gārgī’

*vātsibāndhuḥ* ‘he whose friend is Vātsī’

1. Note that *gārgī* ‘female’ descendant of Garga’ and *vātsī* ‘female descendant of Vatsa’ are derivates of affix *NiP*, introduced after derivates of *yaṄ*, i.e., *gārgya* and *vātsya*. They are termed *nadī* by 1.4.4 *yūṣtryākhyau nadī* and are marked *udātta* at the beginning because of their affixal *Ṅ* as an *it* (6.1.194 *ñṇityādir nityam*).

2. A specification with neuter, in *bandhuni*, is made so that *bandhu* is interpreted as denoting its form only. That is, no synonym of *bandhu* could be used in the application of this rule.

### 6.2.110 निष्ठोपसर्गपूर्वमन्यतरस्याम्

*niṣṭhopasargapūrvam anyatarasyām*

/ *niṣṭhā* 1/1 *upasargapūrvam* 1/1 = *upasargah pūrvo yasya pūrvapadasya* (bv.); *anyatarasyām* 7/1 /

(*pūrvapadam* #1 *udāttah* #64 *antah* #92 *bahuvrīhau* #106)

*bahuvrīhau samāse niṣṭhāntam upasargapūrvam pūrvapadam anyatarasyām antodāttam bhavati*

An initial *bahuvrīhi* constituent, which terminates in an affix termed

*niṣṭhā* and contains a preverb (*upasarga*) at its beginning, is optionally marked with *udātta* at the end.

EXAMPLES:

*pradhauṭamukhah* ‘he who has washed his face’  
*prakṣālītapādah* ‘he who has washed his feet’

1. This rule allows optional *udātta* at the end of an initial *bahuvrīhi* constituent which begins with a preverb and ends in an affix termed *niṣṭhā*. This *udātta* is made optional against retention of the original accent of 6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau*. . . .

2. Note that *mukha* ‘face, mouth’, when used with the signification of one’s own limb (*svāṅgam*), gets optional *udātta* at the end (6.2.167 *mukham svāṅgam*). The optional provision of our present rule is made against the provision of that rule. If *mukha* does not signify *svāṅga*, this option will apply against the retention proposal of original accent by 6.2.49 *gatir anantarah*. We will thus get three accents: *pradhauṭamukhah*/*pradhauṭamukhah* *pradhaūtamukhah*.

Note that the condition of both *niṣṭhā* and *upasarga* must be met. Thus, this rule will not apply to *praseca kamukhah* ‘face of a sprinkler’ and *śuṣka-mukhah* ‘dry face’, where the first does not have a *niṣṭhā* suffix at the end of its initial constituent and the second does not have a preverb at the beginning of its initial constituent.

### 6.2.111 उत्तरपदादिः

*uttarapadādih*

/ *uttarapadādih* 1/1 = *uttarapadasya ādih* (sas. tat.) /  
*(udāttah #63)*

‘*uttarapadādih*’ ity etad adhikṛtam, yad ita ūrdhvam anukramiṣyāma  
*uttarapadasyādir udātto bhavati*

The final constituent of a compound, from here onwards, is to be marked with *udātta* at the beginning.

EXAMPLES:

*śuklakarṇāḥ* ‘white-eared’

*kṛṣnakarṇāḥ* ‘an animal branded with mark of a sickle on its ear(s)’

1. This rule introduces *uttarapadādih* as a heading (*adhikāra*), valid through the end of this quarter. Note, however, that *ādir udāttah* ‘initial is marked *udātta*’ is valid prior to 6.2.127 *prakṛtyā bhagālam* only. The word *uttarapada* ‘following constituent *pada*’, in this grammar, generally refers to the final constituent of a compound.

Now observe *śuklakarṇāḥ* ‘he whose ears are white’ and *kṛṣnakarṇāḥ* ‘he whose ears are black’ where *karṇa* occurs combined after *śukla* ‘white’ and

*kṛṣṇa* ‘black’, both used with the signification of color. Consequently, *karma* ‘ear’, as a subsequent constituent (*uttarapada*), is marked with *udātta* at the beginning (6.2.112 *karmo varṇalakṣaṇāt*).

### 6.2.112 कर्णो वर्णलक्षणात्

*karmo varṇalakṣaṇāt*

/*karnah* 1/1 *varṇa-lakṣaṇāt* 5/1 = *varṇavācino lakṣaṇavācinaś ca* (sam. dv.), *tasmāt/*

(*udāttah* #64 *bahuvrīhau* #106 *uttarapadādih* #111)

*bahuvrīhau samāse varṇavācino lakṣaṇavācinaś ca karnaśabda uttarapadam ādyudāttam bhavati*

A following constituent in a *bahuvrīhi* compound, namely *karma*, is marked with *udātta* at the beginning when it combines to follow a constituent signifying *varṇa* ‘color’ and *lakṣaṇa* ‘characteristic mark’.

#### EXAMPLES:

*śuklakarnāḥ* ‘white-eared’

*kṛṣṇakarnāḥ* ‘black-eared’

*dātrākarnāḥ* ‘an animal branded with the mark of a sickle on its ear(s)’

*śāṅkukarnāḥ* ‘an animal branded with the mark of a dagger on its ear(s)’

1. The word *varṇa* here signifies ‘color’. The word *lakṣaṇa* refers to *paśūnām vibhāgajñāpanārtham dātraśāṅkupratirūpakaṇṭ karnādiṣu cihnām* ‘mark of a sickle or dagger made on ears, etc., of animals for proper classification and identification’. It is this meaning of *lakṣaṇa* which blocks the application of this rule on *sthūlakarnāḥ* ‘he who has large ears’. For, *sthūla*, though it serves as a characteristic mark of reference, it is not a particular (*viśiṣṭa*) mark intended for classifying or identifying an animal. Examples such as *śvetapādāḥ* ‘one whose feet are white’ and *kūtaśīṅgah* ‘one whose horns are knotty’ are also excluded. The first has a constituent denoting *varṇa* but does not have *karma* as its following constituent. The second example has *kūta* as *lakṣaṇa* but also lacks *karma*. An example such as *śobhanakārnāḥ* is also out since *śobhana* ‘beautiful’ is a general characteristic. All these excluded examples will be allowed to retain the original accent of their initial constituents.

Incidentally, specific denotata of *lakṣaṇa* ‘characteristic mark’ is gotten here on the basis of *vyākhyāna* ‘interpretation of the learned’.

### 6.2.113 संज्ञौपम्ययोश्च

*saṃjñāupamayayoś ca*

/*saṃjñāupamayayoḥ* 7/2 (itar. dv.) *ca* φ/

(*udāttah* #64 *bahuvrīhau* #106 *uttarapadādih* #111 *karnah* #112)

*samjñāyām aupamyē ca yo bahuvrīhir vartate tatra karna śabda uttarapadam  
ādyudāttāṁ bhavati*

A following constituent, namely *karna*, in a *bahuvrīhi* compound formed with the signification of *samjñā* ‘name’ and *aupamya* ‘comparison’ is marked *udātta* at the beginning.

EXAMPLES:

*kuñcikarnāḥ* ‘a name; he whose ears resemble a fist’  
*maṇikarnāḥ* ‘a name; he whose ears resemble a pearl’  
*gokarnāḥ* ‘one whose ears resemble cow’s ears’  
*kharakarnāḥ* ‘one whose ears resemble a donkey’s’

1. Here again, retention of original accent of the preceding constituent was intended (6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau* . . .). This rule offers *udātta* to the initial syllable of the following constituent. The remaining syllables are marked with *anudātta* (6.2.158 *anudāttam padam* . . .), with the understanding that an *anudātta* occurring after an *udātta* will be replaced with *svarita* (8.4.66 *udāttād anudāttasya svaritah*).

### 6.2.114 कण्ठपृष्ठग्रीवाजङ्घं च

*kaṇṭha-pṛṣṭha-grīvā-jaṅgham ca*  
*/kaṇṭha-pṛṣṭha-grīvā-jaṅgham* 1/1 (*sam. dv.*); *ca* φ/  
*(udāttah #64 bahuvrīhau #106 uttarapadādih #111 samjñāupamayayoh #113)*  
*‘kaṇṭha, pṛṣṭha, grīvā, jaṅghā’* ity etāni uttarapadānī bahuvrīhau samāse  
*samjñāupamayayor ādyudāttāni bhavanti*

A following *bahuvrīhi* constituent, namely *kaṇṭha* ‘throat’, *pṛṣṭha* ‘back’, *grīvā* ‘neck’ and *jaṅghā* ‘thigh’, is also marked *udātta* at the beginning when the compound is formed with the signification of *samjñā* ‘name’ and *aupamya* ‘comparison’.

EXAMPLES:

*śitikāṇṭhāḥ* ‘name of Śiva’  
*nīlakanṭhāḥ* ‘ibidem; he who has blue on his throat’  
*uṣṭrakanṭhāḥ* ‘one whose throat resembles the throat of a camel’  
*kāndapṛṣṭhāḥ* ‘a name’  
*gopṛṣṭhāḥ* ‘one whose back resembles a cow’s back’  
*sugrīvāḥ* ‘a name; one whose neck is beautiful’  
*daśagrīvāḥ* ‘Rāvaṇa; he who has ten necks’  
*āśvagrīvāḥ* ‘one whose neck resembles a horse’s neck’  
*nārījaṅghāḥ* ‘a name; a man whose thighs are similar to a woman’s thighs’  
*āśvajaṅghāḥ* ‘one whose thighs resemble a horse’s thighs’

1. Here again, the initial constituent of a *bahuvrīhi* compound is blocked from retaining its original accent.

### 6.2.115 शृङ्गमवस्थायां च

*śṛṅgam avasthāyām ca*  
*/ śṛṅgam 1/1 avasthāyām 7/1 ca φ/*  
*(udāttah #64 bahuvrīhau #106 uttarapadādih #111 samjñāupamyayoh #113)*  
*śṛṅgaśabda uttarapadam avasthāyām samjñāupamyayoś ca bahuvrīhau*  
*ādyudāttam bhavati*

A following constituent, namely *śṛṅga* ‘horn’, in a *bahuvrīhi* compound, is marked *udātta* at the beginning when the derivate denotes *avasthā* ‘age’, *samjñā* ‘name’ and *aupamya* ‘comparison’.

#### EXAMPLES:

*udgataśṛṅgāḥ* ‘an animal whose horns have just jutted out’  
*dvyāngulaśṛṅgāḥ* ‘an animal whose horns are two-finger-width long’  
*rṣyaśṛṅgāḥ* ‘a sage named Rṣyaśṛṅga’  
*gośṛṅgāḥ* ‘cow-like horns’  
*meśaśṛṅgāḥ* ‘ram-like horns’

1. Note that *śṛṅga* is also used here as a mark to indicate the age of an animal (*avasthā*). It is marked with *udātta* at the beginning. The remainder of the compound is marked *anudātta* with the understanding that an *anudātta* becomes *svarita* after an *udātta*.

2. Examples such as *udgataśṛṅgāḥ* ‘that whose horns have come out’ and *dvyāngulaśṛṅgāḥ* ‘that whose horns are two finger-width long’ indicate the age of an animal. The first example goes through deletion of the *saṃsāra* affix *mātraC* (5.2.37 *pramāṇe dvyasaj . . . ; vt. pramāṇe lo . . .*).

### 6.2.116 नजो जरमरभिमपुता:

*naño jaramaramitramṛtāḥ*  
*/ nañah 5/1 jara-mara-mitra-mṛtāḥ 1/3 (itar. dv.) /*  
*(udāttah #64 bahuvrīhau #106 uttarapadādih #111)*  
*nañ uttare jaramaramitramṛtā bahuvrīhau saṃsāre ādyudāttā bhavanti*  
 A constituent, namely *jara* ‘aging’, *mara* ‘dying’, *mitra* ‘friend’ or *mṛta* ‘dead’ which combines to follow *naÑ* ‘not’ in a *bahuvrīhi* compound, is marked *udātta* at the beginning.

#### EXAMPLES:

*ajarāḥ* ‘not aging’  
*amarāḥ* ‘immortal’  
*amitrāḥ* ‘non-friendly’  
*amṛtāḥ* ‘non-dying; immortal; ambrosia’

## 6.2.117 सोर्मनसी अलोमोषसी

*sor manasī alomoṣasī*

/soḥ 1/1 *manasī* 1/2 = *man ca* aś *ca* (itar. dv.); *alomoṣasī* 1/2 = *loma ca uṣas ca* = *lomoṣasī*; *na lomoṣasī* (*nañ. tat.* with int. dv.)/  
(*udāttah* #64 *bahuvrīhau* #106 *uttarapadādih* #111)

*sor uttaram anantam asantaṁ ca bahuvrīhau samāse ādyudāttam bhavati lomoṣasī varjayitvā*

A constituent of the *bahuvrīhi* compound which combines after *su* and terminates in *man* (*manIN*; 3.2.74 ātmanah *manin* . . .) and *as* (*Uṇādi* affix *asUN*), with the exception of *loman* ‘hair’ and *uṣas* ‘glow, dawn’, is marked *udātta* at the beginning.

## EXAMPLES:

*sukarmā* ‘virtuous; one who performs good deeds’

*sudharmā* ‘righteous’

*suyaśāḥ* ‘renowned’

*suprathimā* ‘great expanse’

*susrotāḥ* ‘with beautiful flow of water’

1. Note that *loman* and *uṣas* which end in *man* and *as*, respectively, are made exceptions. This rule is an exception to 6.2.171 *nañsubhyām* which, in turn, assigns *udātta* at the end of a constituent used in combination after *nañ* and *su*. A *paribhāṣā* of Vyāḍi (PŚ 17: *aninasmangrahaṇān arthavatā’ narthakena*) allows *tadantavidhi* ‘treating x as also that which ends in x’, even where *an*, *in*, *as* and *man* do not carry any meaning of their own (*anarthaka*). That is, *an* and *as* of this rule will also include *an* and *as* with no meaning of their own. This is intended so that *tadantavidhi* with reference to *man* and *as* can be accomplished in *srotas* and *prathiman*, etc., where *man* and *as* do not carry any meaning of their own.

The initial of all following constituents is marked *udātta*. The remaining syllables of the compound are marked *anudātta*. However, note that an *anudātta* which occurs after an *udātta* is replaced with *svarita*.

Derivates which do not meet conditions of *su* and *man* will retain the original accent of their initial constituents (*pūrvapadaprakṛtisvara*). This same is also true of derivates with following constituents such as *loman* and *uṣas*. Thus, consider *kṛtakarmā* ‘he who has finished his work’/ *surājā* ‘good king’ and *sulomā* ‘he who has good body-hair’ and *sūṣā* ‘mother’.

2. What happens when a constituent ending in *an* and *as*, for example *karman* and *srotas*, occur before *KaP*. Such derivates are covered by 6.2.173 *kapi pūrvāt* on the basis of *paratva* (1.4.2 *vipratisedhe param kāryam*). But rules in conflict (*vipratisedha*) must have their independent scope of application elsewhere. It is explained that 6.2.117 *sormanasī* . . . finds its independent scope of application in examples such as *sukarmā* ‘he who has earned mer-

its' and *suvayāḥ* 'he who is at a good stage of his life'. Rule 6.2.173 *kāpi pūrvāt* finds its independent scope in examples such as *ayavakah* 'place without barley' and *suyavakah* 'place with good barley'. These two rules both find their simultaneous application in *sukarmakāḥ* and *susrōtaskāḥ*. Rule 6.2.173 *kāpi pūrvāt* blocks the application of 6.2.117 *sormanasi* . . . because of being subsequent in order of enumeration.

### 6.2.118 क्रत्वादयश्च

*kratvādayaś ca*

/ *kratvādayaḥ* 1/3 = *kratur ādir yeśām* (bv.); *ca* φ /  
(*udāttah* #64 *bahuṛīhau* #106 *uttarapadādih* #111 *soh* #117)  
*kratvādayaḥ* *sor* *uttare bahuṛīhau samāse ādyudāttā bhavanti*

A constituent enumerated in the list headed by *kratu* 'ritual sacrifice' is marked *udātta* at the beginning when it combines in a *bahuṛīhi* compound after *su* as a following constituent.

EXAMPLES:

*sukratūḥ* 'intelligent; name of Agni'

*sudṛśikāḥ* 'handsome; he who has beautiful eyes'

1. This also is an exception to 6.2.172 *nañsubhyām*.

### 6.2.119 आद्युदात्तं द्व्यचश्छन्दसि

*ādyudāttam dvyacaś chandasi*

/ *ādyudāttam* 1/1 *dvyacaḥ* 1/1 = *dvau acau yasmin* (bv.); *chandasi* 7/1/  
(*udāttah* #64 *bahuṛīhau* #106 *uttarapadādih* #111 *soh* #117)

*yad ādyudāttam dvyc uttarapadam bahuṛīhau samāse sor uttaram tad ādyudāttam eva bhavati chandasi viṣaye*

The final constituent of a *bahuṛīhi* compound which is marked *udātta* at the beginning, contains two vowels (*dvyac*) and combines after *su*, retains its *udātta* at the beginning provided the usage is Vedic.

EXAMPLES:

*svaśvāstvā surathā marjayema*

1. Note that *aśva* and *ratha* of *svaśva* 'he who owns beautiful horses' and *suratha* 'he who owns beautiful chariots' are derivates of *uṇādi* affixes *KvaN* (*Uṇ. I:151*) and *KhaN* (*Uṇ. II:2*), respectively. They are obligatorily marked *udātta* at the beginning, because of affixal *N* as an *it* (6.1.197 *ānityādir nityam*). This rule allows retention of the initial *udātta*. That is, it is again an exception to 6.2.172 *nañsubhyām*.

A counter-example is *subāhuḥ* 'he who has beautiful arms' is offered to the condition of *ādyudātta*. Note that *bāhu* 'arm' derives with affix *Ku*, and

hence, is marked *udātta* at the end in consonance with affixal accent (*pratyayasvara*; 3.1.3 *ādyudāttas ca*). Now consider *hiranya* of *suhiranyah* ‘beautiful gold’ as a counter-example to the condition of *dvyacah* ‘consisting of two vowels’. Obviously, *hiranya* contains three vowels.

### 6.2.120 वीरवीर्यौ च

*vīravīryau ca*

/ *vīravīryau* 1/2 (itar. dv.); *ca* φ/

(*udāttah* #64 *bahuṛihau* #106 *uttarapadādih* #111 *soh* #117 *chandasī* #119)  
 ‘*vīra*, *vīrya*’ ity etau *ca* śabdau sor *uttaraū* *bahuṛihau* *samāse* *chandasī* *viṣaye*  
*ādyudāttau bhavataḥ*

The constituents *vīra* ‘heroic’ and *vīrya* ‘valor’ are also marked with *udātta* at the beginning when they combine after *su* in a *bahuṛīhi* compound and the scope of the usage is Vedic.

EXAMPLES:

*suvīréna* ‘by one who has great valor’

*suvīryāsyā* ‘of one who has great prowess’

1. Note that *vīrya*, in the Vedic, is marked with *svarita* at the end, following the specification of *Phitsūtra* (77): *bilvabhakṣyavīryāṇi* . . .). As a derivate of *yaT* (3.1.97 *aco yat*) in the classical language, it will be marked *udātta* at the beginning (6.1.210 *yato’ nāvah*). Recall that *vīrya*, as a derivate of *yaTin* in the Vedic, would qualify for initial *udātta* of 6.2.119 *ādyudāttam* *dvyacāś chandasī*. Thus, there was no point in including *vīrya* in this rule. This inclusion then indicates that *vīrya* is marked *svarita* at the end. Our present rule is, again, an exception to 6.2.172 *nañsubhyām*.

### 6.2.121 कूलतीरतूलमूलशालाक्षसमप्रयोगावे

*kūlatīratūlamūlaśālākṣasamam avyayibhāve*

/ *kūla-tīra-tūla-mūla-śālā-akṣa-samam* 1/1 (sam. dv.); *avyayibhāve* 7/1/

(*udāttah* #64 *uttarapadādih* #111)

‘*kūla*, *tīra*, *tūla*, *mūla*, *śālā*, *akṣa*, *sama*’ ity etāni *uttarapadāni* *avyayibhāva* *samāsa* *ādyudāttāni bhavanti*

A constituent, namely *kūla* ‘river-bank’, *tīra* ‘ibidem’, *tūla* ‘shoots of reeds or grass; cotton’, *mūla* ‘root’, *śālā* ‘hall’, *akṣa* ‘axle, dice’ or *sama* ‘equal’, which combines as final in an *avyayibhāva* compound is marked *udātta* at the beginning.

Examples:

*parikūlām* ‘around the bank’

*upakūlām* ‘near the bank’

*paritīrām* ‘around the bank’

*upatīrám* ‘near the bank’  
*paritūlám* ‘around the grass’  
*upatūlám* ‘near the grass’  
*parīmūlám* ‘around the root’  
*upamūlám* ‘near the root’  
*parīsālám* ‘around the hall’  
*upaśālám* ‘near the hall’  

*paryākṣam* ‘around the axle’  
*upākṣám* ‘near the axle’  
*susamám* ‘well leveled; evenly’  
*viśamám* ‘not so well leveled; unevenly’  
*nīḥsamám* ‘unreasonably’  
*duḥsamám* ‘wickedly’

1. Note that *suṣama*, *viṣama* and *nīḥsama* are listed as part of the *tiṣṭhadgu* group of nominals. Their compounds are thus formed by 2.1.17 *tiṣṭhadguprabṛtīnī ca*. The *s* of *sama* is replaced with *ś* of 8.3.88 *suvinirdurbhyah*. . . . The *avyayībhāva* compounds with *upa* are formed by 2.1.6 *avyayaṁ vibhaktisāmīpa*. . . . Since *pari* is termed *karmapravacanīya* by 1.4.87 *apaparī varjane*, the *avyayībhāva* compounds with *pari* will be formed by 2.1.12 *apaparibahir*. . . . The *pañcamī* ‘fifth triplet, ablative’, as conditioned by *karmapravacanīya*, will be introduced after *kūla*, etc., by 2.3.10 *pañcamy apāñparibhiḥ*. Compounds with *upa* and *pari* are formed in the sense of *sāmīpya* ‘proximity’ and *varjana* ‘exclusion’, respectively. These compounds are marked *udātta* at the beginning.

2. The condition of *avyayībhāve* is imposed so that *bahuvrīhi* and *tatpuruṣa* compounds can be excluded. Thus, a *bahuvrīhi*, for example *paramakūlam* ‘. . . whose bank is best’, parallel to *paramaṁ kūlam asya*, will retain the original accent of its preceding constituent (6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau* . . .). A *karmadhārayatatpuruṣa*, for example *paramakūlam* ‘best bank’, will be excluded because this is the domain of *bahuvrīhi* compounds. This necessitates inclusion of *avyayībhāve* in the rule.

3. It is stated that the initial *udātta* of *kūla*, etc., after *pari*, etc., is accomplished via *vipratiṣedha* ‘conflict of equal strength’ (*Kāś: paryādibhyah kūlādinām ādyudāttatvam vipratiṣedhena*). That is, we witness a conflict of equal strength between 6.2.33 *paripratyupāpā* . . . and the present rule. Rule 6.2.33 *paripratyupāpā* . . . finds its independent scope in *avyayībhāva* compounds where *kūla*, etc., for example in *paritrigarttam* ‘around the country of Trigartta’, are not combined. The independent scope of the initial *udātta* of *kūla*, etc., can be established where *pari*, etc., for example in *avakūlam* ‘around the bank’ / *atikūlam* ‘beyond the bank’, are not combined. Since these rules both find their simultaneous application, for example in *apakūlam* ‘below the bank’ and *parikūlam* ‘around the bank’, 1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe param kāryam* must rule in favor of application of our present rule.

4. This rule constitutes an exception to the accentuation rules of compounds (*samāsasvarāpavādah*). Rules prior to 6.3.133 *nācāryarāja* . . . are similar in nature.

### 6.2.122 कंसमन्थशूर्पाय्यकाण्डं द्विगौ

*kamṣamanthaśūrpapāyyakāṇḍam dvigau*  
*/ kamṣa-mantha-śūrpa-pāyya-kāṇḍam 1/1 (sam. dv.); dvigau 7/1 /*  
*(udāttah #64 uttarapadādih #111)*

'*kamṣa, mantha, śūrpa-pāyya-kāṇḍa*' ity etāny *uttarapadāni dvigau samāsa ādyudāttāni bhavanti*

A constituent, namely *kamṣa* 'name of a measure, vase', *mantha* 'churning stick', *śūrpa* 'winnowing basket', *pāyya* 'name of a measure' and *kāṇḍa* 'measuring stick, piece', is marked *udātta* at the beginning when the same combines as final in a compound termed *dvigu*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*dvikamṣah* 'purchased with two Kamsas'  
*dvimanthah* 'purchased with two churning sticks'  
*dvīśūrpah* 'purchased with two winnowing baskets filled with grains'  
*dvipāyyah* 'two measures of a drink'  
*dvikāṇḍah* 'two measures of a stick'

1. Note that *dvikamṣah*, *dvimanthah* and *dvīśūrpah* are formed in anticipation of the sense of a *taddhita* (*taddhitārtha*; 2.1.51 *taddhitārthottarapada* . . .), where affixes *TīthaN* (2.1.25 *kamṣāt tīthan*), *thaK* (5.1.19 *ārhād agopuccha* . . .) and *aÑ* (5.1.26 *śūrpād añ* . . .), respectively, are introduced to denote the sense of *krīta* 'purchased with'. These affixes, however, are deleted by 5.1.28 *adhyardhapūrvā*. . . . A similar deletion of *thaÑ* (5.1.18 *prāg vates thañ*) and *mātraC* (5.2.37 *pramāñe dryasaj* . . .; *vt. pramāñe lo dvigor nityam*), denoting *parimāna* and *pramāna* 'measure', is also found in deriving *dvipāyya* and *dvikāṇḍa*, respectively.

That this provision of initial *udātta* is limited to *dvigu* compounds is illustrated by *paramakamṣah* 'best kamṣa' and *uttamakamṣah* 'ibidem', which are both *karmadhāraya*.

### 6.2.123 तत्पुरुषे शालायां नपुंसके

*tatpuruṣe śālāyām napuṁsake*  
*/ tatpuruṣe 7/1 śālāyām 7/1 napuṁsake 7/1 /*  
*(udāttah #64 uttarapadādih #111)*

*śālāśabdāntे tatpuruṣe samāse napuṁsakalingam. uttarapadām ādyudāttam bhavati*

A following constituent, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, is marked *udātta* at

the beginning when the compound ends in *sālā* ‘hall’ and is termed neuter.

EXAMPLES:

*brāhmaṇaśālām* ‘a hall of brāhmaṇas’

*kṣatriyaśālām* ‘a hall of kṣatriyas’

1. Note that genitive *tatpuruṣa* compounds can optionally be used as *naपुंसaka* ‘neuter’ (2.4.25 *vibhāṣā senāsuracchāyāśālāniśānām*). A compound such as *dr̥haśālam brāhmaṇakulam* ‘a strong house of the brāhmaṇas’ cannot avail this accentual provision because it is a *bahuvrīhi*, parallel to *dr̥dhā śālā yasya tat* ‘a clan whose hall is solidly built’. A compound such as *brāhmaṇasenam* ‘army of brāhmaṇas’ constitutes a counter-example to the condition of *sālā*.

#### 6.2.124 कन्था च

*kanthā ca*

/ *kanthā* 1/1 *ca* φ /

(*udāttah* #64 *uttarapadādih* #111 *tatpuruṣe naपुंsake* #123)

*tatpuruṣe samāse naपुंsakalinge kanthāśabda uttarapadam ādyudāttam bhavati*

A following constituent is also marked with *udātta* at the beginning when a *tatpuruṣa* compound termed neuter ends in *kanthā* ‘city, patched garment’.

EXAMPLES:

*sauśimikanthám* ‘name of a city’

*āhvakanthám* ‘ibidem’

*cappakanthám* ‘ibidem’

1. These genitive compounds are used in the neuter in view of 2.4.20 *saṁjñāyām kanthośinareṣu*. This accentual provision will be blocked in case of *dāksikanthā* ‘a city named after Dākṣi’, which is not used as neuter.

#### 6.2.125 आदिश्चहणादीनाम्

*ādiś cihaṇādīnām*

/ *ādih* 1/1 *cihaṇādīnām* 6/3 = *cihaṇa ādir yeṣam* (bv.) /

(*udāttah* #64 *tatpuruṣe naपुंsake* #123 *kanthā* #124)

*kanthāntē tatpuruṣe samāse naपुंsakalinge cihaṇādīnām ādir udātto bhavati*

Constituents enumerated in the group headed by *cihaṇa* are marked with *udātta* at the beginning when they combine in a *tatpuruṣa* compound ending in *kanthā* used in the neuter.

EXAMPLES:

*cihānakantham* ‘name of a place’  
*madārakantham* ‘ibidem’

1. Why is *ādi* used again in this rule when the same is available from the *anuvṛtti*? This *ādi* is used to indicate initial *udātta* of the initial constituent (*pūrvapada; PM ad Kāś: pūrvapadānāṁ cihānādīnām ādyudāttatvam isyate, atas tadarthaṁ punar ādigrahaṇam kṛtam*).

#### 6.2.126 चेलखेटकटुककाण्डं गर्हयाम्

*celakhetakaṭukakāṇḍam garhāyām*  
*/ cela-kheṭa-kaṭuka-kāṇḍam 1/1 (sam. dv.); garhāyām 7/1/*  
*(udāttah #64 uttarapadādih #111 tatpuruṣe #123)*  
*‘cela, kheṭa, kaṭuka, kāṇḍa’ ity etāny uttarapadāni tatpuruṣe samāse garhāyām*  
*gamyamānāyām ādyudāttāni bhavanti*  
 The following constituents in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, namely *cela* ‘cloth’, *kheṭa* ‘straw’, *kaṭuka* ‘bitter, stale’ and *kāṇḍa* ‘arrow’, are marked *udātta* at the beginning when *garhā* ‘contempt’ is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

*putrācelām* ‘an unworthy son’  
*bhāryācelām* ‘a bad wife’  
*upānatkhetām* ‘cheap shoe’  
*nagarakhetām* ‘an inhospitable city’  
*dādhikāṭukam* ‘stale yoghurt’  
*udaśvītkāṭukam* ‘bitter buttermilk’  
*bhūṭakāṇḍām* ‘an offspring who is source of pain’  
*prajakāṇḍām* ‘ibidem’

1. Note that censure is denoted via similarity (*sādr̥ṣya*) between *cela* and *putra*, etc. The compounds are formed by 2.1.56 *upamitam vyāghrādibhiḥ sāmānyāprayoge*. That is, *vyāghrādi* has to be accepted as an open-ended group with *cela*, etc., as members. The compounds can thus be paraphrased as: *putrah celam iva*, etc. The following constituent in all these compounds is marked *udātta* at the beginning. That is, the compounds are not marked *udātta* at the end.

Note that *paramacelam* ‘best cloth’, a *karmadhāraya* compound with the denotatum of *praśamsā* ‘praise’, will be marked *udātta* at the end. It can be thus accepted as a counter-example to the condition of *garhā* ‘censure’.

#### 6.2.127 चीरमुपमानम्

*cīram upamānam*  
*/ cīram 1/1 upamānam 1/1/*

(*udāttah* #64 *uttarapadādih* #111 *tatpuruse* #123)

*cīram uttarapadam upamānavāci tatpuruṣe samāse ādyudāttam bhavati*

A following constituent, namely *cīra* ‘a particular piece of clothing’, used in a *tatpuruṣa* compound with the signification of a standard of comparison (*upamāna*), is marked *udātta* at the beginning.

EXAMPLES:

*vastracīrām* ‘tattered cloth’

*pātacīrām* ‘rag-like cloth’

*kambalacīrām* ‘tattered blanket’

1. Here again the compounds are formed by 2.1.56 *upamitam vyāghrā-dibhiḥ*. A comparison between *vastra*, a general (*sāmānya*), and *cīra*, a particular (*viśeṣa*), is made possible because of *bheda* ‘difference’. The condition of *upamāna* is important so that *paramacīram*, a *karmadhāraya*, can be excluded from availing this accentual provision. Of course, *cīra* of example compounds will be marked *udātta* at the beginning.

## 6.2.128 पललसूपशाकं मिश्रे

*palalasūpaśākam miśre*

/ *palala-sūpa-śākam* 11/1 (sam. dv.); *miśre* 7/1/

(*udāttah* #64 *uttarapadādih* #111 *tatpuruse* #123)

‘*palala, sūpa, śāka*’ ity etāny *uttarapadāni miśravācini tatpuruṣe samāse ādyudāttāni bhavanti*

The following constituents, namely *palala* ‘meat’, *sūpa* ‘soup’ and *śāka* ‘leafy vegetable’ are marked *udātta* at the beginning when they combine in a *tatpuruṣa* compound denoting *miśra* ‘mixture’

EXAMPLES:

*gudapalalām* ‘meat cooked with jaggery’

*ghṛtagpalalām* ‘meat cooked with ghee’

*ghṛtagśūpāḥ* ‘soup cooked with ghee’

*mūlakasūpāḥ* ‘soup cooked with radish’

*ghṛtagśākām* ‘leafy vegetable cooked with ghee’

*mudgaśākām* ‘leafy vegetable cooked with Mung beans’

1. The example compounds are all formed by 2.1.35 *bhakṣyena miśri-karanam*. Here again the following constituents are marked *udātta* at the beginning. A *karmadhāraya* compound, for example *paramapalalam* ‘best meat’, which does not denote mixing will be excluded from availing the accentual provision of this rule. It will thus be marked *udātta* at the end.

## 6.2.129 कूलसूदस्थलकर्षा: संज्ञायाम्

*kūlasūdashthalakarṣāḥ samjñāyām*

/ *kūla-sūda-sthala-karṣāḥ* 1/3 (iter. dv.); *saṃjñāyām* 7/1/  
*(udāttah* #64 *uttarapadādih* #111 *tatpuruṣe* #123)  
‘*kūla*, *sūda*, *sthala*, *karṣa*’ ity etāny *uttarapadāni tatpuruṣe samāse saṃjñāyām vṣaye ādyudāttāni bhavanti*  
The following constituents, namely *kūla* ‘bank’, *sūda* ‘cook’, *sthala* ‘dry land’, and *karṣa* ‘drag, pull’ in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, are marked *udātta* at the beginning when *saṃjñā* ‘name’ is denoted.

## EXAMPLES:

*dākṣikūlām* ‘name of a village’  
*māhikikūlām* ‘ibidem’  
*devasūdām* ‘ibidem’  
*bhājīsudām* ‘ibidem’  
*dāndāyanasthalī* ‘ibidem’  
*māhikisthalī* ‘ibidem’  
*dākṣikarsāḥ* ‘ibidem’

1. Why is *sthālī* offered as a following constituent when the rule already specifies *sthala*? The word *sthala* can also refer to *sthālī*, its feminine counterpart, in consonance with the *paribhāṣā* (72): *prātipadikagrahaṇe lingavīśiṣṭasyāpi grahanam* ‘a specification made by a nominal stem also includes reference to its counterparts in particular genders’. Feminine affix *NiṄ* is introduced after *sthala* by 4.1.42 *jānapadakunda*. . . .

## 6.2.130 अकर्मधारये राज्यम्

*akarmadhārāye rājyam*  
/ *akarmadhārāye* 7/1 = *na karmadhārāyah* (*nañ*.); *rājyam* 1/1/  
*(udāttah* #64 *uttarapadādih* #111 *tatpuruṣe* #123)  
*karmadhārāyavarjite tatpuruṣe samāse ‘rājyam’* ity etad *uttarapadam ādyudāttam* *bhavati*

The word *rājya*, when combined as a following constituent in a *tatpuruṣa* compound other than *karmadhārāya*, is marked *udātta* at the beginning.

## EXAMPLES:

*brāhmaṇarājyām* ‘kingdom of brāhmaṇas’  
*kṣatriyarājyām* ‘kingdom of kṣatriyas’

1. The word *rājya* ‘kingdom’ is a derivate of *SyaṄ* (5.1.124 *gunavacana* . . .). Consequently, it remains marked with *udātta* in a genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound. That is, the compound is not marked *udātta* at the end. But consider a *karmadhārāya* compound, namely *paramarājyam* ‘best kingdom’, which must remain marked with *udātta* at the end.

2. The *Mahābhāṣya* states (*celerājyādisvarād avyayasvaro bhavati pūrvavipratisedhena*) that *kucēlam* and *kurājyam* retain their indeclinable accent (*avyayasvara*; 6.2.2 *tatpuruṣe turlyārtha* . . .), via *pūrvavipratisedha* ‘application of a prior (*pūrva*) rule in conflict (*vipratisedha*) with a subsequent (*para*)’. Thus *ku*, as against *cela* and *rājya* of this section, receives *udātta* at the beginning.

### 6.2.131 वर्ग्यादियश्च

*vargyādayaś ca*

/ *vargyādayaḥ* 1/3 = *vargya ādir yesam* (bv.); *ca*)/

(*udāttah* #64 *uttarapadādih* #111 *tatpuruṣe* #123 *akarmadhāraye* #130)

‘*vargya*’ity evam ādīny *uttarapadāñy akarmadhāraye tatpuruṣe samāse* ādyudāttāni *bhavanti*

The words *vargya*, etc., are marked *udātta* at the beginning when they combine as a following constituent in a *tatpuruṣa* compound other than *karmadhāraya*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*vāsudevāvargyāḥ* ‘on Vāsudeva’s side’

*vāsudevāpakṣyāḥ* ‘ibidem’

*arjunāvargyāḥ* ‘on Arjuna’s side’

*arjunāpakṣyāḥ* ‘ibidem’

1. Note that there is no listing of nominals known as *vargyādi*. Consequently, *vargyādi* refers to four nominals, i.e., *varga* ‘partisan’, *pūga* ‘heaped, gathered’, *gaṇa* ‘group’ and *pakṣa* ‘side’ of the *digādī* ‘direction (*diś*), etc.’ nominals derived with affix *yaT* (4.3.54 *digādibhyo yat*). Recall that a derivate of *yaT* is marked with *svarita* at the end (*svaritānta*; 6.1.182 *titsvaritam*). It is marked *udātta* at the beginning in a *tatpuruṣa* compound.

### 6.2.132 पुत्रः पुम्भयः

*putrah pumbhyah*

/ *putrah* 1/1 *pum̄bhyah* 5/3

(*udāttah* #64 *uttarapadādih* #111 *tatpuruṣe* #123)

*putrásabdhah pum̄sabdebhya uttaras tatpuruṣe ādyudātto bhavati*

The word *putra* is marked *udātta* at the beginning when it combines in a *tatpuruṣa* compound to follow a constituent denoting masculine.

#### EXAMPLES:

*kaunatiputrāḥ* ‘son of Kaunati’

*dāmākāputrāḥ* ‘son of Dāmaka’

*māhiṣakāputrāḥ* ‘son of Māhiṣaka’

### 6.2.133 नाचार्यराजत्विक्संयुक्तज्ञात्याख्येभ्यः:

*nācāryarājartviksamyüktajñātyākhyebhyah*

/ na φ ācārya-rājā-ṛtvik-samyukta-jñāty-ākhyebhyah 5/3 = ācāryaś ca rājā ca  
ṛtvik ca samyuktaś ca jñātiś ca (dv.); etāḥ ākhyāḥ yeṣām (bv. with int. dv.) /  
(udāttah #64 uttarapadādih #111 tatpuruṣe #123 putrah #132)  
ācāryādyākhyebhyah paraḥ putraśabdo nādyudātto bhavati

The word *putra* is not marked *udātta* at the beginning when it combines in a *tatpuruṣa* compound to follow constituents with the significance of *ācārya* ‘teacher’, *rājā* ‘lord’, *ṛtvij* ‘presiding ritualist’, *samyukta* ‘relative on wife’s side’ and *jñāti* ‘relatives on parent’s side’.

EXAMPLES:

*ācāryaputraḥ* ‘son of a teacher’

*upādhyaḥyaputraḥ* ‘ibidem’

*rājaputraḥ* ‘king’s son’

*īśvaraputraḥ* ‘ibidem’

*nandaputraḥ* ‘son of Nanda’

*ṛtvikputraḥ* ‘son of a priest’

*yājakaputraḥ* ‘son of a ritualist’

*bhrātusputraḥ* ‘brother’s son’

*samyuktaputraḥ* ‘a son of wife’s side of the family’

*śyālaputraḥ* ‘wife’s brother’s son’

*jñātiputraḥ* ‘a son of the clan’

1. A specification with *ākhyā* also includes references to nominals which may be synonymous with those listed in the rule. It also includes references to particulars (*viśeṣa*) within the general (*sāmānya*) categories of specified nominals. Of course, they also represent themselves based on their specification by form (*svarūpa*). Thus, consider *rājaputraḥ* ‘prince’, *īśvaraputraḥ* ‘son of the king’ and *nandaputraḥ* ‘son of Nanda’, which are examples representing their form (*svarūpa*), synonym (*paryāya*) and particular (*viśeṣa*).

2. A negation (*pratiṣedha*) of initial *udātta* of *putraḥ* ‘son’ clears the way for compounds to be marked with *udātta* at the end (6.1.220 *samāsaya*). The non-deletion of *śaṣṭhī* ‘genitive’ in *hotuḥputraḥ* ‘son of the priest’ and *bhrātusputraḥ* ‘brother’s son’ is accomplished by 6.3.21 *rto* *vidyāyoni*. . . . A replacement in *s*, for the *s* of *bhrātusputraḥ*, is in consonance with the inclusion of *bhrāṭṛ* ‘brother’ in the *kaskādi* group of nominals (8.3.48 *kaskādiṣu ca*).

### 6.2.134 चूर्णादीन्यप्राणिषष्ठ्याः:

*cūrṇādīny aprāniṣaṣṭhyāḥ*

/ cūrṇādīni 1/3 = cūrṇa ādir yeṣām (bv.); aprāniṣaṣṭhyāḥ 5/1 = na prāṇī =  
aprāṇī (nañ. tat.); aprāṇināḥ śaṣṭhī (saṣ. tat.), tasyāḥ/

(*udāttah* #64 *uttarapadādih* #111 *tatpuruṣe* #123)

*cūrṇādīny uttarapadāny aprāṇivācinah ṣaṣṭhyantāt parāṇi tatpuruṣe samāse ādyudāttāni bhavanti*

The word *cūrṇa*, etc., when combined in a *tatpuruṣa* compound to follow a constituent ending in the genitive (*ṣaṣṭhi*) with the signification of a non-living (*aprāṇin*), is marked *udātta* at the beginning.

EXAMPLES:

*mudgacūrṇam* ‘Mung-bean flour’

*maśūracūrṇam* ‘lentil flour’

1. The condition of *aprāṇin* ‘non-sentient’ will exclude examples such as *matsyacūrṇam* ‘fish powder’, because *matsya* is *prāṇin* ‘sentient’. An example such as *paramacūrṇam* ‘best powder’, where *parama* ‘best’ ends in the nominative, will also be excluded.

2. A different reading of this *sūtra* is found in the form of *cūrṇādīny aprāṇyupagrahāt* where *upagraha*, following the usage of earlier grammarians, is interpreted as ‘that which ends in the genitive (*ṣaṣṭhi*)’.

### 6.2.135 षट् च काण्डादीनि

*ṣaṭ ca kāṇḍādīni*

/*ṣaṭ* 1/1 *ca* φ *kāṇḍādīni* 1/3 = *kāṇḍa ādir yesām, tāni/*

(*udāttah* #64 *uttarapadādih* #111 *tatpuruṣe* #123 *aprāṇiṣaṣṭhyāḥ* #134)

*ṣaṭ pūrvoktāni kāṇḍādīny uttarapadāni aprāṇiṣaṣṭhyā ādyudāttāni bhavanti*

The six words enumerated in the list headed by *kānda* are also marked *udātta* at the beginning when they combine in a *tatpuruṣa* compound to follow a constituent ending in *ṣaṣṭhi*, with the signification of a non-living (*aprāṇin*).

EXAMPLES:

*dārbhākāṇḍam* ‘stalk of Kuśa grass’

*śārgāṇḍam* ‘stalk of reed’

*dārbhācīrām* ‘rag made of Kuśa grass’

*kuśācīrām* ‘ibidem’

*tilapalālām* ‘meat with sesame seeds’

*mūlakāsākām* ‘radish-leaf vegetable’

*nādīkūlām* ‘river-bank’

*sāmuḍrākūlām* ‘ocean-shore’

1. The word *ṣaṭ* here refers to nominals specified in four rules beginning with 6.2.126 *celakheṭa* . . . (*Nyāsa ad Kāś: celakheṭakaṭukakāṇḍam ityādiṣu caturṣu yogesu sannivistāni ṣaṭ gṛhyante*). Why offer their initial *udātta* here when it is already available from those rules? So that initial *udātta* can also be availed in contexts not covered by those rules. This rule, however, will exclude ini-

tial *udātta* in constituents occurring after a genitive in relation to *prānīn* ‘living beings’. Thus, this accentual provision will not be constrained by conditions of *garhāyām* ‘censure’ (6.2.126), *upamānam* ‘comparison’, *miśre* ‘mixing’ and *samjñāyām* ‘name’.

2. These compounds are all genitive *tatpuruṣa*. *Kāśikā* offers *rājasūdah* ‘king’s cook’ and *devadattakāndah* ‘Devadatta’s arrow’ as counter-examples, where *sūda* falls outside the list of specified *ṣaṭ* ‘six’ and *devadatta* is a *prānīn* ‘living being’. These counter-example compounds will be thus marked *udātta* at the end.

3. A question is raised about the nominal ending used after *tila* in deriving *tilapalalam* ‘meat cooked with sesame seeds’. Should one consider it as a *tatpuruṣa* with its middle constituent deleted (*madhyamapadalopa*). That is, should we derive it parallel to *tilasahitam palalam* ‘meat mixed with sesamum’. Should we then accept *tila* as ending in the instrumental?

### 6.2.136 कुण्डं वनम्

*kunḍam vanam*

/kunḍam 1/1 vanam 1/1/

(*udāttah* #64 *uttarapadādih* #111 *tatpuruṣe* #123)

‘*kunḍam*’ ity etad *uttarapadam* *vana*vacī *tatpuruṣe samāse ādyudāttam bhavati*  
The word *kunḍa* ‘bowl’ is marked *udātta* at the beginning when it combines as a following constituent in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, formed with the signification of *vana* ‘forest’.

#### EXAMPLES:

*darbhakundám* ‘forest of Kuśa grass’

*śarakundám* ‘forest of reeds’

1. The word *kunḍa* is here used in the sense of *vana* ‘forest’, due mainly to its similarity (*sādṛṣya*) in serving as locus for *darbha*, etc. A compound such as *mṛtkunḍam* ‘earthen bowl’ will be excluded because *kunḍa* here does not denote *vana*. The compound will be marked with *udātta* at the end.

### 6.2.137 प्रकृत्या भगालम्

*prakṛtyā bhagālam*

/prakṛtyā 3/1 bhagālam 1/1/

(*uttarapadam* #111 *tatpuruṣe* #123)

*bhagālavacī uttarapadam tatpuruṣe samāse prakṛtisvaram bhavati*

The word *bhagāla* ‘bowl, skull’ retains its original accent when it combines as a following constituent in a *tatpuruṣa* compound.

#### EXAMPLES:

*kumbhībhagālám* ‘half of a small earthen pitcher used as a bowl’

*kumbhīka pālām* ‘ibidem’

1. This rule allows compound constituents with the signification of *bhagāla* to retain their original accent. Of course, when they occur as following constituents in a *atapurusa* compound. Recall that *bhagāla* and *kapāla* ‘bowl, skull’ are marked *udātta* in the middle, in consonance with the *Phīṭsūtra* (42: *laghāv ante . . .*).

2. That *bhagāla* also refers to its synonyms is only known from *vyākhyāna* ‘interpretation of the learned’.

3. Note that *prakṛtyā* ‘as it originally was’ is carried through rule 6.2.143 *antah*.

### 6.2.138 शितेन्नित्याबहुर्ज्वरीहावभसत्

*śiter nityābahvaj bahuvrīhāv abhasat*

/śiteḥ 5/1 nityābahvac 1/1 = bahavo aco yasmin (bv.); na bahvac (nañ. with int. bv.); nityam abahvac (dv. tat.); bahuvrīhau 7/1 abhasat 1/1 = na bhasat (nañ. tat.)/

(*uttarapadam* #111 *prakṛtyā* #137)

*śiter uttarapadam nityam yad abahvaj bhasac chabdavarjitam bahuvrīhau samāse tal prakṛtisvaraṁ bhavati*

A constituent which combines in a *bahuvrīhi* compound to follow *śiti* ‘white’ and which, with the exception of *bhasad* ‘genitals’, does not necessarily consist of more than two vowels, retains its original accent.

#### EXAMPLES:

*śitipādāḥ* ‘white-footed’

*śityamsāḥ* ‘white-shouldered’

*śityoṣṭhāḥ* ‘white-lipped’

1. Note that *pāda* is marked *udātta* at the beginning because of its membership in the *vṛṣādi* group of nominals (6.1.203 *vṛṣādinām ca*). The *Unādi* derivates *amṣa* and *oṣṭha* are obligatorily marked *udātta* at the beginning, because affixes *saN* (*Unādi* V:21: *ameḥ san*) and *thaN* (*Unādi* II:4: *uṣikuṣigati-bhyas than*), respectively, are marked with *N* as an *it* (6.1.194 *ṇinityādir nityam*). The example compounds, because of their *bahuvrīhi* formation, qualify for retention of original accent of their initial constituents. Our present rule offers retention of original accent of their following constituents.

*Kāśikā* offers *darśanīyapādāḥ* ‘beautiful feet’ as counter-example to condition of *śiteḥ*, where, since *pāda* does not occur after *śiti*, and *darśanīya*, a derivate of *anīyaR*, is marked *udātta* in the middle (*madhyodātta*; 6.1.214 *upottamam riti*).

2. Note that a form of *bhasad* with more than two vowels is never used. This is why *śitibhasat* ‘white genitals’ is made an exception. The condition of

*nityam* will exclude *śitikakut* ‘white hump’ from availing this accentual provision since *kakuda* is not always used as consisting of more than two vowels. For, when used with the signification of *avasthā* (5.4.146 *kakudasyāvasthāyāṁ lopah*), its final *a* is deleted. Thus, consider *śitikakudah* ‘white-hump’ which does not go through deletion of its final *a*. Now consider *lalāta* ‘forehead’ of *śitilalātah* ‘white-forehead’ which is obligatorily used as *bahvac* ‘consisting of more than two vowels’.

Finally, this accentual provision is applicable only to a compound termed *bahuṛīhi*. That is, this rule is an exception to 6.2.1 *bahuṛīhau prakṛtyā pūrvapadam*. Thus, *śiteḥ pādah* = *śitipādah* ‘the white one’s foot’, a *tatpuruṣa*, will constitute a counter-example.

### 6.2.139 गतिकारकोपपदात् कृत्

*gatikārakopapadāt kṛt*

/ *gati-kāraka-upapadāt* 5/1 (*sam. dv.*), *tasmat;* *kṛt* 1/1/

(*uttarapadam* #111 *tatpuruṣe* #123 *prakṛtyā* #137)

*gateḥ kārakād upapadāc ca kṛdantam uttarapadam tatpuruṣe samāse prakṛtisvarāṁ bhavati*

The constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound which ends in an affix termed *kṛt* and combines to follow a constituent termed *gati*, *kāraka* and *upapada*, retains its original accent.

#### EXAMPLES:

*prakārakah* ‘he who does things well’

*prakarāṇam* ‘explanation, topic’

*prahārakah* ‘attacker’

*praharāṇam* ‘stick, weapon’

*idhma pravaścānah* ‘that by means of which one cuts; axe’

*palāśāśātānah* ‘that by means of which a *palāśa* tree is cut’

*śmaśruk alpánah* ‘grooming of a beard’

*īsatkarah* ‘slightly beneficial’

*duskarah* ‘hard to do’

*sukarah* ‘easy to do’

1. Note that *tatpuruṣe*, and not *bahuṛīhau*, is carried over here. All example compounds have a following constituent marked with *L* as an *it*. That is, their syllable which precedes the affix is marked *udātta* (6.1.190 *līti*). Thus, *prakārakah* and *prahārakah* are derivates of *NvuL* (3.1.133 *nvult̄cau*) combined with *pra* (2.2.18 *kugati prādayah*), a *gati* (1.4.60 *gatiś ca*). Affix *LyuT* (3.3.117 *karaṇādhikaraṇayos ca*), under the signification condition of a *kāraka* termed *karaṇa* ‘instrument’, is introduced in deriving *pravaścana* ‘chopping’ and *śātana* ‘cutting’, where a *pada* with the signification of a *kāraka*, i.e., *karman* ‘object’, follows. The *sāsthi*, which is introduced after *idhma* ‘firewood’

and *palāśa* ‘a tree’ to denote *karman*, is combined in consonance with a *vārtika* proposal (ad 2.2.8 *saṣṭhī: kṛdyogā ca saṣṭhī saamasyate* ‘a genitive used in connection with that which ends in a *kṛt* is combined’). Refer to derivational details of these compounds under the appendices and notes of rules 2.2.18 *kugatiprādayah* and 3.3.117 *karaṇādhikaraṇayos ca*. Finally, consider *isatkarah*, *duskarah* and *sukarah* where *īṣad* ‘a little, slight’, *duḥ* ‘bad’ and *su* ‘good’ constitute cooccurring *padas* (*upapada*). Affix *KHaL*, with the significance of *kṛcchra* ‘difficult’, etc. (3.4.70 *taylor eva kṛtyaktakhalarthāḥ*), is here introduced (3.3.126 *īsadduḥsuṣu . . .*) to derive *kara*. These compounds are formed by 2.2.19 *upapadam atiñ*.

These examples all constitute an exception to the final *udātta* of 6.1.220 *samāsasya*.

2. A question is raised against explicitly using the word *kṛt* in this rule. For, *pra*, etc., are termed *gati* and *upasarga* only when they are used in construction with a word denoting action (*kriyā; yat kriyāyuktāḥ prādayas tam praty eva gatyupasargasamjñā bhavanti*). A constituent with the denotatum of a *kāraka* is also directly related to an action. There are two types of suffixes, i.e., *kṛt* (3.1.93 *kṛd atiñ*) and *tiṄ* (3.4.78 *tiptasjhi . . .*), which are introduced after a root. The compounds are formed with constituents which end in a *kṛt* affix. It is for this reason that *kṛt* need not be stated in this rule. Commentators explain that *kṛt* is used in the rule for clarity (*vispaṣṭārtham*). Some, however, do not agree with this position. They argue that *kṛt* is used here for blocking *gati* accent from applying to compounds such as *prapacatideśyah*. Refer to *PM* ad *Kāśikā* for further details.

### 6.2.140 उभे वनस्पत्यादिशु युगपत्

*ubhe vanaspatyādiśu yugapat*

/ *ubhe* 1/2 *vanaspatyādiśu* 7/3 = *vanaspatis adir yesām* (bv.), *teśām*; *yugapat* 1/1/

(*prakṛityā* #137)

*vanaspatyādiśu samāsesu ubhe pūrvottarapade yugapat prakṛitisvare bhavataḥ*

The two constituents of compounds enumerated in the list headed by *vanaspati* ‘vegetation’, both, retain their original accent simultaneously.

#### EXAMPLES:

*vanaspatiḥ* ‘lord of forests; vegetation’

*bṛhāspatiḥ* ‘a divinity; teacher of gods’

*śacīpatiḥ* ‘Indra’

*nagrāśamsāḥ* ‘name of a king’

*śunahśepāḥ* ‘name of a sage’

1. This rule allows retention of original accent of both compound constituents, simultaneously. This simultaneous *udātta* was not available to

example compounds because of 6.1.152 *anudāttam padam*. . . Note that *vana* is marked *udātta* at the beginning in consonance with *Phīṭsūtra* 26: *nabviṣayā*. . . The word *pati* 'lord' master', as a derivate of *Dati* (*Uṇādi* IV:57: *pāter datih*), is also marked *udātta* at the beginning by affixal accent (3.1.3 *ādyudāttas ca*). The ā, of *pā* in *pati*, goes through *ti*-deletion (6.4.143 *teḥ*). Augment *sUT*, of 6.1.151 *pāraskaraprabhṛtīni ca*, is then introduced to derive *vanaspati* 'vegetation'. This *sUT*, however, is introduced by a *vārttika* (ad 6.1.154; *tad bṛhatoh karapatyoh . . .*) which also deletes the *t* of *bṛhat*. It is stated that *bṛhat* is marked *udātta* at the end, via *nipātana*, in consonance with *Uṇādi* II:84: *vartamāne pṛṣatbṛhan*. . . Some, however, consider this *nipātana* accent to be initial *udātta*. Similar differences of opinion is also witnessed in case of *śacī* 'Indra's wife', considered as marked *udātta* at the beginning, only by way of ending in *NiN* through its membership in the *śāṅgaravādi* group of nominals (4.1.73 *śāṅgaravādyāño nīn*). It will receive final *udātta* as a derivate of *NiS*.

### 6.2.141 देवताद्वन्द्वे च

*devatādvandve ca*  
*/ devatādvandve 7/1 = devatānām dvandvah*  
*(saṃ. tat.), tasmin; ca φ/*  
*(prakṛtyā #137 ubhe ugapat #140)*  
*devatāvācīnām yo dvandas tatra yugapad ubhe pūrvottarapade prakṛtisvare bhavataḥ*

The two constituents of a *dvandva* compound formed with the signification of *devatā* 'divinity', both, retain their original accent simultaneously.

#### EXAMPLES:

*indrāsomaú* 'Indra and Soma'  
*indrāvarúnau* 'Indra and Varuṇa'  
*indrābṛhāspatī* 'Indra and Bṛhaspatī'

1. Note that augment *ānAṄ* is introduced in these compounds by 6.3.24 *devatādvandve ca*. The words *indra*, *soma* and *varuṇa* are derives of *raN* (*Uṇādi* II:28: *rjendrāgra . . .*), *maN* (*Uṇādi* I:140: *artīstusu . . .*) and *unaN* (*Uṇādi* III:53: *kṛvṛdāribhya . . .*), respectively. They are marked *udātta* at the beginning because of their *N* as an *it* (6.1.194 *ñnityādir nityam*). Recall that *bṛhaspatī* already has two of its vowels marked with *udātta*. The compound *indrābṛhāspatī* will, with one *udātta* of *indra*, carry three *udāttas*.

### 6.2.142 नोत्तरपदेऽनुदात्तादावपृथिवीरुद्रपूषमन्थु

*nottarapade' nudāttādāv apṛthivīrudrapūṣamanthisu*  
*/ na φ uttarapade 7/1 anudāttādāu 7/1 = anudātta ādiryasya (bv.), tasmin;*

*aprthivīrudrapūṣamanthiṣu* 7/3 *ṝthiṇī ca rudraś ca pūṣā ca manthī ca = ṝthivīrudrapūṣamanthinaḥ; na ṝthiṇī . . . (nañ. tat. with int. dv.), teṣu/ (prakṛtyā #137 ubhe yugapat #140 devatādvandve #141)*

*uttarapade' nudāttādau prthivīrudrapūṣamanthivarjite devatādvandve nobhe ugapat prakṛtisvare bhavataḥ*

The two constituents of a *dvandva* compound formed with the signification of *devatā* ‘divinity’, both, do not retain their original accent when one of the constituents marked *udātta* at the beginning with the exception of *ṝthiṇī*, *rudra*, *pūṣan*, and *manthin*, follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*indrāgnī* ‘Indra and Agni’

*indravāyū* ‘Indra and Vāyu’

1. Here again we find *ānAṄ* introduced as an augment (6.3.24 *devatādvandve ca*). Note that *agni* and *vāyu* are derivates of *ni* (*Uṇādi I:20: anger nir nalopas ca*) and *uṄ* (*Uṇādi I:86: krvāpajimi . . .*, respectively. They are both marked *udātta* at the end by way of affixal accent (*pratyayasvara*). That is, they are marked *anudātta* at the beginning. The compounds, because of negation of our present rule, cannot retain the original accent of their constituents, simultaneously. Rule 6.1.220 *samāsasya* thus allows retention of the final *udātta*.

The *ṝthivīḍi* nominals which are here made exceptions to this negation all carry an *udātta* at the end. Because of being exceptions, they will retain the original accent of their two constituents, simultaneously.

2. A question is raised against explicitly using *uttarapade* in this rule. That is, why use *uttarapade* when the locative (*saptami*) of *anudāttādau* itself can provide the desired context of application. It is stated that this rule is a negation (*pratiṣedha*). The context of this negation, especially as it relates to its application (*vidhi*), cannot be understood clearly if *uttarapade* is not included in the wording of this rule. That is, in the absence of *uttarapade*, *anudāttādau* will modify *devatādvandve*. This rule will then be interpreted as meaning: the provision of this rule does not apply in a *devatādvandva* compound marked with *udātta* at the beginning (*anudāttādau dvandve svaro' yam na bhavati*). This interpretation will then negate retention of constituent accents in *candraśuryau* ‘moon and sun’. For, *candra* is marked *anudātta* at the beginning because of its *udātta* at the end. The locative *anudāttādau* is used here as a qualifier to *dvandve* in this interpretation. If, however, *uttarapade* is used, *anudāttādau* will become a qualifier to *uttarapade*. Consequently, this negation will apply only when a following constituent marked with *anudātta* at the beginning follows.

The preceding discussion shows how, in a *devatādvandva* compound, negation (*pratiṣedha*) and application (*vidhi*) both may obtain. In the absence

of a clear indication as to where negation applies and where it does not, their application will become optional (*vikalpa*). Note that *dvandva*, and not *uttarapada*, is specified in this section with *saptamī*. This being the case, *anudāttādau* in *saptamī* will qualify *dvandva*. It will qualify *uttarapade*, instead, when *uttarapade* is used in the rule. Consequently, negation will apply only when a following constituent with initial *anudātta* is involved. Elsewhere, we will get application (*viddhī*). Thus, the use of *uttarapade* clearly specifies scopes of negation and application.

#### 6.2.143 अन्तः:

*antah*

/ *antah* 1/1

(*udāttah* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111)

*yad ita ūrdhvam anukramiṣyāmas tatra samāsasyottarapadasyānta udātto bhavatīty evam tad veditavyam*

A constituent which follows in a compound is, here onwards, marked with *udātta* at the end.

#### EXAMPLES:

Refer to following rules for relevant examples:

1. Note that 6.1.220 *samāsasya* offers *udātta* at the end of a compound. Rules governed by *antah* of this rule will, again, offer final *udātta* as an exception to various other rules.

#### 6.2.144 थाथघञ्काजिब्रकाणाम्

*thāthagañktājabitrakāñām*

/ *tha-atha-ghañ-kta-aj-ab-itra-kāñām* 6/3 (*itar. dv.*), *teṣām/*

(*udāttah* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *gatikārakopapadāt* #139 *antah* #143)

'*tha, atha, ghañ, kta, ac, ap, itra, ka'* ity evam antānām *uttarapadānām* *gatikārakopapadāt pareṣām anta udātto bhavati*

A constituent which ends in *tha, atha, ghañ, Kta, ac, ap, itra* and *ka*, and combines in a compound to follow a constituent termed *gati, kāraka* and *upapada*, is marked *udātta* at the end.

#### EXAMPLES:

*sunīthaḥ* 'he who guides well'

*avabhrthaḥ* 'ritual bathing'

*āvasathah* 'dwelling'

*upavasathah* 'day of fasting'

*prabhedah* 'a subdivision'

*kāsthabhedah* 'splitting of wood'

dūrādāgatah ‘arrived from afar’  
ātapaśuṣkah ‘sun-dried’  
prakṣayah ‘excellent place’  
prajayah ‘excellent means of conquest?’  
pralayah ‘fragment, split’  
prasavah ‘begetting’  
pralavītram ‘sickle’  
prasavītram ‘begetting, generating’  
govṛṣah ‘bull’  
kharīvṛṣah ‘impetuous bull’  
pravṛṣah ‘excellent bull’  
prahṛṣah ‘happy’

1. Note that *nītha* and *bṛ̥tha*, of *sunīthah* and *avabṛ̥thah*, are derivates of affix *KhaN* (*Uṇādi* II:2: *hanikuṣinīra* . . . *Uṇādi* II:3: *ave bṛ̥nah*). They are both marked with *udātta* at the beginning because of *N* as an *it* (6.1.194 *ñnityādir nityam*). Rule 6.2.139 *gatikārakopapadāt kṛt* would thus have allowed retention of the original accent of *nītha* and *bṛ̥tha*. Our present rule offers final *udātta*, instead. This same also applies to derivates of *atha* (*Uṇādi* III:116: *upasarge vaseh*), i.e., *āvasathah*/*upavasathah*, and *GHaÑ*, i.e., *kāṣṭhabhedah*/*rajjubhedah*.

The *pañcamī* of *dūrādāgatah* goes through non-deletion (6.3.2 *pañcamyāḥ* . . .) after 2.1.39 *stokāntikadūrārtha* . . . allows compound-formation. Recall that *āgata* is a derivate of the *niṣṭhā* suffix *Kta* (1.1.26 *ktaktavatū niṣṭhā*). The two derivates of *Kta* in both compounds are marked *udātta* at the end. Their initial *udātta*, made available by 6.2.49 *gatir anantaraḥ* and 6.2.139 *gatikārakopapadāt* . . ., is thus not retained. The *ta* of *Kta*, however, is replaced with *ka* in *ātapaśuṣka* (8.2.51 *śuṣah kah*). If one accepts *ātapaśuṣka* as formed with 2.1.41 *siddhaśuṣkapakvabandhaiś ca*, rule 6.2.32 *saptamī siddhaśuṣka* . . . would require retention of original accent of the first constituent.

The words *kṣaya* and *jaya* are derivates of *aC* (3.3.56 *er ac*). They are marked *udātta* at the beginning by 6.1.198 *kṣayo nivāse* and 6.1.199 *jayah karanam*, read subsequently to 6.2.139 *gatikārakopapadāt* . . . Our present rule offers final *udātta* as an exception. This exception against 6.2.139 also applies to *prasavah*, *pralavah* and *pralavītram*. Affixes *aP* (3.3.57 *ṛdor ap*) and *itra* (3.2.184 *arttilūdhūsu* . . .) are introduced in deriving *prasavah*/*pralavah* and *pralavītram*, respectively. Now consider *govṛṣah* and *kharīvṛṣah* where affix *Ka* is introduced after *vṛṣ* in consonance with the *vārttika* (ad 3.2.5 *tundaśoka* . . .; *kaprakarane mūlavibhujādibhya upasamkhyānam*). The *Ka* of *vṛṣa* in *pravṛṣah* and *prahṛṣah* is introduced by 3.1.135 *igupadhajñā* . . . The initial *udātta* in *vṛṣa*, etc., is available from 6.1.200 *vṛṣādinām ca*. Our present rule offers final *udātta* as an exception to retention of original accent of 6.1.139 *gatikārakopapadāt* . . .

## 6.2.145 सूपमानात् क्तः:

*sūpamānāt ktah*

/ *sūpamānāt* 5/1 = *suś ca upamānam ca* (sam. dv.), *tasmāt; ktah* 1/1 /  
(*udāttah* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antah* #143)

‘*su*’ ity etasmād *upamānāc ca param ktāntam uttarapadam antodāttam bhavati*  
A following compound constituent which ends in *Kta* is marked with  
*udātta* at the end, when the same combines to follow *su*, or a word  
denoting standard of comparison (*upamāna*).

EXAMPLES:

*sukṛtam* ‘well done’

*subhūktam* ‘good food’

*supitam* ‘good drink’

*vṛkāvaluptam* ‘disappearing like a wolf’

*śāsaplyutam* ‘leaping like a rabbit’

*śimḥavīnīrdditam* ‘roaring like a lion’

1. The following constituents of example compounds are all marked *udātta* at the end. This rule is an exception to the retention of original accent of 6.2.49 *ghatiranantarah*, in examples with *su*. It is an exception to that of 6.4.48 *tṛtyā karmaṇi*, in examples of *upamāna*. These compounds are all formed by 2.1.31 *kartṛkaraṇe kṛtā bahulam*.

*Kāśikā* offers *sustutam bhavatā* ‘you sir! praised well’ as a counter-example to the condition of *gatikārakopapadāt*. Recall that *su* can be termed a *karmaṇpravacanīya* by 1.4.94 *suh pūjāyām*. Our compound *sustutam* will have the indeclinable accent (*avyayasvara*), i.e., initial *udātta*, retained.

## 6.2.146 संज्ञायामनाचितादीनाम्

*saṃjñāyām anācitādīnām*

/ *saṃjñāyām* 7/1 *anācitādīnām* 6/3 = *ācita ādir yesām* (bv.), *te; na ācitādayaḥ*  
(*nañ*. with int. bv.) /

(*udāttah* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *gatikārakopapadāt* #139 *antah* #143 *ktah* #145)

*saṃjñāyām viṣaye gatikārakopapadāt ktāntam uttarapadam antodāttam*  
*bhavati ācitādīn varjayitvā*

A compound constituent which ends in *Kta*, but is not enumerated in the list headed *ācita*, is marked *udātta* at the end when it combines to follow a *gati*, *kāraka*, and *upapada* ‘conjoined pada’, and the derivate denotes a name (*saṃjñā*).

EXAMPLES:

*sambhūtam rāmāyaṇam* ‘a Rāmāyaṇa named Sambhūta’

upahūtah sākalyah ‘Śākalya, who was invited’  
parijagdhah kaundinyaḥ ‘Kaundinya, who was fed well’  
dhanuṣkhātā nadi ‘name of a river’  
kuddālakhātā nagari ‘name of a city’

1. These compounds are all marked *udātta* at the end. The *Kta* of *sambhūtah*, etc., denotes *karman*. Consequently, they were subject to application of 6.2.49 *gatir anantarah*. This rule constitutes an exception to that. Compounds such as *dhanuṣkhātā*, etc., where *khan* has gone through a replacement in ā (ātva; 6.4.42 *janasanakhanām* . . .), are formed by 2.1.31 *kartṛkaraṇe kṛtā bahulam*. They thus had 6.2.48 *trīyā karmani* available to them. The final *udātta* of our present rule is also an exception to that.

2. A *ganasūtra* (*saṃhitā* *gavi*) blocks *saṃhitā* from being marked with *udātta* at the end if the derivate names something other than *go* ‘cow’.

### 6.2.147 प्रवृद्धादीनां च

*pravṛddhādīnāṁ ca*  
*/pravṛddhādīnāṁ 6/3 = pravṛddha ādir yeśām (bv.), teśām; ca φ/*  
*(udāttah #64 uttarapadasya #111 antah #143 ktah #145)*  
*pravṛddhādīnāṁ ca ktāntam uttarapadam antodāttam bhavati*  
 That which ends in *Kta* and combines as a following constituent in compounds enumerated in the list headed by *pravṛddha* is also marked with *udātta* at the end.

#### EXAMPLES:

*pravṛddham* yānam ‘an old carriage’  
*prayuktā* saktavaḥ ‘used up Saktu’  
*avahito* bhogeṣu ‘engrossed in pursuing pleasures’

1. This rule is formulated for final *udātta* outside the denotatum of *saṃjñā* ‘name’. Note, however, that *yānam*, etc., are not used in these examples to restrict this provision in their context alone. They just illustrate general usages. For, *pravṛddha*, etc., receive final *udātta* also when used outside the context of *yāna*, etc.

A proposal is also made to accept *pravṛddhādi* as an open-ended (*ākṛti*) group (*gana*). The *ca* thus can be accepted as used for attracting examples not covered (*anuktasamuccayārtha*). Consider *punarutsyūtam* ‘freshly woven’ and *punarniṣṭrah* ‘rebuild’ of *punarutsyūtam vāsaṇ deyam* and *punarniṣṭyo rathah*, where final *udātta* is availed.

### 6.2.148 कारकाद् दत्तश्रुतयोरेवाशिषि

*kārakād* dattaśrutayor evāśiṣi  
*/kārakāt 5/1 dattaśrutayoh 6/2 (itar. dv.); eva φ āśiṣi 7/1/*

(*udāttah* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antah* #143 *ktaḥ* #145 *samjñā* #146) *samjñāyām viṣaye āśiṣi gamyamānāyām kārakād uttarayor dattaśrutayor eva ktāntayor anta udātto bhavati*

The two constituents, namely *datta* and *śruta*, which end in *Kta* and occur after a constituent with the signification of *kāraka*, alone, are marked with *udātta* at the end when name and benediction are denoted.

#### EXAMPLES:

*devā enam deyāsur devadattah* ‘Devadatta, who was given by gods as a blessing’

*visnurenam śrūyād visnuśrutah* ‘Viṣṇuśruta, who was given by Viṣṇu after hearing prayers’

1. This rule allows final *udātta* for *datta* and *śruta* when they are used in combination after a constituent with the denotatum of a *kāraka*. Additionally, derivates must denote benediction (*āśiṣi*) within the context of a *samjñā* ‘name’. Recall that derivates which ended in *Kta* and denoted a name were all, with the exception of those with *ācita*, etc., qualified to receive final *udātta* (6.2.145 *samjñāyām* . . .). This rule makes a restrictive proposal. That is, if used after a *kāraka*, *datta* and *śruta* alone receive final *udātta*. The original accent will be retained outside the context of *datta* and *śruta*. Thus, consider *devapālitah* ‘protected by god’ where application of 6.2.145 *samjñānām* . . . is blocked in favor of 6.2.48 *trīyā karmani*. The word *kārakāt* is used in the rule because, in its absence, the restriction would have also applied after *gati*. For, this is the domain of *gatikārakopapadāt*. With *kārakāt* in place, the final *udātta* of 6.2.145 *samjñāyām* . . . applies after *gati* in *sambhūtah*.

The word *eva* is used to restrict final *udātta*, only when *datta* and *śruta* are used in combination after that which denotes a *kāraka*. Elsewhere, 6.2.48 *trīyā karmani* will apply to retain the base accent of the preceding *pada* (*pūrvapada-prakṛtisvara*).

#### 6.2.149 इथम्भूतेन कृतमिति च

*itthambhūtena kṛtam iti ca*

/ *itthambhūtena* 3/1 = *imam prakāram āpannah; kṛtam* 1/1 *iti* φ *ca* φ / (*udāttah* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antah* #143 *ktaḥ* #145 *kārakāt* #148) ‘*itthambhūtena kṛtam*’ *ity etasminn arthe yah samāso vartate tatra ktāntam uttarapadam antodāttam bhavati*

A constituent which ends in *Kta* and is combined after that which denotes a *kāraka* in a compound formed with the signification of ‘made or done by one thus characterized’ is also marked with *udātta* at the end.

## EXAMPLES:

*suptapralapitam* ‘babbling of a person while asleep’

*unmattapralapitam* ‘babbling of a crazy person’

*pramattagītam* ‘singing of a drunk or crazy person’

1. Refer to my notes under 1.4.90 *lakṣanetthambhūtākhyāna* . . . for an explanation of *itthambhūta*. This rule constitutes an exception to 6.2.48 *tṛtyā karmanī*.

2. The word *kṛtam* is used here in the general sense of *karoti* ‘makes’. It is thus not used in the sense of ‘bringing about something which was previously not’ (*nābhūta-prādurbhāva*). This is how *pralapita*, etc., become *kṛta* with the denotation of *karman* ‘object’. A final *udātta* is already available to them from 6.2.144 *thāthādi* . . . , when their *Kta* is used with the denotatum of *bhāva* ‘root-sense’.

## 6.2.150 अन्ते भावकर्मवचनः:

*ano bhāvakarmavacanah*

/ *anah* 1/1 *bhāvakarmavacanah* 1/1 = *bhāvaś ca karma ca* = *bhāvakarmanī* (itar. dv.), *tayor vacanah* (śas. tat.) /

(*udāttah* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antah* #143 *ktah* #145 *kārakāt* #148) *anapratyayāntam uttarapadām bhāvavacanam karmavacanam ca kārakāt param antodāttam bhavati*

A constituent which ends in affix *ana*, signifies *bhāva* ‘root-sense’ or *karman* ‘object’, and combines in a compound after a word denoting a *kāraka*, is marked *udātta* at the end.

## EXAMPLES:

*odanabhojanam sukham* ‘it is a pleasure to eat rice’

*payahpānam sukham* ‘it is a pleasure to drink milk’

*rājabhojanāḥ sālayah* ‘rice fit for a king’s meal’

*rājācchāḍanāni vāsāmsi* ‘clothes fit for a king’

1. This rule is an exception to 6.2.138 *gatikārakopapadāt* . . . The words *bhojana* ‘food’ and *pāna* ‘drink’ are derivates of *LyuT* with the denotatum of *bhāva* (3.3.116 *karmanī ca yena* . . .). The *yu* of *LyuT* is subsequently replaced with *ana* (7.1.1 *yuvor anākau*). The compounds, i.e., *odanabhojana* ‘eating of rice’ and *payahpāna* ‘drinking of milk’, are formed by 2.2.19 *upapadām atin*. Compounds such as *rājabhojana* and *rajācchāḍana* are genitive *tatpuruṣa*, where *LyuT* denoted *karman*.

2. This denotation of *bhāva* and *karman* by *LyuT* shows two interpretations of rule 3.3.116 *karmanī ca yena* . . .

(i) *karmanī upapade bhāve lyuḍ bhavati* ‘*LyuT* is introduced after a verbal root when a *pada* with the denotatum of *karman* cooccurs’.

(ii) *karmany abhidheye lyuḍ bhavati* ‘affix *Lyu*T occurs after a verbal root when *karman* ‘object’ is denoted’.

3. *Kāśikā* offers *hastahāryámudaśvit* ‘buttermilk prepared with hands’ as a counter-example to the condition of *ana*. A counter-example to *bhāva-karman* ‘root-sense object’ is offered in *dantadhāvānam* ‘that by means of which teeth are cleaned’ where *Lyu*T in *dhāvana* ‘cleansing’ denotes *karaṇa* ‘instrument’. Of course, the condition of *kārakāt* is also valid. Thus, consider *nīdarśānam* ‘illustrating’ and *avalekhānam* ‘scraping’ where *ana* occurs after *gati*. All these counter-examples retain their original accents.

### 6.2.151 मन्त्रिन्वाख्यानशयनासनस्थानयाजकादिक्रीताः

*manktinvyākhyānaśayanāsanasthānayājakādikṛtāḥ*  
*/manktin-vyākhyāna-śayanāsana-sthāna-yājakādi-krītāḥ* 1/3 = *yājaka ādir  
 yeśām te = yājakādayah; manktin . . . krītāḥ* (itar. dv.) /  
*(udāttāḥ #64 uttarapadasya #111 antāḥ #143 kārakāt #148)*  
*‘mannantam, ktinnantam, vyākhyāna, śayana, āsana, sthāna’ ity etāni,  
 yājakādayah, kṛtaśabdaś cottarapadam antodāttam bhavati*  
 The final syllable of the last constituent of a compound which ends in *man* and *KtiN*, or is constituted by *vyākhyāna* ‘exposition’, *śayana* ‘reclining’, *āsana* ‘seat’, *sthāna* ‘place’, or else, is listed in the group headed by *yājaka* ‘sacrificer’, or is constituted by *kṛita* ‘purchased’, is marked *udāttā* at the end when the same combines after a constituent with the signification of a *kāraka*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*rathāvartma* ‘road for chariots’  
*sakatāvartma* ‘road for carts’  
*pāṇinikṛtiḥ* ‘creation of Pāṇini’  
*āpiśalikṛtiḥ* ‘creation of Āpiśali’  
*ṛgayanavvyākhyānam* ‘a commentary of Ṛgayana’  
*chandovyākhyānam* ‘a commentary on Chandas’  
*rājaśayānam* ‘king’s bed’  
*brāhmaṇāśayānam* ‘a brāhmaṇa’s bed’  
*rājāśanam* ‘a king’s seat’  
*brāhmaṇāśanam* ‘a brāhmaṇa’s seat’  
*gosthānam* ‘cow-pen’  
*āśvasthānam* ‘stable’  
*brāhmaṇayājakah* ‘a priest of brāhmaṇas’  
*kṣatriyayājakah* ‘a priest of kṣatriyas’  
*gokṛitah* ‘purchased with a cow’  
*āśvakṛitah* ‘purchased with a horse’

- These examples are all genitive *tatpuruṣa* compounds. Their accentual

provision constitutes an exception to 6.2.138 *gatikārakopapadāt*. . . . Compounds with *kṛita* constitute exception to 6.2.48 *trīyā karmāṇi*. Note that *vyākhyāna*, *śayana*, *āsana* and *sthāna* are all derivates of *LyuT*. The first, i.e., *vyākhyāna*, is a derivate of *LyuT* with the denotatum of *karana* ‘instrument’. The rest have *LyuT* with the signification of *adhikaraṇa* ‘locus’ (3.3.117 *karāṇādhikaraṇayoś ca*). Recall that derivates of *LyuT* with the denotatum of *bhāva* ‘root-sense’ and *karman* ‘object’ are already covered by 6.2.150 *ano bhāvakarmavacanah*. Affix *NvuL* in *yājaka* and *pūjaka* ‘worshiper’ denotes *kartṛ* ‘agent’. A *yājakādi* reference is here made to stems listed for genitive compounds under 2.2.9 *yājakādibhiś ca*.

2. The condition of *kārakāt* is still valid. Thus, *prakṛtiḥ* ‘nature, base’ and *prakṛtiḥ* ‘attack’, because of *pra* termed *gati*, will be covered by 6.2.2 *tatpuruse tulyārtha*. . . .

### 6.2.152 सप्तम्यः पुण्यम्

*saptamyāḥ puṇyam*

/ *saptamyāḥ* 5/1 *puṇyam* 1/1/

(*udāttāḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antāḥ* #143)

*saptamyantāt param puṇyam ity etad uttarapadam antodāttam bhavati*

A last compound constituent, namely *puṇya* ‘merit’, is marked *udātta* at the end when it combines after a constituent ending in *saptamī* ‘seventh triplet of nominal ending’.

#### EXAMPLES:

*adhyāyaṇaḥ puṇyam* ‘merits in studying’

*vedaḥ puṇyam* ‘merits in the study of the Vedas’

1. This is an exception to retention provision of 6.2.2 *tatpuruse tulyārtha*. . . . A split interpretation of *saptamī* (2.1.40 *saptamī śaundaiḥ*) facilitates the compound formation. A compound with *trīyā* ‘third triplet; instrumental’ (2.1.32 *kartṛkarane* . . . ; by split interpretation of *trīyā*), i.e., *vedena puṇyam* = *vedaḥ puṇyam* ‘merit accrued from studying the Veda’, will require *puṇya*, a derivate of *kṛt*, to be marked with initial *udātta*.

### 6.2.153 ऊनार्थकलहं तृतीयायाः

*ūnārthakalahaṁ trīyāyāḥ*

/ *ūnārtha-kalaham* 1/1 = *ūno* *rtho yasya* (*bv.*); *ūnārthaś ca kalahaś ca* (*sam.*

*dv.* with int. *bv.*); *trīyāyāḥ* 5/1/

(*udāttāḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antāḥ* #143)

*ūnārthāny uttarapadāni kalahaśabdaś ca trīyāntāt parāny antodāttāni bhavanti*

A final compound constituent which signifies the sense of affix *ūna* ‘less than . . .’, or is constituted by *kalaha* ‘quarrel’, is marked *udātta* at

the end when this same combines after a *pada* ending in *tṛtīyā* ‘third triplet of nominal ending’.

EXAMPLES:

*māṣonam* ‘less than a Māṣa’  
*kārsāpanonam* ‘less than a Kārsāpana’  
*māsavikalam* ‘less than a Māṣa’  
*kārsāpanaṇavikalam* ‘less than a Kārsāpana’  
*asikalahah* ‘fight with swords’  
*vākkalahah* ‘quarrel’

1. These example compounds are all formed by 2.1.31 *pūrvasadrśasamonaṛtha*. . . . Here again we find an exception to retention proposal of 6.2.2 *taṭpuruṣe tulyārtha*. . . . Some believe that *artha* specifies the word-form (*svarūpa*). They can, thus, account for *dhānyena arthaḥ* = *dhānyārthah* ‘prosperity by grains’. Note that *ūna*, a specification made via meaning (*arthānirdeśa*), can itself account for forms synonymous with it. Consequently, formation of a *tṛtīyā-taṭpuruṣa* with specifically enumerated bases (*pratipadokta*) becomes obvious. Why use *tṛtīyāyāḥ* when specified compounds are formed with *tṛtīyā*, anyway? The rule uses *tṛtīyāyāḥ* for clarity (*viśpaṣṭārtham*).

#### 6.2.154 मिश्रं चानुपसर्गमसन्धौ

*miśram cānupasargam asandhau*  
*/ miśram 1/1 ca φ anupasargam 1/1 (nañ. tat.); asandhau 7/1 = na sandhau*  
*(nañ. tat.) /*  
*(udāttāḥ #64 uttarapadasya #111 antāḥ #143 tṛtīyāyāḥ #153)*  
*‘miśra’ ity etad uttarapadam anupasargam tṛtīyāntāt param antodāttam*  
*bhavaty asandhau gamyamāne*

A final compound constituent, namely *miśra* not used with a preverb, is marked with *udāttā* at the end, when it combines to follow a constituent ending in *tṛtīyā*, provided something other than *sandhi* ‘verbal agreement, treaty’ is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

*guḍamīśrāḥ* ‘mixed with jaggery’  
*tilamīśrāḥ* ‘mixed with sesame’  
*sarpirmīśrāḥ* ‘mixed with ghee’

1. This rule again is an exception to 6.2.2 *taṭpuruṣe tulyārtha*. . . . The example compounds are formed by 3.1.31 *pūrvasadrśasamonaṛtha*. . . .

2. The condition of *miśra* is imposed so that compounds such as *guḍadhānāḥ* ‘parched rice mixed with jaggery’ can be excluded. The condition of *anupasarga* ‘not used with a preverb’ similarly excludes *guḍasammiśrāḥ*.

'properly mixed with jaggery', etc. Note that a specification of *mīśra* qualified with *anupasarga* also serves as an indicator (*jñāpaka*). It indicates that, elsewhere, a specification made by *mīśra* includes reference to its use with a preverb. The *mīśra* of 2.1.31 *pūrvasadyasmonārthai . . . mīśraslakṣṇaiḥ*, thus enables formation of compounds with *mīśra* used with a preverb. We have already cited *gudasammiśrāḥ* where this rule will not find its scope of application.

Now consider *asandhau* 'not in agreement' where *sandhi*, characterized as *aikya* 'unity', is explained as *pañabandhah* 'verbal agreement'. Thus, *yadi me bhavān idam kuryāt tato' ham api bhavata idam karisyāmi* 'if you will do this for me, then I will also do this for you'. An example, of *asandhi* is offered as *brāhmaṇamiśrāḥ rājā* 'a king mixing with brāhmaṇas'. This 'mixing' is here explained as 'proximity' (*pratyāsatti*), a 'mixing' where individual identities are distinct. An example such as *gudamiśrāḥ dhānāḥ* makes it difficult to perceive individual identities.

### 6.2.155 नजो गुणप्रतिषेधे सम्पाद्यर्हहितालमर्थास्तद्विता:

*naño gunapratिषेधे sampādyarhahitālamarthās taddhitāḥ*  
*/ nañāḥ 1/1 gunapratिषेधे 7/1 (saś. tat.), tasmin; sampādy-arha-hita-alam-*  
*arthāḥ 1/3 = sampādi . . . alam ity etāny arthāni yesām (bv. with int. dv.);*  
*taddhitāḥ 1/3/*  
*(udāttah #64 uttarapadasya #111 antah #143)*

'*sampādi, arha, hita, alam*' ity evam arthā ye taddhitās tadantāny uttarapadāni  
*naño gunapratिषेधे vartamānāt parāny antodāttāni bhavanti*

The last syllable of final compound constituent which ends in a *taddhita* affix with the signification of *sampādi* 'properly bringing about', *arha* 'deserving', *hita* 'beneficial' and *alam* 'enough, capable', and occurs after a *naÑ* 'not' constituent negating quality (*gunapratिषेधa*) is marked with *udātta*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*akārnaveṣṭakikam mukham* 'a face not needing any ear-ornament'  
*acchaidikah* 'that which does not deserve cutting'  
*avatsiyah* 'that which is not beneficial to calves'  
*asāntāpikah* 'he who is not capable of hurting anyone'

1. The *naÑ* of *akārnaveṣṭikam* negates the quality of *kārnaveṣṭikatva* 'ear-adornment'. Affix *thaÑ* (5.1.18 *prāg vates thañ*) is here introduced after *kārnaveṣṭa* under provisions of 5.1.99 *sampādini*. This derivative goes through (*tha→ika*), initial *vṛddhi* and deletion of *a* in consonance with the term *bha* (*bhasamjñā*). A negative *tatpuruṣa* compound is formed subsequently. Other compounds involve *taddhita* affixes *thaK* (*acchaidikih*; 5.1.64 *chedādibhyo nityam*), *cha* (5.1.1 *prāk kṛtāc chaḥ*) and *thaÑ* (5.1.101 *tasmai prabhavati . . .*),

introduced with the signification of *sampādi*, *arha*, *hita* and *alam*, respectively. The *naṄ* of example compounds thus negates these qualities. Consequently, their following constituents are marked with *udātta* at the end. The accentual provision of this rule constitutes an exception to that of 6.2.2 *atapuruse tulyārtha*. . . .

2. A condition of *naṄ* is imposed so that *vigārdabharathikah* ‘a charioteer who does not deserve a chariot pulled by donkeys’ can be excluded. Now consider *agārdabharathikah* ‘a charioteer other than one who deserves a chariot pulled by donkeys’. It is offered as a counter-example to the condition of *guṇapratisedha* ‘negation of quality’. What is negated here is not the quality but the person thus qualified (*gunin*). This compound will retain the indeclinable accent of its initial constituent. A counter-example to conditions of *sampādi*, *arha*, *hita* and *alam* is offered in *apāṇinīyah* ‘one who does not study what Pāṇini taught’, paraphrased as *pāṇinīyam adhīte = pāṇinīyah*; *na pāṇinīyah = apāṇinīyah*. Obviously, none of these meanings are involved in *apāṇinīyam*. Finally, the derivate must entail a *taddhita* affix. Consider *avodhā*, paraphrased as *na kanyāṁ vodhum arhati* ‘one who is not deserving of marrying the girl’, as a counter-example. The *vodhā* of *avodhā* is a derivate of the *kṛt* affix *trC*.

### 6.2.156 ययतोश्चातदर्थे

*yayatoś cātadarthe*

*yayatoḥ* 6/2 = *yaś ca yat ca* (itar. dv.), *tayoh*; *ca* φ *atadarthe* 7/1 = *tasmai idam = tadartham* (cat. tat.); *na tadartham* (naṄ. tat.), *tasmin/ (udāttah #64 uttarapadasya #111 antah #143 nañah guṇapratisedhe taddhitāḥ #155)*

‘*ya, ya’ ity etau taddhitāv atadarthe vartete tadantasyottarapadasya naño guṇapratisedhavisiṣayād anta udātto bhavati*

The last syllable of a final compound constituent which combines after a constituent negating quality (*guṇapratisedhe*), and ends in the *taddhita* affixes *ya* (5.4.24 *devatāntāt* . . .) and *yaT* (5.4.25 *pādārghābhyaṁ ca*) introduced with the signification of something other than *tadartha* ‘intended for that’, is marked with *udātta*.

EXAMPLES:

*apāśyā* ‘not belonging to a group of snares’

*atṛṇyā* ‘not belonging to heaps of grass’

*adantyam* ‘non-dental’

*akarṇyam* ‘not found in ears’

1. This again is an exception to 6.2.2 *atapuruse tulyārtha*. . . . The example compounds still negate quality (*guna*). Affixes *ya* (4.2.48 *pāśādibhyo yah*; in the first two examples) and *yaT* (4.3.55 *śaṅkāvayavāc ca*; the next two) are used with the signification of *tadartha* ‘intended for that’. It is for this reason

that a compound, such as *apādyam*, paraphrased as *na pādārtham udakam* ‘water not intended for wiping feet’, will be excluded. Its *yaT* is used with the signification of *tadartha* (5.4.25 *pādārghābhyañ ca*).

The conditions of *taddhita* and *gunapratisedha* will exclude examples such as *adeyam* ‘not fit for giving’ and *dantyād anyat = adantyam* ‘something other than teeth’. The *yaT* of *deyam* is a *kṛt* affix (3.1.97 *aco yat*). The negation in *adantyam* relates again to ‘something thus qualified’ (*gunin*).

2. It is stated that *ya* here refers to an affix with no *it* (*niranubandhaka*). A specification with *yaT* is made for an affix with only one *it* (*ekānubandhaka*). It is for this reason that *avāmadevyam* ‘śāman hymn revealed to Vāmadeva’, where *vāmadevyam* is a derivate of *Da* and *DyaT* (4.2.9 *vākmadevādyadyau*), will be excluded.

### 6.2.157 अस्कावशक्तौ

*ackāv aśaktau*  
*/ackau 1/2 = ac ca kaś ca (itar. dv.); aśaktau 1/2 = na śaktih (nañ. tat.), tasyām/*  
*(udāttah #64 uttarapadasya #111 antah #143 nañah #156)*

*'ac, ka' ity evam antam aśaktau gamyamānāyām uttarapadām nañah param antodāttām bhavati*

The last syllable of a final compound constituent which combines after a negative (*nañ*), and ends in affixes *aC* and *ka*, is marked *udātta* at the end, provided the derivate denotes incapability (*aśakti*).

#### EXAMPLES:

*apacah* ‘he who cannot cook’  
*ajayah* ‘he who cannot win’  
*avikṣipah* ‘he who cannot throw’  
*avilikhah* ‘he who cannot write’

1. These first two example compounds involve derivates with *aC* (3.1.134 *nandigrahipacādibhyo . . .*). The next two involve derivates of *Ka* (3.1.135 *igupudhajñā . . .*). These examples again are exceptions to accentual provisions of 6.2.2 *tatpuruse tulyārtha*. . . .

2. Note that *apācaḥ* of *apacah dīkṣitah* ‘an initiate who is someone other than a cook’ and *apacah parivrājakah* ‘a wandering ascetic who is someone other than a cook’ will be excluded because ‘incapability’ (*aśakti*) is not denoted.

### 6.2.158 आक्रोशे च

*ākrośe ca*  
*/ākrośe 7/1 ca ϕ/*

(*udāttah* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antah* #143 *nañah* #156 *ackau* #157)

*ākrośe ca gamyamāne nañā uttaram ackāntam antodāttam bhavati*

The last syllable of a final compound constituent which combines to follow a negative (*naÑ*) and ends in affixes *aC* and *ka* is also marked *udāttā* when the derivate denotes anger (*ākrośa*).

#### EXAMPLES:

*apaco' yañ jālmah* 'shame on this person who is capable of but does not cook'

*apatho' yañ jālmah* 'shame on this person who is capable of but does not recite'

*avikṣipah* 'shame on this person who is capable of but does not throw'

*avilikhah* 'shame on this person who is capable of but does not write'

#### 6.2.159 संज्ञायाम्

*samjñāyām*

*samjñāyām* 7/1/

(*udāttah* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antah* #143 *nañah* #156 *ākrośe* #185)

*ākrośe gamyamāne nañah param uttarapadam samjñāyām vartamānam antodāttam bhavati*

The last syllable of a final compound constituent which combines after *naÑ* and signifies a name (*samjña*) is marked *udāttā* when the derivate denotes *ākrośa* 'anger'.

#### EXAMPLES:

*adevadattah* 'he is no Devadatta!'

*ayajñadattah* 'he is no Yajñadatta!'

*avisñumitraḥ* 'he is no Viśnumitra!'

1. Note that anger is denoted against some unbecoming behavior of persons so named. That is, how could a person be called *devadatta* 'gods gave him' when his conduct is unbecoming of a person born as a result of blessings of gods'.

#### 6.2.160 कृत्योकेषु चार्वादयश्च

*kṛtyokesñuccārvādayaś ca*

/ *kṛtyokesñuccārvādayaḥ* 1/3 = *cāru ādir yeśām* (bv.); *kṛtyaś ca ukaś ca iṣṇuc ca cārvādayaś ca* (itar. dv.); *ca ϕ/*

(*udāttah* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antah* #143 *nañah* #156)

'*kṛtya, uka, iṣṇuc*' ity evam *antāś cārvādayaś ca nañā uttare' ntodāttā bhavanti*

The last syllable of a final compound constituent which combines after a negative word (*naÑ*), and ends either in affixes *kṛtya* (3.1.95 *kṛtyāḥ*),

*ukaṄ* (3.2.154 *laśapatapadasthā . . .*) and *iṣṇuC* (3.2.136 *alamkṛñnirākṛñ-prajanoṭpaca . . .*), or is constituted by items enumerated in the list headed by *cāru* ‘beautiful’, is marked *udātta*.

## EXAMPLES:

*akartavyam* ‘not to be done’

*akaranyam* ‘ibidem’

*anāgāmukam* ‘that which is not about to come’

*anapalāśukam* ‘. . . is free of desires’

*analaṅkarīṣnuḥ* ‘one whose nature is not to decorate’

*anirākariṣnuḥ* ‘one whose nature is not to repudiate’

*anādhyambhaviṣnuḥ* ‘one whose nature is not to become rich’

*aśāruḥ* ‘that which is not beautiful’

*aśādhuh* ‘one who is not good’

1. Affixes *tarya* and *anīyaR* (3.1.96 *tavyattavyānīyarah*) are introduced within the domain of 3.1.95 *kṛtyāḥ*. Affixes *iṣṇuC* and *ukaṄ* have been introduced by rules 3.2.136 *alamkṛñnirākṛña . . .* and 3.2.154 *laśapatapadā . . .*, respectively. Note that *iṣṇuC* also includes a reference to *KHiṣṇuC* (3.2.57 *kartari bhuvah . . .*), as we find in *anādhyambhaviṣnuḥ*.

2. The following *gaṇasūtras* also offer final *udātta* as follows.

(i) *vartamāna* ‘current’, *vardhamāna* ‘growing’, *tvaramāṇa* ‘hurrying’, *dhiyamāṇa* ‘steady, steadfast’, *rocamāṇa* ‘pleasing’ and *sobhamāṇa* ‘beautiful’ should be accepted as marked *udātta* at the end when the denotatum is a name (*saṃjñāyāṁ*).

(ii) *vikāra* ‘modification, product’ and *sadrśa* ‘similar’, whether used in combination or not, are also marked *udātta* at the end. Thus, *avikārah/ asadrśah; avikārasadrśah*.

(iii) *rājā* ‘king’ and *ahan* ‘day’ are marked *udātta* at the end in the Vedic. Thus, *arājā* ‘non-king’ and *anahāḥ* ‘non-day’. The initial *udātta* of the indeclinable will, of course, apply to examples of the classical language (*bhāṣā*).

## 6.2.161 विभाषा तुन्नन्नतीक्ष्णशुचिषु

*vibhāṣā tṛnnannatīkṣṇaśuciṣu*

/ *vibhāṣā 1/1 tṛnn-anna-tīkṣṇa-śuciṣu 7/3 (itar. dv.)/*

(*udāttah #64 uttarapadasya #111 antah #143 nañah #156*)

‘*tṛnnanta, anna, tīkṣṇa, śuci*’ ity eteṣu nañā uttareṣu vibhāṣā’ nta udātto bhavati

The last syllable of a final compound constituent which combines after a negative constituent, and ends in affix *tṄN*, *anna* ‘food’, *tīkṣṇa* ‘sharp’, and *śuci* ‘pure’, is optionally marked with *udātta*.

EXAMPLES:

- akartā ‘one whose nature it is to not do’
- akártā ‘ibidem’
- anannam ‘inedible’
- anánnam ‘ibidem’
- atíkṣṇam ‘not sharp’
- atíkṣṇam ‘ibidem’
- ásucih ‘impure’
- ásúcīh ‘ibidem’

1. The *trN* of *kartā*, in *akartā*, is introduced by 3.2.135 *trm* with the significance of *tācchīya* ‘characteristic nature’. The optional provision of this rule is made against the initial *udātta* (*Phiṭsūtra* 80: *nipātā ādyudāttāḥ*) of 6.2.2 *tatpuruṣe tulyārtha*. . . .

#### 6.2.162 बहुव्रीहाविदमेतत्तद्द्यः प्रथमपूरणयोः क्रियागणने

*bahuvrīhāv idametattadbhyah prathamapūrana�oh kriyāganane*  
*/ bahuvrīhau 7/1 idam-etad-tadbhyah 5/3 (itar. dv.); prathamapūranaযoh*  
*6/2 (itar. dv.); kriyāganane 7/1 = kriyāyāḥ gananam (śas. tat.), tasmin/*  
*(udāttah #64 uttarapadasya #111 antah #143)*  
*bahuvrīhau samāse ‘idam, etad, tad’ ity etebhya uttarasya prathamaśabdasya*  
*pūranaप्रत्ययांतस्या ca kriyāganane vartamānasya anta udātto bhavati*  
 The final constituent of a *bahuvrīhi* compound, namely *prathama* ‘first’, or one ending in a *pūrana* suffix, is marked *udātta* at the end, when the same combines after *idam* ‘this’, *etad* ‘this one’ and *tad* ‘that’ and the derivate signifies *kriyāganana* ‘counting number of times of action’.

EXAMPLES:

- idampṛathāmah gamanam bhojanam vā* ‘this is his first (meal, or trip)’
- idandvītiyāḥ* ‘this is his second . . .’
- etatprathāmah* ‘this is his first . . .’
- etaddvītiyāḥ* ‘this is his second . . .’
- tatprathāmah* ‘that is his first . . .’
- taddvītiyāḥ* ‘that is his second . . .’

1. The word *prathama* is specified here by its form (*svarūpa*). The word *pūrana* refers to forms ending in the *pūrana* suffixes introduced by 5.2.54 *dvestīyah* and 5.2.55 *treḥ samprasāraṇam ca*. This rule is an exception to the retention proposal of 6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau prakṛtyā pūrvapadam*. Actually, since the *anuvṛtti* of *bahuvrīhau* is valid prior to 6.2.178 *vanam samāse*, all accentual provisions made in this section can be treated as exceptions to 6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau prakṛtyā pūrvapadam*.

2. The conditions of *prathama*, and of forms ending in *pūrana*, are im-

posed so that forms such as *tadbahūḥ* ‘those many are his’ which do not have *prathama* or *pūraṇa* could retain their original accent. Such compounds will retain the *udātta* of their initial constituent.

The condition of *kriyāgaṇana* will similarly exclude examples such as *idamprathamah*, paraphrased as *ayam prathamah yeṣāṁ te* ‘those among whom this one is the first’. Here, what we find is the counting of a thing (*dravya*), and not action (*kriyā*). Note that *prathamah* can also be used in the sense of *pradhānah* ‘principal, best’: *idamprathamah pradhānah yeṣām* ‘this one who is the best among . . .’. This then is a counter-example since *prathamah* does not denote a number (*saṃkhyā*).

#### 6.2.163 संख्यायाः स्तनः:

*saṃkhyāyāḥ stanaḥ*

/ *saṃkhyāyāḥ* 6/1 *stanaḥ* 1/1 /

(*udāttah* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antah* #143 *bahuṛihau* #162)

*saṃkhyāyāḥ paraḥ stanaśabdo bahuṛihau samāse’ ntodātto bhavati*

The last syllable of a final *bahuṛīhi* constituent, namely *stana* ‘breast’, is marked with *udātta* when it combines to follow a constituent denoting number (*saṃkhyā*).

#### EXAMPLES:

*dvistanā* ‘possessing two breasts, or udders’

*tristanā* ‘possessing three udders’

*catuḥstanā* ‘possessing four udders’

1. Note that *darśanīyastanā* ‘she whose breasts are beautiful’ and *dviśirā* ‘possessing two heads’ are offered as counter-examples to conditions of *stana* and *saṃkhyā*, respectively.

#### 6.2.164 विभाषा छन्दसि

*vibhāṣā chandasi*

/ *vibhāṣā* 1/1 *chandasi* 7/1 /

(*udāttah* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antah* #143 *bahuṛihau* #162 *saṃkhyāyāḥ stanaḥ* #163)

*chandasi visaye bahuṛihau samāse saṃkhyāyāḥ paraḥ stanaśabdo vibhāṣā’ ntodātto bhavati*

The last syllable of a final *bahuṛīhi* constituent, namely *stana* ‘breast’, is marked with *udātta* in the Vedic only optionally, when it combines to follow a constituent denoting number (*saṃkhyā*).

#### EXAMPLES:

*dvistanāṁ karoti vāmadevah* ‘Vāmadeva makes them possess two udders’

*catūḥstanāṁ karoti paśūnāṁ dohāya* ‘makes cattle to possess four udders for milking’

### 6.2.165 संज्ञायां मित्राजिनयोः

*saṁjñāyāṁ mitrājinayoh*

/ *saṁjñāyāṁ* 7/1 *mitrājinayoh* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*)

(*udāttah* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antah* #143 *bahuvrīhau* #162)

*saṁjñāyāṁ viśaye bahuvrīhau samāse* ‘mitra, ajina’ ity etayor *uttarapadayor* *anta udātto bhavati*

The last syllable of the final constituents *mitra* ‘friend’ and *ajina* ‘deer-skin’, in a *bahuvrīhi* compound, are marked *udātta* when the derivate denotes a name.

#### EXAMPLES:

*devamitrah* ‘a name’

*brahmamitrah* ‘ibidem’

*vṛkājjinah* ‘ibidem’

*krsnājjinah* ‘ibidem’

1. A *vārttika* (*r̥ṣipratiṣedho mitre*) blocks this accentual provision in a *bahuvrīhi* compound where *mitra* ‘friend’ follows and the derivate signifies a sage (*r̥ṣi*).

### 6.2.166 व्यवायिनोऽन्तरम्

*vyavāyino' ntaram*

/ *vyavāyinah* 5/3 *antaram* 1/1

(*udāttah* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antah* #143 *bahuvrīhau* #162)

*vyavadhātṛvācinah paramantaram uttarapadanāṁ bahuvrīhau samāse' ntodātto bhavati*

The final syllable of *antara* ‘intervening’, when combining in a *bahuvrīhi* compound to follow a constituent denoting *vyavāya* ‘intervention, obstacle’, is marked *udātta*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*vāstrāntarah* ‘that which is intervened by clothing’

*patāntarah* ‘ibidem’

1. Consider *ātmāntarah* = *ātmā svabhāvo' ntarah yasyāsau sah* ‘he whose nature is different’ as a counter-example where *antara* ‘different’ does not mean *vyavāya* ‘intervention’.

### 6.2.167 मुखं स्वाङ्गम्

*mukham svāṅgam*

/ *mukham* 1/1 *svāngam* 1/1/

/(*udāttah* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antah* #143 *bahuvrīhau* #162)

*mukham* *uttarapadaṁ svāngavāci bahuvrīhau samāse'* *ntodāttam* *bhavati*

The last syllable of a final constituent, namely *mukha* ‘face’, when combined in a *bahuvrīhi* compound signifying *svāṅga* ‘one’s own limb’, is marked *udātta*.

EXAMPLES:

*gauramukhah* ‘one whose face is fair’

*bhadramukhah* ‘one whose face is auspicious’

1. Refer to my notes under 5.1.54 *svāṅgāc copasarjanāt* for *svāṅga*. This accentual provision will not apply to *dirghamukhā* of *dirghamukhā śālā* ‘house with a large door’ because *mukha* does not denote *svāṅga*.

### 6.2.168 नाव्ययदिक्षाब्दगोमहत्थूलमुष्टिपृथुवत्सेभ्यः

*nāvyyayadikṣabdagomahatsthūlamuṣṭipr̥thuvatsebhyaḥ*

/ *na* φ *avyaya-dikṣabda-go-mahat-sthūla-muṣṭi-pr̥thu-vatsebhyaḥ* 5/3 = *avyaya* . . . *vatsaḥ* (*itar. dv.*), *tebhyaḥ*/

(*udāttah* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antah* #143 *bahuvrīhau* #162 *mukham svāngam* #167)

‘*avyaya*, *dikṣabda*, *go*, *mahat*, *sthūla*, *muṣṭi*, *pr̥thu*, *vatsa’ity etebhyah param mukham svāngavāci bahuvrīhau samāse nāntodāttam bhavati*

The last syllable of *mukha* ‘face’, in a *bahuvrīhi* compound formed with the signification of *svāṅga* ‘one’s own limb’, is marked *udātta* when *mukha* combines after *avyaya* ‘indeclinable’, *dikṣabda* ‘directional names’, *go* ‘cow’, *mahat* ‘great’, *sthūla* ‘huge’, *muṣṭi* ‘fist’ and *pr̥thu* ‘fat, chubby’.

EXAMPLES:

*uccairmukhah* ‘he whose face is high’

*nīccairmukhah* ‘he whose face is low’

*prāṇmukhah* ‘he who is facing east’

*pratyāimukhah* ‘he who is facing west’

*gomukhah* ‘he whose face is like that of a cow’

*māhāmukhah* ‘he whose face is big’

*sthūlamukhah* ‘he whose face is thick’

*muṣṭimukhah* ‘he whose face resemble a fist’

*pr̥thumukhah* ‘he whose face is wide’

*vātsamukhah* ‘he whose face is like that of a calf’

1. This negation is made against positive provision of the preceding rule. Consequently, 6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau prakṛtyā* . . . allows initial constituents to retain their original accent. Recall that *uccaiḥ* and *nīcaiḥ* are listed in the *svarādi*

(1.1.37 *svarādi nipātam avyayam*) group and are marked *udātta* at the end. Refer to derivational details of *prān* under the appendix of 3.2.59 *r̥tvig-dadhṛk*. . . . Refer also to 6.2.52 *anigantoñcato* . . . , whereby *pra* is offered retention of its original accent. Rule 6.2.38 *gatikārakopapadhat* . . . offers *kṛt*-accent to *pratyāñ*. Refer to notes under 6.2.4 *gādhalavanayoh* . . . and 6.2.38 *mahān brihyaparāhṇa* . . . for derivational details of examples with *go* and *mahat*, respectively. The word *sthūla* is a derivate of *aC* (3.1.134 *nanddigrahipacādy* . . .). It is marked *udātta* at the end by affixal accent (3.1.3 *ādyudāttas ca*). The word *muṣṭi* ‘fist’, derived with *KtiC* introduced after *muṣ* ‘to steal’, is also marked *udātta* at the end (6.1.163? *citah*). Similar final *udātta* is also found in *pṛthu* and *vatsa*, derived with affixes *Ku* (*Uṇādi I:28: prathimradi* . . .) and *sa* (*Uṇādi III:62: vṛtrvacivasi* . . .), respectively.

### 6.2.169 निष्ठोपमानादन्यतरस्याम्

*niṣṭhopamānād anyatarasyām*

/ *niṣṭhopamānāt* 5/1 = *niṣṭhā ca upamānam ca* (sam. dv.), *tasmāt; anyatarasyām* 7/1/

(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antah* #143 *bahuvṛihau* #162 *mukham svāṅgam* #167)

*niṣṭhāntād upamānavācinaś ca mukhaṁ svāṅgam uttarapadam bahuvṛihau samāse' nyatarasyām udātto bhavati*

The last syllable of *mukha* ‘face’, in a *bahuvṛihī* compound formed with the signification of *svāṅga*, is optionally marked with *udātta* when it combines after a constituent ending in a *niṣṭhā* suffix, or denoting an *upamāna* ‘standard of comparison’.

EXAMPLES:

*prakṣālitamukhah* ‘he who has washed his face’

*prakṣālitamukhah* ‘ibidem’

*prakṣālitamukhah* ‘ibidem’

*siṁhamukhah* ‘he whose face is like that of a lion’s’

*siṁhamukhah* ‘ibidem’

*vyāghramukhah* ‘he whose face is like that of a tiger’s’

*vyāghramukhah* ‘ibidem’

1. Note that we find three accentual provisions for *prakṣālitamukham*. Our present rule offers the option of final *udātta*. We will get an *udātta* at the end of the preceding constituent by 6.2.110 *niṣṭhopasarga* . . . if this option is not accepted. But since 6.2.110 *niṣṭhopasarga* . . . is also made optional to 6.2.49 *gatiranantarāḥ* we will get the original accent of initial constituents retained.

The word *siṁha* is a derivate of *aC*, introduced after *hiṁs* (3.1.134 *nanddigrahipacādy* . . .). The *h* and *s* of *hiṁs* are switched in view of 6.3.107 *prsodarādīni*. . . . The word *vyāghra* is a derivate of *Ka*, introduced after *ghrā*

'to smell' used with the preverb *vi* (3.1.136 *ātaś copasarge*). These words both are marked with *udātta* at the end by affixal accent.

### 6.2.170 जातिकालसुखादिभ्योऽनाच्छादनात् क्तोऽकृतमितप्रतिपन्नाः:

*jātikālasukhādibhyo'* nācchādanāt kṭo' kṛtamitapratipannāḥ  
*/jāti-kāla-sukhādibhyah* 5/3 = *sukha ādir yeṣām* (bv.); *jātiś ca kālaś ca*  
*sukhādayaś ca* (itar. dv. with int. bv.); *an-ācchādanāt* 5/1 = *na ācchādanam*  
*(nañ.), tasmāt; ktah* 1/1 *a-krta-mita-pratipannāḥ* 1/3 = *krtaś ca mitaś ca*  
*pratipannaś ca* (itar. dv.); *na kṛtamitapratipannāḥ* (nañ. with int. dv.) /  
*(udāttah #64 uttarapadasya #111 antah #143 bahuvrīhau #162)*

*jātivācina ācchādanavarjītāt kālavācinah sukhādibhyaś ca param ktāntam*  
*kṛtamitapratipannān varjayitvā bahuvrīhau samāse' ntodāttāṇ bhavati*

The last syllable in the final constituent of a *bahuvrīhi*, namely one which ends in *Kta* but is not *krta* 'done', *mita* 'measured' and *pratipanna* 'promised', is marked with *udātta* when it combines after a constituent denoting *jāti* 'class', though not used with the signification of *ācchādana* 'covering' and *kāla* 'time', or, enumerated in the list headed by *sukha* 'comfort, pleasure'.

#### EXAMPLES:

*sāringajagdhah* 'he who has eaten onions'

*palāndubhakṣitah* 'ibidem'

*māsa jātah* 'born a month ago'

*samvatsarajātah* 'born a year ago'

*sukhajātah* 'he whose happiness has appeared'

*dukhajātah* 'he whose misery has appeared'

1. Note that *sukhādi* refers to the listing of nominals under 3.1.18 *sukhādibhyah*. . . . This rule is again an exception to 6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau*. . . . A *bahuvrīhi* compound with *krta*, *mita* and *pratipanna* as its final constituent will avail accentual provisions of 6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau*. . . . Thus, consider *kūṇḍakṛtah* 'he by who a *kūṇḍa* is made', *kūṇḍamitah* 'he by who a *kūṇḍa* was measured' and *kūṇḍapratipannah* 'he by who a *kūṇḍa* was promised'. Recall that a *niṣṭhā* constituent is placed first in a *bahuvrīhi* compound (2.2.36 *niṣṭhā*). This rule serves as a *jñāpaka* for their postplacement (*paranipāta*).

### 6.2.171 वा जाते

*vā jāte*

*/vā φ jāte* 7/1/

*(udāttah #64 uttarapadasya #111 antah #143 bahuvrīhau #162 jāti-*  
*kālasukhādibhyah #170)*

*jātaśabda uttarapade vā' nta udātto havati bahuvrīhau samāse jāti-*  
*kālasukhādibhyah*

The final syllable of a following constituent, namely *jāta* ‘born’ in a *bahuvrīhi* compound, is optionally marked with *udātta* when *jāta* combines after a constituent denoting *jāti* ‘class’, though not used with the signification of *ācchādana* and *kāla*, or, enumerated in the list headed by *sukha*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*dantajātah* ‘he whose teeth have appeared’  
*dantajātah* ‘ibidem’  
*stanajātah* ‘a man whose breasts have appeared?’  
*stanajātah* ‘ibidem’  
*māsa(jātah)* ‘one month old’  
*māsa(jātah)* ‘ibidem’  
*samvatsarajātah* ‘one year old’  
*samvatsarajātah* ‘ibidem’  
*sukhajātah* ‘he whose happiness has appeared’  
*sukhajātah* ‘ibidem’  
*duḥkhajātah* ‘he whose misery has appeared’  
*duḥkhajātah* ‘ibidem’

1. This option is offered in favor of retention proposal of 6.2.1 *bahu-vrīhau*. . . . The word *danta*, as a derivate of *dam* ‘to crush down’ with *taN* (*Uṇādi* III:86: *hasimigrīṇvāmī* . . .), is marked *udātta* at the beginning. Similar accent is available to *stana* ‘breast’ as a derivate of *ghaṄ*, where *a* of verbal root *stana* is deleted by 6.4.48 *ato lopah*. Both *danta* and *stana* receive their accent from 6.1.194 *nnityādir nityam*. The word *māsa* ‘month’, as a derivate of *GHaṄ*, is also marked *udātta* at the beginning. But *samvatsara* ‘year’, a derivate of *saraN* (*Uṇādi* III:72: *sampūrvāc cit*), is marked with *udātta* at the end (6.1.160 *citah*). The words *sukha* and *duḥkha* are derivates of *Da* (3.2.101 *anyesv ap* . . .), introduced after *khan* used with *su* and *dus*. They are thus marked with *udātta* at the end by affixal accent. They also go through *ti-* deletion of *an* (6.4.143 *teh*).

#### 6.2.172 नन्सुभ्याम्

*nañsubhyām*

/ *nañsubhyām* 5/2 (*itar. dv.*) /

(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antah* #143 *bahuvrīhau* #162)

*nañsubhyām param uttarām bahuvrīhau samāse* ‘*ntodāttam bhavati*

The final constituent of a *bahuvrīhi* compound which combines after *naṄ* and *su* is marked with *udātta* at the end.

#### EXAMPLES:

*gyavo deśah* ‘a place where barley is not produced’

avrīhiḥ ‘a place where rice is not produced’  
amāsaḥ ‘a place where Mung beans are not produced’  
suyavah ‘a place where good barley is produced’  
suvinīhiḥ ‘a place where good rice is produced’

1. Note that the final *udātta* applies to *samāsa* ‘compound’, even when *uttarapada* ‘final constituent *pada*’ and *samāsa* are both specified in this rule. This is what is desired (*samāsasyaitadantodāttam iṣyate*). This is how *anyraḥ* ‘without *r̥k*’ and *bahvṛcaḥ* ‘with many *r̥k*’, which end in the *samāsānta* affix *a* (5.4.74 *r̥kpūrabdhūḥ* . . .), will be marked *udātta* at the end. The *samāsānta* affix has to be accepted as part of the compound. That a reference with *samāsa* also includes its *samāsānta* affix, and also that this accentual provision is made with reference to *samāsa*, is made clear by the next rule. That is, there was no need to formulate 6.2.173 *kāpi pūrvam* if this rule had to apply only with reference to *uttarapade*. An example such as *sukumārīko deśah* ‘a place with beautiful girls’ could have been accounted for by this rule. Affix *KaP* could have been thus excluded. Obviously, there was no need to specify *kāpi pūrvam*. It also establishes that a *samāsānta* affix is considered part of *samāsa*, and not *uttarapada* (*samāsāntāḥ samāsasyaivāvayavā nottarapadasya*).

### 6.2.173 कपि पूर्वम्

*kāpi pūrvam*

*kāpi* 1/1 *pūrvam* 1/1/

(*udāttāḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *bahuvinīhau* #162 *nañsubhyām* #172)

*nañsubhyām kāpi parataḥ pūrvam antodāttam bhavati*

A syllable which precedes the *samāsānta* affix *kaP* of a *bahuvinīhi* compound is marked with *udātta* when its final constituent combines after *naÑ* and *su*, and affix *kaP* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

akumārīkō deśah ‘a place where there are no virgins’

avṛṣalākāḥ ‘a place with no bad vṛṣalas (*śūdras*)’

abrahmabandhūkāḥ ‘a place with no unworthy brāhmaṇas’

sukumārīkāḥ ‘a place with virgins in abundance’

suवृषलाकाः ‘a place with good vṛṣalas’

subrahmabandhūkāḥ ‘a place where good brāhmaṇas live’

1. Affix *KaP* is introduced by 5.4.153 *nadyṛtaś ca*. This final *udātta* was available to *KaP* from the preceding rule. That is, by accepting *KaP* as final of the compound. Our present rule offers final *udātta* to the vowel which precedes *KaP*.

## 6.2.174 ह्रस्वान्ते॑ न्यात् पूर्वम्

*hrasvāntे॑ nyāt̄ pūrvam*

/ *hrasvāntे॑* 7/1 = *hrasvo'* *ntah* *yasya* (bv.); *nyāt̄* 5/1 *pūrvam* 1/1

(*udāttah* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antah* #143 *bahuvrīhau* #162 *nañsubhyām* #172 *kāpi* #173)

*hrasvo'* *anto yasya tad idam hrasvāntam uttarapadam samāso vā, tatrāntyāt pūrvam udāttam bhavati kāpi parato nañsubhyām param bahuvrīhau samāse*  
The next to the last syllable of a final *bahuvrīhi* constituent which ends in a short vowel (*hrasva*), and combines after *naÑ* and *su*, is marked *udātta* when *kaP* follows.

## EXAMPLES:

*ayaváko deśah* 'a place where barley is not produced'

*avrīhikah* 'a place where rice is not produced'

*amāśakah* 'a place where Mung beans are not produced'

*suyavakah* 'a place where good barley is produced'

*suvrīhikah* 'a place where good rice is produced'

*sumāśakah* 'a place where good Mung beans are produced'

1. Our preceding rule offers *udātta* to the final vowel of the final compound constituent under the condition of the *saṁsānta* affix *KaP*. This rule offers *udātta* to next to the last vowel of a following constituent. Again, when the *saṁsānta* affix *KaP* followed and the final compound constituent ended in a short (*hrasva*) vowel. Affix *KaP* in *ayavakah*, etc., is optionally introduced by 5.4.154 *śeṣād vibhāṣā*.

## 6.2.175 बहोर्न्ज्वदुत्तरपदभूमि

*bahor nañvad uttarapadabhūmni*

/ *bahoḥ* 5/1 *nañvat̄* φ *uttarapadabhūmni* 7/1 = *uttarapadasya bhūmā* (*saṁsāt̄*), *tasmin*,

(*udāttah* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antah* #143 *bahuvrīhau* #162)

*uttarapadārthaḥ bahutve yo bahuśabdo varttate tasman nañ iva svaro bhavati*  
The final constituent of a *bahuvrīhi* compound is accented like *naÑ* when it occurs after *bahu* 'many' used with the signification of its own multiplicity (*bahutva*).

## EXAMPLES:

*bahuyavovo deśah* 'a place rich in barley'

*bahuvrīhiḥ* 'a place rich in rice'

*bahutīlah* 'a place rich in sesame'

*bahukumārīkāḥ* (*deśah*) 'a place with beautiful girls in abundance'

*bahuyavāko deśah* 'a place with barley in abundance'

*bahuvrīhikah* ‘a place with rice in abundance’

*bahujarāh* ‘a place full of old people’

*bahumarāh* ‘a place full of dying people’

1. The accentual provision of 6.2.172 *nañsubhyām*, under special meaning conditions, is here extended also after *bahu*. An absence of multiplicity of meaning, as in *bahuṣu manah asya sah ayam* = *bahumānā* ‘he whose mind is into many things’, cannot avail this extensional provision. The compound will retain the original accent of its initial constituent.

### 6.2.176 न गुणादयोऽवयवः:

*na gunādayo' vayavāḥ*

/ *na* *ϕ* *gunādayah* 1/3 = *guṇa ādir yeśām* (bv.); *avayavāḥ* 1/3

(*udāttah* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antah* #143 *bahuvrīhau* #162 *bahoh* #175)

*guṇādayo' vayavavācino bahor uttare bahuvrīhau nāntodāttā bhavanti*

The final constituents which, in a *bahuvrīhi* compound, combine after *bahu*, and are enumerated in the list headed by *guṇa*, are not marked *udātta* at the end.

#### EXAMPLES:

*bahugūnā rajjuḥ* ‘a rope with many strands’

*bahvākṣaram padam* ‘a polysyllabic word’

*bahuṣūktah* ‘a text with many hymns’

*bahvādhyāyah* ‘a text with many chapters’

1. This rule blocks the extensional provision of the preceding rule under specified membership of a following constituent. Note that *bahu*, as a derivate of *Ku* (*Unādi* I.29 *laṅghibāñhyor* . . .), is marked *udātta* at the end by affixal accent. The *anudātta a* of *akṣaram* ‘imperishable’, occurring after the *v* replacement of *u*, will be marked *svarita* (8.2.4 *udāttasvaritayor* . . .).

The condition of *avayava* ‘part of a whole’, relative to the meaning of a following constituent, is important. Thus, *bahuguno brāhmaṇah* ‘a brāhmaṇa with many qualities’ will serve as a counter-example since *guṇa* here denotes ‘quality’, and not any ‘part (of a whole)’. This compound will avail the accentual provision of the earlier rule.

2. Note that *guṇādi* ‘*guṇa*, etc.’ is not a listing of *gāṇa*, per se. It is accepted as an open-ended group (*ākṛtigāṇa*).

### 6.2.177 उपसर्गात् स्वाङ्गं ध्रुवमपशुः:

*upasargāt svāṅgam dhruvam aparśuh*

/ *upasargāt* 5/1 *svāṅgam* 1/1 *dhruvam* 1/1 *aparśuh* 1/1 (*nañ*.) /

(*udāttah* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antah* #143 *bahuvrīhau* #162)

*upasargāt svāṅgan* *dhruvam* *parśur varjita* *antodāttam* *bhavati*

The final constituent of a *bahuṛīhi* compound which signifies *svāṅga* ‘one’s limb’ qualified with *dhr̥uva* ‘remaining in the same form’, but is not constituted by *parśuh* ‘ribs’ though occurs in combination after a preverb (*upasarga*), is marked with *udātta* at the end.

#### EXAMPLES:

*prapr̥sthah* ‘a man with a protuberant back’

*pr̥daraḥ* ‘a man with a pot-belly’

*pr̥lalāṭah* ‘a man with a high forehead’

1. The word *dhr̥uva* is explained as *ekarūpam* ‘that which stays in a fixed form’. Kāśikā offers *udbāhuḥ* (*kroṣati*) ‘curse with his hands raised’ as a counter-example to *dhr̥uva*. Obviously, since hands are raised when cursing. Note that *parśu* ‘ribs’ is made an exception because it denotes *svāṅga*. Thus *utparśuḥ* and *viparśuḥ* will avail the retention proposal of 6.2.1 *bahuṛīhau*. . . . Finally, a compound such as *darśanīyalalāṭah* ‘he whose forehead is beautiful’ will also form a counter-example since *lalāṭa* does not occur after a preverb (*upasarga*).

2. The word *upasargāt* ‘after a preverb’ is carried through 6.2.195 *sor avakṣepane*.

#### 6.2.178 वनं समासे

/vanam samāse

/vanam1/1 samāse 7/1/

(*udāttah* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antah* #143 *upasargāt* #177)

*samāsamātre* ‘vanam’ ity etad *uttarapadam upasargāt param antodāttam bhavati*

A final compound constituent, namely *vana* ‘forest’ which combines after a preverb (*upasarga*), is marked *udātta* at the end.

#### EXAMPLES:

*pravaṇe* ‘in a beautiful forest; at a sloping place’

*nirvane* ‘in the clearing of a forest; at a level place’

1. The words *pravaṇa* and *nirvana*, in a ritual context, refer to a ground which is ‘low on one side’ and ‘level on the other’, respectively. The compounds can be interpreted as *bahuṛīhi* and *tatpuruṣa* both. Thus, *prakṛṣṭam vanam asya* ‘he whose forest is beautiful’ and *prakṛṣṭam vanam* ‘beautiful forest’. The *n* of *vana* is replaced with *n*, of 8.4.5 *pranirantah śare*. . . . The word *saṃsa* is used here to impair the restrictive condition of *bahuṛīhau*. The accentual provision then applies to compounds in general.

#### 6.2.179 अन्तः:

*antah*

/ *antah* 1/1 /

(*udāttah* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antah* #143 *vanaṁ* #178)

*antaś śabdād uttarāṇ vanam antodāttām bhavati*

A final compound constituent, namely *vana*, which combines after *antar* ‘within’ is marked *udātta* at the end.

#### EXAMPLES:

*antarvṛgno deśah* ‘a place with a forest within’

1. This rule is formulated for examples where *vana* may not be used after an *upasarga* ‘preverb’ (*anupasargārtha ārambhah*). Our compound example is a *bahuvrīhi*. The *n* of *vana* is again replaced with *n*, as explained under the preceding rule. Recall that *antar* is an indeclinable (*avyaya*), listed as part of the *svarādi* group of nominals (1.1.37 *svarādinipātam avyayam*).

#### 6.2.180 अन्तःस्त्र

*antaś ca*

/ *antah* 1/1 *ca* φ /

(*udāttah* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antah* #143 *upasargāt* #177)

*antaś śabdās cottarapadam upasargād atodāttām bhavati*

A final compound constituent, namely *antah* ‘end’ which occurs in combination after a preverb (*upasarga*), is also marked with *udātta* at the end.

#### EXAMPLES:

*prāntah* ‘edge, extremity’

*paryantah* ‘extremity, circumference’

1. These compounds can be interpreted as *prādi* (*prakṛṣṭam antah*) and *bahuvrīhi* (*prakṛṣṭam antah yasya*), both. The word *anta* is thus marked *udātta* at the end.

#### 6.2.181 न निविभ्याम्

*na nivibhyām*

/ *na* φ *nivibhyām* 5/2 (*itar. dv.*) /

(*udāttah* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antah* #143 *upasargāt* #177 *antah* #180)

A final compound constituent, namely *antah* ‘end’ which occurs in combination after the preverbs *ni* and *vi*, is not marked with *udātta* at the end.

#### EXAMPLES:

*nyántah* ‘proximity’

*vyántah* ‘separated, distant’

1. This negation applies against the positive provision of final *udātta* of our preceding rule. That is, *anta* combines after the two preverbs (*upasargāt*): *ni* and *vi*. These preverbs are both marked with *udātta* at the beginning (*Phitsūtra* 80: *upasargās* . . .). The negation of this rule will make 6.2.1 *bahu-vrīhau prakṛtyā* . . . apply. Recall, however, that a replacement in *y* (*yanādeśa*) for *i* of *ni* and *vi* will cause the following *a* to be marked with *svarita* (8.2.4 *udāttasvaritayor* . . .). A *tatpuruṣa* interpretation of compounds will still accomplish the same accentuation. The retention proposal will then be in consonance with 6.2.2 *tatpuruṣe tulyārtha*. . . .

### 6.2.182 परेरभितोभावि मण्डलम्

*parer abhitobhāvi manḍalam*

/ *pareḥ* 5/1 *abhitobhāvi* 1/1 = *abhitobhāvi* *manḍalam* 1/1 /  
denoting the sense of *matUP*) *manḍalam* 1/1 /

(*udāttah* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antah* #143 *upasargāt* #177)

*parer uttaram abhitobhāvavācinam manḍalam cāntodāttam bhavati*

A final compound constituent which combines after the preverb *pari* and which either denotes the sense of *abhitobhāvin* ‘that which, by nature, is found on both sides’, or is constituted by *manḍala* ‘circle’, is not marked with *udātta* at the end.

#### EXAMPLES:

*parikūlam* ‘found on both sides of a river’

*paritīram* ‘ibidem’

*parimandalam* ‘all around . . .’

1. The word *abhitobhāvin*, specified as neuter (*napuṁsaka*), is explained as ‘that which is naturally found on both sides’. Thus, *kūla* ‘(river) bank’ and *tīra* ‘edge’. A separate specification of *manḍala* ‘circle’ is made since it cannot qualify as having the signification of two sides only. A *tatpuruṣa* or *bahu-vrīhi* interpretation of these compounds will yield accentuation similar to one explained under the previous rule. An *avyayībhāva* interpretation will make this final *udātta* provision go against the retention proposal of 6.2.33 *paripratyupāpā varjyamānā*. . . .

### 6.2.183 प्रादस्वाङ्गं संज्ञायाम्

*prād asvāṅgam samjñāyām*

/ *prāt* 5/1 *asvāṅgam* 1/1 = *na svāṅgam* (*nañ*); *samjñāyām* 7/1 /

(*udāttah* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antah* #143 *upasargāt* #177)

*prād uttarapadām asvāṅgavāci samjñāyām viśaye* ntodāttam bhavati

A final compound constituent which does not denote *svāṅga* and combines after the preverb *pra* is marked with *udātta* at the end, provided the derivate signifies a name (*sanjñā*).

## EXAMPLES:

*prakos̄tham* ‘enclosure, courtyard’  
*pragṛham* ‘a beautiful house’  
*pravāram* ‘space in front of an entrance’

1. Note that *prahastam* ‘hand-print’, *prapadam* ‘foot-print’ and *prapītham* ‘pretuberant back’ are offered as counter-examples to condition of *asvāṅga* ‘not one’s own limb’ and *asamjñā* ‘non-name’, respectively.

## 6.2.184 निरुदकादीनि च

*nirudakādīni ca*  
*/nirudakādīni 1/3 = nirudakam ādi yeṣām (bv.); ca φ/*  
*(udāttah #64 uttarapadasya #111 antah #143)*  
*nirudakādīni ca śabdarūpāṇy antodāttāni bhavanti*

The final compound constituents enumerated in the list headed by *nirudaka* ‘arid; without water’ are also marked *udātta* at the end.

## EXAMPLES:

*nirudakam* ‘a place with no water’  
*nirmakṣikam* ‘a place with no flies’  
*nirmaśakam* ‘a place with no mosquitoes’  
*niskālakah* ‘timeless’

1. These compounds can be interpreted as *prādi-tatpuruṣa*, or *bahuvrīhi*, both. A *bahuvrīhi*, paraphrased as *nirgatam udakam asmāt* ‘that from which water has disappeared’, will be marked *udātta* at the end, against provisions of 6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau*. . . . A *prādi-tatpuruṣa* interpretation, paraphrased as *nirgatam udakam* ‘flowed-out water’ or *nirgatam udahāt* ‘gone out from water’ will receive this accentual provision against 6.2.2 *tatpuruṣe tulyārtha*. . . . An *avyayibhāva* interpretation is not intended. For, an *avyayibhāva* compound can avail final *udātta* by 6.1.220 *samāsasya*.

2. Note that *nirudakādi* is also accepted as an open-ended listing (*ākṛtigāṇa*). This will facilitate final *udātta* for a compound formed with *hasta* ‘hand’, *pāda* ‘foot’, *keśa* ‘hair’ and *karṣa* ‘pull’, used in combination after *pari*.

## 6.2.185 अभेर्मुखम्

*abher mukham*  
*/abheḥ 5/1 mukham 1/1/*  
*(udāttah #64 uttarapadasya #111 antah #143 upasargāt #177)*  
*abher uttarāṁ mukham antodāttāṁ bhavati*

A final compound constituent, namely *mukha* ‘face’ which combines after the preverb *abhi*, is marked *udātta* at the end.

EXAMPLES:

abhimukhah ‘facing’

1. This rule is formulated for non-*bahuvrīhi* compounds. Even within a *bahuvrīhi* interpretation, it is formulated for compounds where conditions of *dhruba* ‘fixed’ and *svāṅga* ‘one’s own limb’ are not met (6.2.177 *upasargāt svāṅgam dhruvam aparsuh*). Thus, consider abhimukhā śālā ‘a house in front’, where *mukha* does not denote *svāṅga* ‘one’s limb’. This rule thus assigns final *udātta*. The examples can be interpreted both as *prādi* and *avyayibhāva*, paraphrased as *abhigataṁ mukham* ‘beautiful face’ and *abhigataṁ mukham asya* ‘he whose face is beautiful’, respectively. Here again the example cannot be interpreted as an *avyayibhāva*.

### 6.2.186 अपाच्च

*apāc ca*

/ *apāt* 5/1 *ca* φ/

(*udāttah* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antah* #143 *upasargāt* #177 *mukham* #185)

*apāc cottaraṁ mukham antodāttan् bhavati*

A final compound constituent, namely *mukha* which combines after the preverb *apa*, is also marked with *udātta* at the end.

EXAMPLES:

apamukhah ‘he who has a bad face’

apamukham ‘bad face’

1. These examples can be interpreted three ways: *bahuvrīhi* = *apagataṁ mukham asmāt* ‘... he whose face is crooked’, *prādi* = *apagataṁ mukham* ‘crooked face’ and *avyayibhāva* = *apa mukhāt* ‘excluding the face’ (2.1.11 *apaparibahir*...). An *avyayibhāva* compound will receive final *udātta* against retention proposal of 6.2.33 *paripratyupāpā*....

2. A *yogavibhāga* ‘split formulation’ of this rule is intended for the *anuvṛtti* of *apa* in the following rule.

### 6.2.187 स्फिगपूतवीणाञ्जोऽध्वकुक्षिसीरनामनाम च

*sphigapūtavīnāñjō*’ *dhvakukṣisīranāmanāma ca*

/ *sphiga-pūta-vīnā-añjas-adhvan-kukṣisīranāmanāma* 1/1 = *sīrasya nāma* (*śaṣ. tat.*); *sphiga* ... *nāma* (*sam dv.*); *ca* φ/

(*udāttah* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antah* #143 *upasargāt* #177 *apāt* #186) ‘*sphiga, pūta, vīnā, añjas, adhvan, kukṣi*’ ity etāny *uttarapadāni sīranāmāni ca nāmaśabdaś ca apād uttarāny antodāttāni bhavanti*

The final compound constituents, namely *sphiga* ‘hip, buttock’, *pūta*

'ibidem', *vīṇā* 'Indian lute', *añjas* 'unguent', *adhvan* 'road', *kukṣi* 'stomach, lap' and *nāma* 'name', or those which may have names of plows as their denotatum, are marked with *udātta* at the end when they occur in combination after the preverb *apa*.

EXAMPLES:

*apasphigam* 'malformed buttocks'  
*apapūtam* 'ibidem'  
*apavīṇam* 'without a Vīṇā; bad Vīṇā'  
*apāñjah* 'dishonest'  
*apādhvā* 'bad road'  
*apakukṣih* 'bad belly'  
*apasīrah* 'bad plough'  
*apahalam* 'ibidem'  
*apanāma* 'someone with a bad reputation; bad name'

1. These compounds can be interpreted as *prādi*, *bahuvrīhi* and *karmadhāraya-tatpuruṣa*. A *bahuvrīhi* interpretation, i.e., with *sphiga*, *pūta* and *kukṣi*, must be made outside the context of 6.2.177 *upasargāt svāṅgam*. . . . The final *udātta* provision of this rule applies only when the *samāsānta* affix *aC*, for example in *apādhvā* 'badpath', is not introduced by 5.4.85 *upasargād adhvanah*. A compound with a *samāsānta* affix marked with *C* as an *it* could have received the final *udātta* of 6.1.160 *citah*, anyway. This also indicates that *samāsānta* affixes are non-obligatory (*anitya*), i.e., optional. If they were obligatory, *adhvan* 'road' would not have been listed here.

## 6.2.188 अधेरुपरिस्थम्

*adher uparistham*  
*/adheḥ 5/1 uparistham 1/1 = upari tiṣṭhatīti/*  
*(udāttah #64 uttarapadasya #111 antah #143 upasargāt #177)*  
*adher uttaram uparisthavāci antodāttam bhavati*

A final compound constituent which combines after the preverb *adhi* and denotes the sense of *uparistha* 'sitting on top' is marked *udātta* at the end.

EXAMPLES:

*adhiḍantah* 'a tooth on top of another'  
*adhiķarṇah* 'an ear on top of another'  
*adhiķeśah* 'a hair with its root shared by another'

1. The word *uparisthah* is explained as 'one sitting on top of another'. Thus, *adhyārūḍho dantah* 'a tooth on top of another', a *prādi* compound (*vt. prādayo gatādyartho prathamayā ad 1.4.79 jīvikopaniṣadād . . .*). This compound

can also be interpreted as a *vyadhikarāṇa* ‘appositional’ *bahuvrīhi* with *ārūḍhah* ‘sitting on’, with its following constituent (*uttarapada*) gone through deletion (*lopa*).

A counter-example to the condition of *uparisthah* is offered in *adhikarāṇam* ‘substratum, locus’.

### 6.2.189 अनोरप्रधानकनीयसी

*anor apradhānakaniyasi*

/ *anoḥ* 5/1 *apradhāna-kaniyasī* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*)/

(*udāttah* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antah* #143 *upasargāt* #177)

*anor uttaram apradhānavāci kaniyas cāntodāttam bhavati*

A final compound constituent which occurs in combination after the preverb *anu* is marked with *udātta* at the end, when the same denotes the sense of *apradhāna* ‘non-principal’, or is constituted by *kaniyas* ‘younger’.

#### EXAMPLES:

*anujyesthah* ‘one who follows the eldest’

*anumadhyamaḥ* ‘one who follows the middle one’

*anukanīyān* ‘a young who follows his elders’

1. Note that, as indicated by paraphrases of these compounds, *jyeṣṭha* ‘eldest’ and *madhyama* ‘middle, intermediate’ are non-principal (*apradhāna*). Thus, *anugataḥ jyeṣṭham* = *anujyesthah* ‘one who followed the eldest’ and *anugataḥ madhyamam* = *anumadhyamah* ‘one who followed the middle one’. A separate specification of *kaniyas* is needed because it is principal. Thus, *anugataḥ kanīyān* ‘the young followed the elders’. There was no need for a separate specification of *kaniyas* if it was intended to be non-principal. For, the *apradhāna* ‘non-principal’ specification of this rule could account for it. Thus, *anugataḥ kanīyānsam* = *anukanīyān* ‘one who followed the young ones’. A counter-example for the condition of *apradhāna* will have *anujyēṣṭhah*, paraphrased as *anugataḥ jyeṣṭhah* ‘the eldest followed the younger one’. The *udātta* of *anu*, an indeclinable, will be retained here.

### 6.2.190 पुरुषश्चान्वादिष्टः

*puruṣaścānvādiṣṭah*

/ *puruṣah* 1/1 *ca* φ *anvādiṣṭah* 1/1 = *paścād ādiṣṭah*/

(*udāttah* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antah* #143 *upasargāt* #177 *anoḥ* #189)

A final compound constituent, namely *puruṣa* ‘man’, which occurs in combination after *anu* with the signification of *anvādiṣṭa* ‘secondary mention’ is also marked with *udātta* at the end.

## EXAMPLES:

*anvādiṣṭah puruṣah* = *anupuruṣah* ‘one who was asked subsequently . . . ; a man who was asked to do something after something (or someone) else’

1. The word *anvādiṣṭa* is explained as *apradhānaśiṣṭa* ‘not specified as principal’ and *kathitānukathita* ‘specified subsequently to something else’. Thus, consider *bhikṣām aṭa gañ cānaya* ‘go beg for alms, also fetch the cow’. Note that ‘begging for alms’ is here accepted as ‘principal’. Fetching the cow is secondary. A counter-example to the condition of *anvādiṣṭa* will be *anugataḥ jyeṣṭhaḥ* = *anūjyeṣṭhaḥ* ‘one who follows . . .’. The indeclinable will retain its original accent.

## 6.2.191 अतेरकृत्यदे

*ater akṛtpade*

/ *ateḥ* 5/1 *akṛtpade* 1/2 = *na kṛt (nañ); akṛt ca padam ca (itar. dv.), tasmin/ (udāttah #64 uttarapadasya #111 antah #143 upasargāt #177)*  
*ateḥ param akrdantam padaśabdāś cāntodāttah bhavati*

A final compound constituent which combines after the preverb *ati*, does not end in a *kṛt* affix (*akṛte*), or else, is constituted by *pada* ‘foot’, is marked *udātta* at the end.

## EXAMPLES:

*atyāṅkuśo nāgah* ‘an elephant gone beyond the control of the hook’  
*atikāśo*’ *śvah* ‘a horse gone beyond the control of the whip’

1. These compounds are formed by a *vārttika* (*nirādayo krāntādyarthे . . .*; ad 1.4.79 *jivikopaniṣadāv . . .*). A counter-example to the condition of *akṛte* is offered as *atikārakah* ‘one who does things beautifully’. A *vārttika* proposes that this final *udātta* should apply after *ati* when deletion of a root is involved. Thus, *atikrāntah kārakāt* = *atikrāntah* ‘one who has gone beyond a doer’. This statement is necessary so that *śobhanah gārgyah* = *ātigārgyah* ‘handsome Gārgya’ can be excluded from availing the accentual provision of this rule.

## 6.2.192 नेरनिधाने

*ner anidhāne*

/ *neḥ* 5/1 *anidhāne* 7/1 (*nañ.*)/  
*(udāttah #64 uttarapadasya #111 antah #143 upasargāt #177)*  
*neḥ param uttaram antodāttam bhavaty anidhāne*

A final compound constituent which combines after the preverb *ni* is marked with *udātta* at the end, when the derivate signifies something other than *nidhāna* ‘not making manifest’.

EXAMPLES:

*nimūlam* ‘uprooted; down to the roots’

*nyakṣam* ‘down to the axle; lowly’

*nitrṇam* ‘down to the blade of grass’

1. Note that *ni* is a *prādi* (1.4.58 *prādayah*). It denotes an action qualified with means (*sādhanavīśiṣṭakriyā*). Actually, in integration (*vṛtti*), this is the nature of *prādis* in general (*Nyāsa ad Kāś*: *prādayo hi svabhāvenaiva vṛtvivिषये sādhanāṁ kriyāṁ āhuḥ*).

The word *nidhāna* is here used in the sense of *aprakāśatā* ‘non-manifestness’. The condition of *anidhāne* can thus be interpreted as ‘manifest’. The example compound *nimūlam* would thus literally mean ‘down to the root’. A counter-example with a ‘non-manifest’ meaning will be *nidandāḥ* ‘with no (use of) stick (force)’.

These compounds can be interpreted as both *prādi-tatpuruṣa* and *bahuvrīhi*. Thus, *nimūlam* = *nigataṁ mūlam* ‘down to the root’ and *nimūlam* = *nigataṁ mūlam asya tat* ‘that of whose root is out; uprooted’. As usual, it cannot be interpreted as an *avyayibhāva*. For, it would then have final *udāttā* already available to it (6.1.220 *samāsasya*).

### 6.2.193 प्रतेरश्वादयस्तत्पुरुषे

*prater amśvādayas tatpuruse*

/prateḥ 5/1 amśvādayah 1/3 = amśur ādir yesām (bv.); *tatpuruse* 7/1/

(*udāttāḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *upasargāt* #177)

*prater amśvādayas tatpuruse samāse' ntodāttā bhavanti*

The final compound constituents which are enumerated in the list headed by *amśu* ‘ray’, and combine after the preverb *prati*, are marked *udāttā* in a *tatpuruṣa* compound.

EXAMPLES:

*pratyamśuh* ‘refracted ray’

*pratijanah* ‘an adversary’

*pratirājā* ‘king of an enemy’

1. Here again, in examples such as *pratirājā*, this accent is made available in the absence of the *samāsānta* affix *TaC*. Refer to my notes under 6.2.172 *nañsubhyām* for additional details. The condition of *tatpuruse* is imposed so that a *bahuvrīhi*, for example *pratigatā amśavo'* *sya* = *pratyamśur ayam uṣṭrah* ‘this camel (is one who) has lost his speed (energy)’, could not avail this accentual provision.

### 6.2.194 उपाद द्व्यजजिनमगौरादयः

*upād dvyajajinam agaurādayah*

/ *upāt* 5/1 *dvyajajinam* 1/1 = *dvau acau yasmin* (*bv.*); *dvyac ca ajinam ca* (*sam.* *dv.* with int. *dv.*); *agaurādayah* 1/3 = *gaura ādir yesam* (*bv.*); *na gaurādayah* (*nañ.* with int. *bv.*) /

(*udāttah* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antah* #143 *upasargāt* #177 *tatpuruṣe* #193)

*upād uttaram dvyajajinam ca cāntodāttam bhavati*

A final constituent which, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, combines after the preverb *upa* and either contains two vowels though is not one enumerated in the list headed by *gaura* ‘fair’, or is constituted by *ajina* ‘antelope-skin’, is marked *udātta* at the end.

#### EXAMPLES:

*upadevah* ‘a little god’

*upasomah* ‘one who has Soma’

*upendrah* ‘younger to Indra; Viṣṇu’

*upājinam* ‘near the antelope skin’

1. Note that the *gaurādi* nominals are excluded because they all consist of two vowels (*dvyac*). The example compounds are formed by 2.2.18 *kugati-prādayah*.

#### 6.2.195 सोरवक्षेपणे

*sor avakṣepaṇe*

/ *soḥ* 5/1 *avakṣepaṇe* 7/1 /

(*udāttah* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antah* #143 *upasargāt* #177 *tatpuruṣe* #193)

*suśabdāt param uttarapadaṁ tatpuruṣe samāse' ntodāttam bhavati avakṣepaṇe gamyamāne*

A final constituent which, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, combines after *su* is marked *udātta* at the end when the derivate denotes *avakṣepaṇa* ‘to look down upon, contempt’.

#### EXAMPLES:

*iha khalv idānīm susthaṇḍile susphigābhyaṁ*

*supratyavasitah* ‘now, here in this beautiful place, he indeed, is back with his fattened buttocks’

1. Note that *su*, of *supratyavasitah*, is here used with the sense of *pūjā* ‘praise’. But the sentence does indicate *avakṣepaṇa* ‘contempt’. Examples countering the conditions of *su* and *avakṣepaṇa* are offered, respectively, as *kubrāhmaṇah* ‘a bad brāhmaṇa’ and *sutṛneṣu* ‘in beautiful grass’. These compounds will retain the accent of their indeclinable constituents. Incidentally, the compound with *su* denoting *pūjā* is formed in consonance with a statement (*svatī pūjāyām* ad 2.2.18 *kugati-prādayah*).

### 6.2.196 विभाषोत्पुच्चे

*vibhāṣotpucche*

/vibhāṣā 1/1 utpucche 7/1/

(udāttah #64 uttarapadasya #111 antah #143 upasargāt #177 tatpuruṣe #193)

*utpucchaśabde tatpuruṣe vibhāṣā’ nta udānto bhavati*

A final constituent which, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, is constituted by *utpuccha* ‘raised-tail’, is optionally marked *udātta* at the end.

EXAMPLES:

*utpucchah* ‘gone beyond the tail’

*utpūchah* ‘with raised tail’

1. Note that *utpucchah* is interpreted in two ways: *utpucchah* = *utkrāntah pucchāt* ‘gone beyond the tail’ and *puccham udasyati* ‘raises (its tail)’, where in this latter, affix *aC* (3.3.56 *er ac*) is introduced. The first interpretation will make the accentual provision of 6.2.2 *tatpuruṣe tulyārtha* . . . available. Our present rule offers final *udātta* against what was not made available (*aprāpta*). If the second interpretation, where *aC* is introduced after a root ending in *NiṄ* (3.1.20 *puchabhāṅda* . . .), is accepted, an obligatory final *udātta* will be available (from 6.2.143 *thāthaghañ* . . .). This rule will then make its offer of final *udātta* against what is available (*prāpta*). This rule, since it makes an optional provision against what was not made available (*aprāpta*), and what was made available (*prāpta*), is interpreted as *ubhayatra-vibhāṣā*.

### 6.2.197 द्वित्रिभ्यां पाहमूर्धसु बहुव्रीहौ

*dvi-tribhyām pāddanmūrdhasu bahuvrīhau*

/dvitribhyām 5/2 (itar. dv.); pāddanmūrdhasu 7/3 = pād ca dat ca mūrdhā

ca = pāddanmūrdhānah (itar. dv.), teṣu; bahuvrīhau 7/1/

(udāttah #64 uttarapadasya #111 antah #143 vibhāṣā #196)

‘dvi, tri’ ity etābhyaṁ uttareṣu ‘pād, dat, mūrdhan’ ity eteṣūttarapadeṣu yo bahuvrīhis tatra vibhāṣā anta udātto bhavati

The last syllable of a *bahuvrīhi* compound is optionally marked with *udātta*, when *pād* ‘foot’, *dat* ‘tooth’ and *mūrdhan* ‘head’ combine to follow *dvi* ‘two’ and *tri* ‘three’.

EXAMPLES:

*dvipāt* ‘biped’

*dvipāt* ‘ibidem’

*tripāt* ‘three-footed’

*tripāt* ‘ibidem’

*dvi*dan ‘possessing two teeth’

*dvid*án ‘ibidem’

*tri*dan ‘possessing three teeth’

*trid*án ‘ibidem’

*dvi*mūrdhā ‘two-headed’

*tri*mūrdhā ‘three-headed’

1. This rule specifies *pād* with deletion of its compound final *a* (5.4.138 *pādasya lopo* . . .). A similar specification is made with *dat* in 5.4.141 *vayasi*. . . . Since *mūrdhan* is specified here with no deletion of terminal element of the compound (*akṛtasamāśāntalopa*), it will refer to both kinds of forms. Thus, *dvimūrdhā* where there is no *samāśānta* affix, and *dvimūrdhah*, where the *samāśānta* affix *ṣa* has been introduced (5.4.115 *dvitribhyām* . . .). These examples will get the final *udātta* of this rule. The retention proposal of 6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau* . . . will be offered as another option. The words *dvi* and *tri* are marked with *udātta* at the end (*Phīṭsūtra 1: phīṣo' ntodāttah*).

2. Kāśikā offers *kalyāṇāmūrdhā* and *dvihāstam* as counter-examples to conditions of *dvitribhyām* and *pāddan* . . ., etc., respectively.

## 6.2.198 सक्थं चाक्रान्तात्

*saktham* cākrāntāt

/saktham 1/1 ca φ akrāntāt 5/1 = krasabdo' nto yasya (bv.); na krāntah (nañ.), tasmāt/

(udāttah #64 uttarapadasya #111 antah #143 vibhāṣā #196 bahuvrīhau #197)

*saktham iti kṛtasamāśāntah sakthiśabdo' tra grhyate, so' krāntāt paro vibhāṣā' ntodātto bhavati*

The final constituent, namely *saktha*, which, in a *bahuvrīhi* compound, combines to follow a constituent not having *kra* at its end is also optionally marked *udātta* at the end.

### EXAMPLES:

*gaurasakthah* ‘having white thighs’

*gaurasākthah* ‘ibidem’

*ślakṣṇasakthah* ‘having smooth thighs’

*ślakṣṇasākthah* ‘ibidem’

1. The word *saktha* is here specified with its *samāśānta* affix *ṣaC* (5.4.113 *bahuvrīhau* . . .). Consequently, example compounds are interpreted as used with a *samāśānta* affix. The word *ślakṣṇa*, as a derivate of *ksna* (*Uṇādi III:19: śliser* . . .), is marked *udātta* at the end. This option of final *udātta* is again made against 6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau* . . .

2. A counter-example with *kra* will be *cakrasakthah* ‘bow-legged’.

### 6.2.199 परादिश्छन्दसि बहुलम्

*parādiś chandasi bahulam*

/ *parādiḥ* 1/1 = *parasya ādiḥ* (*sas. tat.*); *chandasi* 7/1 *bahulam* 1/1/

(*udāttah* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *saktham* #198)

*chandasi visaye parādir udātto bhavati bahulam*

The initial syllable of a following constituent, namely *saktha*, etc., is variously marked *udātta* in the Vedic.

EXAMPLES:

*añjīsakthám ālabheta* ‘one should offer an animal with anointed thighs’

*r̥jubāhūḥ* ‘straight-armed’

*vākpatīḥ* ‘master of speech’

1. The word *para* ‘subsequent’ here refers to *saktha* of the preceding rule. A specification by *bahulam* ‘variously’ also enables this rule to apply elsewhere. Thus, *r̥jubāhūḥ* ‘straight-armed’, where *saktha* is not used. This provision is offered with reference to a *bahuvrīhi* compound. But *bahulam* will allow it elsewhere also. Thus, consider *vākpatīḥ*. A *ślokavārttika* explains that *bāhulaka* makes this accentual proposal available to *parādi* ‘initial of a constituent which follows’, *parānta* ‘final element of a constituent which follows’, *pūrvānta* ‘the end of the initial constituent’ and *pūrvādi* ‘the initial of the initial constituent’:

*parādiś ca parāntaś ca pūrvāntaś cāpi dr̥syate/  
pūrvādayaś ca dr̥syante vyatyayo bahulam tataḥ//*

Refer to the *Mahābhāṣya* for additional details.

## PĀDA THREE

### 6.3.1 अलुगुत्तरपदे

*alug uttarapade*

/ *aluk* 1/1 = *na luk* (*nañ.*); *uttarapade* 7/1/

*alug iti ca uttarapade iti ca etad adhikṛtam veditavyam*

*aluk* ‘non-deletion of nominal endings by means of *LUK*’ and *uttarapade* ‘when a constituent word follows in combination’ should both be carried over.

EXAMPLES:

Look under subsequent rules.

1. Note that *aluk* ‘non-deletion by *LUK*’ and *uttarapade* ‘before a following (final) constituent’ are both accepted as *adhikāra* ‘governing headings’. That is, they both must be carried over to subsequent rules, via *anuvṛtti*. It is

stated that *aluk* carries over prior to rule 6.2.25 *ānañ r̥to dvandve* which introduces *ānAN*. The *anuvṛtti* of *uttarapade* is valid through the end of this quarter.

Consider now the next rule: *pañcamyāḥ stokādibhyah* ‘a *pañcamī* which occurs after *stoka* ‘a little’, etc., does not go through deletion by *LUK*, provided a constituent used in combination follows’. The condition of a following constituent limits the scope of this non-deletion to compound bases only. Additionally, the endings in focus for non-deletion must occur after stems specified as initial constituents of such compounds. Recall that, generally, a constituent termed *upasarjana* ‘secondary constituent’ is placed first in a compound (2.2.30 *upasarjanam pūrvam*). This term is assigned to a compound constituent specified with the *prathamā* ‘nominative’ in a rule of compound formation (1.2.43 *prathamānirdiṣṭam samāsa upasarjanam*). Finally, we also find that 2.4.71 *supo dhātuprātipadikayoh* deletes a nominal ending (*sUP*) contained within a *dhātu* ‘verbal root’ and *prātipadika* ‘nominal stem’. Rule 1.2.46 *kṛttaddhitasamāsāś ca* assigns the term *prātipadika* to bases termed compounds. Our present rule is thus: (a) an exception to 2.4.71 *supo dhātuprātipadikayoph*; (b) it is limited to compound bases, mostly because it blocks deletion of a nominal ending occurring after an initial compound constituent; (c) since the nominal endings which come under the scope of this non-deletion are specified to compound constituents as specified by rules of compound formation, this non-deletion cannot apply to a nominal ending found elsewhere; and (d) this non-deletion cannot apply if the initial compound constituent is not used with a following (final) constituent (*uttarapade*). The word *uttarapade*, in this grammar, is generally used in the sense of a final compound constituent.

Let us now consider *stokānmuktiāḥ* ‘barley freed’, an example where deletion by *LUK* of *pañcamī* ‘ablative’ after *stoka*, is blocked. This *pañcamī* is introduced by rules 2.3.33 *karane ca stokālpa . . .* and 2.3.35 *dūrāntikā . . .* A compound formation of *stoka + NasI* with *mukta* ‘freed’, a derivate of *Kta*, follows specifications of rule 2.1.39 *stokāntikadūrārtha . . .* Note that *stokāntika . . .* is here specified with the *prathamā* ‘nominative’. This qualifies *stoka*, etc., to be termed an *upasarjana* ‘secondary’ and be placed first in the compound. Rule 6.3.2 *pañcamyāḥ . . .* can now block rule 2.4.71 *supodhātu . . .* which requires *LUK*-deletion of *NasI* of *stoka + NasI + mukta*. Thus, we get the compound base as *stokā* ( $t \rightarrow n$ ) *mukta*.

Since this non-deletion applies to endings occurring after particular constituents enumerated by rules allowing compound-formation, a specification made with a generalized ablative (*pañcamī; sāmanya-lakṣaṇā*) should not come under the scope of this rule. We may run into problems if this view is not accepted. For, we may then get non-deletion in *stokād apetaḥ*, as against the desired form *stokāpetāḥ* ‘barely missing’. The *pañcamī* of rule 2.1.39 *stokāntika . . .* refers to the *pañcamī* specific to bases enumerated under 2.3.33 *karane ca stokālpa . . .* Any other *pañcamī* must then be disregarded. This will

also be in consonance with *paribhāṣā* (*PŚ* 114): *lakṣaṇapratipadoktayoh pratipadoktasyaiva grahaṇam* ‘forms specified by enumeration under a given rule are preferred over those derived via application of others’.

Finally, this non-deletion must also meet the condition of *uttarapade*. Thus, given *nistokah*, parallel to *niṣkrāntah stokāt*, the *pañcamī* after *stoka* must go through deletion. Obviously, *stokāt* is not used here in combination before any other constituent. But this deletion will go against the *paribhāṣā* (*PŚ* 114) just cited. For, the *pañcamī* of *stokāt*, deleted in the formation of *nistokah*, is not a *pañcamī* introduced specifically with reference to an enumerated base. It is here characterized as one introduced by a general rule. Well, the *paribhāṣā* should then not be accepted here. This strengthens the case for accepting *uttarapade* as a condition, even for this section dealing with non-deletion (*aluk*). This, however, not denying that *uttarapade* is needed more, elsewhere, than here in this section of non-deletion.

### 6.3.2 पञ्चम्यः स्तोकादिभ्यः

*pañcamyāḥ stokādibhyāḥ*  
*/pañcamyāḥ 6/1 stokādibhyāḥ 1/3 = stoka ādir yeśām (bv.)/*  
*(alug uttarapade #1)*  
*stokāntikadūrārthaḥ kṛcchrāṇi stokādīni tebhyaḥ parasyāḥ pañcamyā uttarapade*  
*alug bhavati*

Non-deletion by means of *LUK* applies to the fifth triplet of nominal endings (*pañcamyāḥ*) which occur after *stoka*, etc., when a constituent in combination follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*stokānmuktah* ‘hardly freed’  
*alpānmuktah* ‘ibidem’  
*antikādāgataḥ* ‘arrived from a nearby place’  
*abhyāśādāgataḥ* ‘ibidem’  
*durādāgataḥ* ‘arrived from a far out place’  
*viprakṛṣṭādāgataḥ* ‘ibidem’  
*kṛcchrānmuktah* ‘freed with difficulty’

1. Blocking the deletion of a nominal ending contained within a compound base termed *prātipadika* ‘nominal stem’ still allows combining two compound constituents together. This facilitates the compound to be used as a single *pada* (*aikapadya*) and to carry a single accent (*aikasvarya*). Refer also to my notes under the preceding rule.

2. Note that a compound formation with ablative dual, or plural, after *stoka*, etc., is not found in usage (*anabhidhānāt*). Thus, the *pañcamī* which goes through non-deletion of this rule has to be singular (*ekavacana*). A *pañcamī* with the denotata of dual and plural will not only block compound

formation (*aikapadaya*) but will also block accentuation (*aikasvarya*). Consequently, we will get *stokābhyaṁ muktaḥ* and *stokebhyaḥ muktaḥ*, two separate words with separate accentual provisions.

3. A *vārttika* proposal is made for non-deletion in *brāhmaṇācchāṁsi*, paraphrased as *brāhmaṇāni śāṁsatī* ‘... recites a brāhmaṇa text’. Why should we accept this negative provision of non-deletion when no positive provision for such a deletion of *pañcamī* is made. That is, there is no rule which introduces this *pañcamī* in the sense of *dvitīyā* ‘accusative’. This *vārttika* proposal will then have to accomplish both the introduction as well as non-deletion of *pañcamī*.

### 6.3.3 ओजःसहोऽम्भस्तमससृतीयायाः

*ojaḥsahombhastamasas tr̥tiyāyāḥ*

/ *ojaḥsaha-ambhas-tamasah* 1/1 = *ojaś ca sahaś ca ambhaś ca tamaś ca* (sam. dv.), *tasmāt; tr̥tiyāḥ* 6/1/

(alug uttarapade #1)

‘*ojas, sahas, ambhas, tamas’ ity etebhya uttarasya tr̥tiyāyā alug bhavaty uttarapade*

Non-deletion by means of LUK applies to a *tr̥tiyā* ‘third triplet; instrumental’ which occurs after *ojas* ‘vigor’, *sahas* ‘strength’, *ambhas* ‘water, strength, success’ and *tamas* ‘strength, darkness’, provided when a constituent in combination follows.

EXAMPLES:

*ojasākṛtam* ‘performed with vigor’

*sahasākṛtam* ‘performed all of a sudden’

*ambhasākṛtam* ‘performed with success, splendidorous’

*tamasākṛtam* ‘done with power’

1. Note that the example compounds are formed by 2.1.32 *kartṛkarane kṛtā bahulam*. How come this non-deletion does not apply to *tamas* of *satatanaiśatamovṛtām* ‘... constantly covered with night-like darkness’. Because we have the condition of *uttarapade* which, in turn, anticipates *tamas* as an initial constituent. Obviously, *tamas* is not an initial constituent of this example.. A non-deletion desired after a constituent preceded by another should be made with qualifications. This indeed makes possible, for a form to be interpreted also as one ending in that (*tadantavidhi*). Consider thus, *iṣṭakacitam* and *pakveṣṭakacitam*, where *iṣṭaka* ‘brick’ can be interpreted as referring to both *iṣṭaka* and *pakveṣṭaka* ‘fired brick’. In some cases, though, an operation specified in relation to what follows is performed on what constitutes the initial. It is not performed on what precedes or on what may end in that. A case in point is 6.3.23 *ānañ ṛto dvandve*. Given the specification as *hotṛpotrneṣṭodgātārah*, *neṣṭṛ*, or for that matter *potrneṣṭṛ*, cannot be accepted as

initial for what follows. The operation must then be performed with reference to what follows *hotṛ* alone (*PM ad Kāś*: *yatra tadantavidhir iṣyate tatropattiṇekṣiptam pūrvapadaṁ viśesyate tena tasya tadantasya ca bhavati-iṣṭakacitam, pakveṣṭakacitam iti. kvacit tu yad-evopāttam tasyaivottarapade' nantare tatkāryam bhavati, na tūpāttasya tadantasya vā pūrvapadatvam apeksyate, yathā 'ānañ rto dvandve'. 'hotṛpotneṣṭodgātārah' iti, atra neṣṭrśabdaś ca na pūrvapadam, nāpi tadantaṁ pūrvapadam, kiṁ tarhi? hotṛśabdaḥ, na tasyottarapadam anantaram).*

2. A couple of *vārttika* proposals have also been made for non-deletion of *tṛṭīyā* in *añjasākṛtam* 'performed well'; and *pūmsānujah* 'born after a male; younger brother' and *jānuṣāndhah* 'blind from birth'.

### 6.3.4 मनसः संज्ञायाम्

*manasāḥ samjñāyām*  
*/ manasah 5/1 samjñāyām 7/1/*  
*(alug uttarapade #1 tṛṭīyāḥ #3)*  
*manasa uttarasyās tṛṭīyāyā alug bhavati*

Non-deletion by means of *LUK* applies to a *tṛṭīyā* which occurs after *manas* 'mind' when a constituent in combination follows, and the derivate denotes a name (*saṃjñā*).

EXAMPLES:

*manasādattā* 'a female name'  
*manasāguptā* 'a female name'  
*manasāsamṛgtā* 'a female name'

1. *Kāśikā* offers *manodattā* 'mentally given' and *manoguptā* 'thought-preserved' as counter-examples where derivates do not denote a name (*saṃjñā*). These non-names must go through deletion of their instrumental (*tṛṭīyā*).

### 6.3.5 आज्ञायिनि च

*ājñāyini ca*  
*/ ājñāyini 7/1/ ca φ/*  
*(alug uttarapade #1 tṛṭīyāyāḥ #3 manasāḥ #4)*  
*ājñāyiny uttarapade manasa uttarasyās tṛṭīyāyā alug bhavati*  
 Non-deletion by means of *LUK* also applies to a *tṛṭīyā* which occurs after *manas*, provided *ājñāyin* 'knower' combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

*manasājñāyī* 'he whose nature is to know things intuitively'

1. This rule is intended for derivates which do not signify a name (*asamjñārtham*). Note that *ājñāyin*, of which *ājñāyī* is the nominative singular, is a

derivate of *NinI* (3.2.78 *supy ajātāu . . .*) augmented with *yUK* (7.3.33 *āto yuk . . .*). It is paraphrased as: *ājñātum sīlam asya* ‘he whose nature it is to know properly’.

### 6.3.6 आत्मनश्च

*ātmanaś ca*

/ *ātmanah* 5/1 *ca* 1/1 /

(*alug uttarapade* #1 *tṛtyāyāḥ* #3)

*ātmana uttarasya tṛtyāyā uttarapade' lug bhavati*

Non-deletion by means of *LUK* applies to a *tṛtyā* which also occurs after *ātman* ‘self, soul’, provided a constituent in combination follows.

EXAMPLES:

*ātmanāpañcamah* ‘fifth including one’s own self’

*ātmanāṣṭhah* ‘sixth including one’s own self’

1. Note that *ātmanaś ca pūraṇe* is read by the *Mahābhāṣya* as a *vārttika* (see *PM ad Kāś: vārttikam evedam sūtrarūpena paṭhitam*). The *SK* accepts *ātmanaś ca* as a *sūtra*, especially since its *anuvṛtti* is needed in 6.3.7 *vaiyākaraṇākhyāyām caturthyāḥ*. But this could hardly justify accepting *ātmanaś ca* as a *sūtra*. For, the *SK*, though it needs the *anuvṛtti* of *kāmye* (*vt. rōreva kāmye nānyasyeti niyamārthaṁ vaktavyam; ad 8.3.38 so' padādau*), does not accept it as a *sūtra*. The *Kāśikāvṛtti* reads the *sūtra* as: *ātmanaś ca pūrane*, following perhaps the traditional belief that the *vārttikakāra* ‘author of the *vārttikas*’ also deserves status as the *sūtrakāra*. Note that the *SK* reads *pūraṇa* as a *vārttika*. I have excluded *pūraṇe* from the reading of this rule. Since a non-deletion of *tṛtyā* after *ātman* is available only when a constituent with the signification of a *pūraṇa* suffix follows, accepting the *sūtra* as *ātmanaś ca* alone makes sense.

Haradatta observes that *pūraṇa* is interpreted as referring to forms ending in the suffix *pūraṇa*. That is, it should not be interpreted as the word-form *pūraṇa* (*svarūpa*). He also points out that *tadantavidhi* ‘treating x as also ending in x’, as will be indicated under 6.3.50 *hṛdayasya hṛllekha . . .*, is not to be permitted in the section governed by *uttarapade*. This will create problems in accomplishing non-deletion of *tṛtyā* in *ātmanāpañcamah* ‘fifth including one’s self’. For, it is impossible to find affix *pūraṇa* used after *ātman*. A *tadantavidhi* interpretation in case of *ātman* must then be accepted as an exception. This all is an expiation of proposals made via *vārttikas*.

How are the example compounds, i.e., *ātmanāpañcamah* and *ātmanāṣṭhah*, formed? It is stated that *tṛtyā* after *ātman* is introduced by a *vārttika* proposal (ad 2.3.18 *kātrī-karaṇayos tṛtyā;* *tṛtyāvidhāne prakṛtyādibhya upasamkhyānam*). A split-interpretation (*yogavibhāga*) of *tṛtyā* of 2.1.30 *tṛtyā tatkṛtārthena guṇavacanena* then allows the formation of these compounds. One can even accept *tṛtyā* ruled with the signification of *karana* (2.3.18

*kartṛkaranayos . . .*). But then this *karana*, a *kāraka*, must be determined in relation to verbal root *kṛ* ‘to do, make’, parallel to the paraphrase: *ātmanā kṛtah pañcamah* ‘fifth made by one’s own self’.

Deriving *pañcama* ‘fifth’ and *saṣṭha* ‘sixth’ requires introducing affix *DaT* (5.2.48 *tasya pūraṇe dat*) after *pañcan* ‘five’ and *saṣ* ‘six’. Augment *mAT* (5.2.48 *nāntād . . .*) and *thUK* (5.2.51 *saṅkatikatipaya . . .*), respectively, are then introduced to derive *pañcan + mAT + DaT = pañcan + ma* and *saṣ + DaT = saṣ + th + a*. The first example goes through deletion of *n*. The second requires replacing *th* with *th* (*śtutva*; 8.2.41 *śtunā śtuh*).

Why do we not get non-deletion in deriving *ātmacaturthah* of *janārdanas tv ātmacaturtha eva* ‘Janārdana, indeed, is the fourth himself’. The compound is a *bahuvrīhi*, and not an instrumental (*tryāyā*) *latpuruṣa*.

### 6.3.7 वैयाकरणाख्यायां चतुर्थाः

*vaiyākaraṇākhyāyāṁ caturthyāḥ*  
*/vaiyākaraṇākhyāyāṁ 7/1 = vaiyākaraṇānām ākhyā (saṣ. tat.), tasyāṁ; caturthyāḥ 6/1/*  
*(alug uttarapade #1 ātmanah #6)*  
*yayā samjñayā vaiyākaraṇā eva vyavaharanti tasyāṁ ātmana uttarasyāś caturthyāḥ alug bhavati*

Non-deletion by means of *LUK* applies to a *caturthī* ‘fourth triplet of nominal endings; dative’ which occurs after *ātman*, when a constituent in combination follows and the derivate denotes a name assigned by grammarians.

#### EXAMPLES:

*ātmanepadam* ‘the second set of nine replacements of *LA* plus suffixes containing *āna*’  
*ātmanepadabhāṣā* ‘a term used by earlier grammarians for Pāṇini’s *ātmanepadam*’

1. Note that *ātmanah* is carried from the preceding rule. The *caturthī* which goes through non-deletion denotes *tadartha* ‘intended for that’ and is introduced by a *vārttika* (*tādarthyē caturthī vācyā; ad 1.4.44 parikrayaṇe sampradānam anyatarasyāṁ*). The compounds are formed by *caturthī*, a split interpretation of 2.1.36 *caturthī tadarthārtha*. . . .

### 6.3.8 परस्य च

*parasya ca*  
*/parasya 6/1 ca φ/*  
*(alug uttarapade #1 vaiyākaraṇasyākhyāyāṁ caturthyāḥ #7)*  
*parasya ca yā caturthī tasyā vaiyākaraṇasyākhyāyāṁ alug bhavati*  
 Non-deletion by means of *LUK* applies, also to a *caturthī* which occurs

in combination after *para* ‘another, subsequent’, provided a constituent in combination follows and the derivate signifies a name assigned by grammarians.

EXAMPLES:

*parasmaipadam* ‘replacements of *LA*, with the exception of those termed *ātmanepadam*’

*parasmaipadabhāṣā* ‘ibidem; an earlier term for ‘voice’ in grammar’

1. Why is this rule stated? The intended non-deletion can still be accomplished by the earlier rule. No. The word *ātmanah* is carried there. Well, we can drop *ātmanah*. But it may cause non-deletion in *taddhitāḥ*, parallel to *tebhyo hitāḥ*, which is not desired. Consequently, *parasya ca* must be stated.

It is argued that *vaiyākaraṇākhyā* can be derived parallel to *vaiyākarane bhavā* = *vaiyākaraṇī* ‘that which is found in grammar’, a feminine derivate with *aN* (4.3.73 *an ṛgayanādibhyah*). A *karmadhāraya* can then be formed, parallel to *vaiyākaraṇī cāśāv ākhyā ca* ‘that which is found in grammar and is also a name’. A masculine transformation of *vaiyākaraṇī* (6.3.42 *pumvat karma dhāraya*) can then derive *vaiyākaranī(i→a) + ākhyā→vaiyākaraṇākhyā*. Since this derivation will exclude *ātmanebhāṣāḥ* and *parasmaibhāṣāḥ*, terms which are not used in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, *vaiyākaraṇā* must be derived parallel to *vyākaraṇam adhiyate vidanti vā* ‘those who study or know grammar’. Incidentally, *ātmanebhāṣāḥ* and *parasmaibhāṣāḥ*, are terms used by earlier grammarians.

2. A compound such as *ātmanepadam* is derived with *caturthī* signifying *tādarthyā* ‘intended for that’, parallel to *ātmanārtham padam* ‘word for one’s own self’. The compound is formed with ‘split interpretation of *caturthī*. Why can 2.1.36 *caturthī tadarthārtha . . .*, itself, not allow the compound formation? Compounds formed with this rule are desired where modification of a material cause (*prakṛti-vikāra*) is involved.

### 6.3.9 हलदन्तात् सप्तम्या: संज्ञायाम्

*haladantāt saptamyāḥ samjñāyām*

/ *haladantāt* 5/1 = *hal ca at ca* (sam. dv.); *halad ante yasya* (bv. with int. dv.), *tasmāt*; *saptamyāḥ* 6/1 *saṃjñāyām* 7/1  
(*alug uttarapade #1*)

*halantād adantāc cottarasyāḥ sapiamyāḥ saṃjñāyām alug bhavati*

Non-deletion by means of LUK applies to a *saptami* ‘seventh triplet of a nominal ending’ which occurs after a nominal ending in a consonant (*hal*), or in *a*, when a constituent in combination follows and the derivate denotes a name (*saṃjñā*).

EXAMPLES:

*yudhiṣṭhirāḥ* ‘the eldest of the Pāṇḍava brothers’

*tvacisārah* ‘bamboo’  
*aranyetilakāḥ* ‘wild sesame’  
*aranyemāṣakāḥ* ‘wild Mung beans’

1. This rule allows non-deletion of *saptamī* after a constituent base which ends in a consonant (*halantāt*), or in *a* (*aT*). Of course, the compound is formed with the signification of a name (2.1.34 *saṃjñāyām*). Note that *yudh* and *tvac* in *yudhiṣṭhira* and *tvacisāra* both end in a consonant. A *saptamī* before *sthira* and *sāra* is thus retained. But what about *gaviṣṭhirah*, where *go* does not end in a consonant, or in *a*? This should pose no problem. For, given *go* + (*N*)*i* + *sthira* + *sU*, one will replace the *o* of *go* by *av* (6.1.78 *eco* ‘*yavāyāvah*’), prior to non-deletion. But this will go against *paribhāṣā* (PŚ 53: *antaraṅgān api vidhīn bahirāṅgo lug bādhate*) which facilitates blocking of internally conditioned operations (*antaraṅga*) by externally conditioned (*bahirāṅga*) deletion (LUK). Note that accepting this *paribhāṣā* will also cause non-deletion in *nadyāṁ kukkuṭikā* = *naḍikukkuṭikā* ‘hen in river’ and *bhūmyāṁ pāśāḥ* = *bhūmipāśāḥ* ‘snare on ground’, where one can get *naḍī* ‘river’ and *bhūmi* ‘ground’ to end in *y*, through *yanādeśa* ‘replacement in *yaN*’ (6.1.77 *iko yan aci*). Incidentally, these two constitute counter-examples for the twin conditions of *halantāt* ‘after that which ends in a consonant’ and *adantāt* ‘after that which ends in *a*’.

2. Replacement in *ṣ* and *th*, for *s* and *th* of *sthirah*, for example in *gaviṣṭhirah* and *yudhiṣṭhirah*, is accomplished by 8.3.96 *gaviyudhibhyāṁ sthirah*.

3. Note that *akṣaśauṇḍah* ‘skilled in the game of dice’ is offered as a counter-example to the condition of *saṃjñā*. A *vārttika* proposal (*hrddyudbhīyāṁ neḥ*) is also made for non-deletion of *Ni* after *hṛd* ‘heart’ and *div* ‘day, heaven’ in *hṛdisprk* ‘heart-touching’ and *divisprk* ‘ghee-touching’.

4. Why do we need *saṃjñāyām* ‘when name is denoted’ when *ākhyāyām* ‘naming . . .’ is already made available from the preceding rule? It is used for clarity (*vispaṣṭārtham*).

### 6.3.10 कारनाम्नि च प्राचां हलादौ

*kāranāmni ca prācāṁ halādau*

/ *kāranāmni* 7/1 = *kārasya nāma* (*sas. tat.*), *tasmin; ca* φ *prācām* 6/3 *halādau* 7/1/

(*alug uttarapade #1 haladantāt saptamyāḥ #9*)

*prācāṁ deśe yat kāranāma tatra halādāv uttarapade halantād uttarasyāḥ saptamyā alug bhavati*

Non-deletion by means of LUK applies to a *saptamī* which occurs after a nominal stem ending in a consonant, or in *a*, when a constituent beginning with a consonant follows in combination and the derivate denotes the name of a tax imposed on eastern people.

## EXAMPLES:

*kūpeśāṇam* ‘a tax levied in the east’

*dṛṣadimāśakah* ‘ibidem’

*haledvipadikā* ‘ibidem’

*haletripadikā* ‘ibidem’

1. The word *kāranāma* is explained as *vanigbhiḥ kṛṣakaiḥ paśupālaiś ca rājne deyo bhāgah rakṣānibandhanah* ‘a tax paid to the king by traders, farmers and cattle ranchers in return for guaranteed protection’. The word *kāra* ‘tax’ is a derivate of *aN* (5.4.38 *prañādibhyaś ca*), used with the signification of the base (*svārthika*), namely *kara* ‘tax’ (*karam eva kārah*).

2. Why is this *sūtra* formulated when its derivates can avail *aluk* ‘non-deletion by LUK’ within the scope of the earlier rule? A separate formulation is needed for restrictive purposes (*niyamārtham*). Thus, derivates of this rule will be limited to three conditions: (a) non-deletion applies only when the derivate names a tax (*kāranāmni*); (b) it has to be limited to usage in the east (*prācām*); and (c) it must apply before a constituent beginning with a consonant (*halādau*).

Kāśikā offers *abhyarhitapaśuh* ‘an animal offered to the presiding priest as a gift’; *yūthapaśuh* ‘a group of twelve cattles’ and *avikatoranah* ‘a group of rams (*urāṇa*)’, respectively. The conditions of *halantāt* ‘after that which ends in a consonant’ and *adantāt* ‘after that which ends in a’ are also valid. Thus, we get *nadyāṁ dohanī = nadīdohani* ‘a tax levied on milk transported across a river’.

## 6.3.11 मध्याद् गुरौ

*madhyād gurau*

/ *madhyāt* 5/1 *gurau* 7/1/

(*alug uttarapade #1 saptamyāh #9*)

*madhyād uttarasyāḥ saptamyā gurāv uttarapade*’ *lug bhavati*

Non-deletion by means of LUK applies to a *saptamī* which occurs after *madhya* ‘middle’ followed by *guru* ‘teacher, heavy’ in combination.

## EXAMPLES:

*madhyeguruh* ‘heavy in the middle’

1. A *vārttika* proposal is also made for non-deletion after *anta* ‘end’ in *anteguruh* ‘heavy at the end’.

## 6.3.12 अमूर्धमस्तकात् स्वाङ्गादकामे

*amūrdhamastakāt svāṅgād akāme*

/ *amūrdha-mastakāt* 5/1 = *mūrdhā ca mastakam ca* (sam. dv.); *na mūrdha-*

*mastakam* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasmāt; svāṅgāt* 5/1 *akāme* 7/1 = *na kāmaḥ* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasmin/*

(*alug uttarapade #1 haladantāt saptamyāḥ #9*)

*mūrdha-mastaka-varjitat svāṅgād uttarasyāḥ saptamyā akāma uttarapade’ lug bhavati*

Non-deletion by means of *LUK* applies to a *saptamī* occurring after a nominal which ends in a consonant or in *a*, and signifies *svāṅga* ‘one’s limb’ with the exclusion of *mūrdhan* ‘head’ and *mastaka* ‘forehead’, when a constituent other than one constituted by *kāma* ‘desire’ follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*kan̤thekālah* ‘he on whose throat there is black’

*urasilomā* ‘he on whose chest there is hair’

*udaremaṇih* ‘he on whose belly there are lines forming the shape of a jewel; belly-lump’

1. The word *svāṅga* is here used in its technical sense characterized as *adravādi* ‘non-liquid, etc.’ The *bahuvrīhi* of our examples is called *vyadhikaranya* ‘non-appositional’. Normally, one would expect them to be a *bahuvrīhi* with its constituents in syntactic coordination (*sāmānādhikaranya*). These compounds are formed with reference to a *vārtika* proposal (ad 2.2.24 *anekam anyapadarthe, saptamy upamānapūrvapada . . .*).

*Kāśikā* offeres *akṣeṣu śaunḍah* = *akṣaśaunḍah* ‘skilled in the game of dice’ as a counter-example to *svāṅgāt*. Compounds such as *mūrddhaśikhāḥ* and *mastakaśikhāḥ* are offered as counter-examples to the enumerated exclusion of *mūrdhan* and *mastaka*. Finally, *mukhe kāmaḥ yasya* = *mukhakāmaḥ* ‘face-loving’ is offered to illustrate the exclusion specified by *akāme* ‘when non-desire’. The condition of *halantāt* and *adantāt* are still valid. Thus, we get *āṅgulitrānah* ‘that which protects fingers; thimble’ and *jaṅghāvalih* ‘he on whose thighs there is a fold’ as counter-examples.

#### 6.3.13 बन्धे च विभाषा

*bandhe ca vibhāṣā*

/ *bandhe* 7/1 *ca* φ *vibhāṣā* 1/1

(*alug uttarapade #1 haladantāt saptamyāḥ #9*)

*bandhaśabda uttarapade halantād uttarasyāḥ saptamyā vibhāṣāḥ lug bhavati*

Non-deletion by means of *LUK* applies, optionally, to a *saptamī* which occurs in combination after a nominal ending in a consonant, or in *a*, provided *bandha* ‘tie, knot’ combines as a following constituent.

#### EXAMPLES:

*hastebandhah* ‘he on whose hands there is a chain; handcuffed’

*hastabandhah* ‘ibidem’

*cakrebandhah* ‘caught in a circular formation’

*cakrabandhah* ‘ibidem’

1. Note that *svāṅgāt* is no longer carried. The provisions of this rule thus become generalized (*sāmānyenāyāṁ vidhiḥ*). The word *bandha* is here accepted as a derivate of *GHaṄ* with the denotatum of *bhāvā* ‘root-sense’. Recall that non-deletion of *saptamī* in a *bahuvrīhi* compound is offered obligatorily by the preceding rule. But 6.3.19 *nensiddhabadhnātiṣu ca* negates it in case of a *tatpuruṣa* compound, whether the initial constituent denotes *svāṅga*, or otherwise. The *bahuvrīhi* non-deletion, in case of *svāṅga*, is thus already made available (*prāptā*). A non-deletion in *tatpuruṣa* is blocked (*aprāptā*). The option (*vibhāṣā*) of our present rule, since it offers both these options, can be aptly called *ubhayatra* or *prāptāaprāptā* ‘made available and not made available’.

Recall that the twin conditions of *halantāt* and *adantāt* are still valid. Thus, consider *guptibandhah* ‘confinement in a secured place; incarceration’ and *kārikābandhah* ‘bondage (rebirth) caused by unpaid interest’ as counter-examples.

### 6.3.14 तत्पुरुषे कृति बहुलम्

*tatpuruṣe kṛti bahulam*

/tatpuruṣe 7/1 kṛti 7/1 bahulam 1/1/

(alug uttarapade #1 saptamyāḥ #9)

*tatpuruṣe samāse kṛdanta uttarapade saptamyā bahulam alug bhavati*

Non-deletion by means of *LUK* applies, variously (*bahulam*), to a *saptamī* which occurs in combination after the constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound, provided a constituent ending in a *kṛt* affix follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*stamberamah* ‘one who plays with the pile of grass; an elephant’

*karnejapah* ‘he who whispers in the ear; fault-finder’

*kurucarah* ‘he who wanders in the country of the Kurus’

*madracarah* ‘he who wanders in the country of the Madras’

1. This rule offers non-deletion via *bāhulaka* ‘variously’. Thus, observe *stamberamah* and *karnejapah* where an *upapada* compound termed *tatpuruṣa* (2.2.19 *upapadam atiñ*) is formed with non-deletion of *saptamī*. Affix *aC* is introduced after verbal roots *ram* ‘to sport’ and *jap* ‘to mutter’ chant’ by 3.2.13 *stambakarṇa* . . . Affix *Ta* (3.2.16 *cares tah*) is similarly introduced in deriving *kurucarah* and *madracarah*. It is at the strength of *bahulam* that deletion and non-deletion can both be found. Thus, observe: *sarasijam* and *sarojam* ‘lotus’. Now consider *brāhmaṇācchansin* ‘assistant priest’ where non-

deletion applies to a *pañcamī*, and not to a *saptamī*. Finally, consider *apsu bhavah* = *apsavyah* ‘found in water’, where non-deletion is accomplished before a *taddhita*-derivate, as against a derivate of *kṛt*. These examples illustrate how, as is the nature of specification by *bahulam*, non-deletion applies (*pravṛtti*), does not apply (*apravṛtti*), applies only optionally (*vibhāṣā*), or applies differently (*anyad eva*).

2. The word *kṛti* specifies a right condition constituted by derivate of a *kṛt* affix. It does not refer to a *kṛt* affix by itself. For, it is impossible to find a *kṛt* affix used in combination after a nominal ending in the locative (PM ad Kāś: *atrāpi kṛdantasya grahaṇam na kṛnmātrasya, tatra parataḥ saptamyā asambhavāt*).

### 6.3.15 प्रावृद्धशरत्कालदिवां जे

*prāvṛtśaratkāladivām je*  
*/prāvṛt-śarat-kāla-divām 6/3 (itar. dv.); je 7/1/*  
*(alug uttarapade #1 saptamyāḥ #9)*

‘*prāvṛt, śarat, kāla, divā*’<sup>ity</sup> *eteśām ja uttarapade saptamyā alug bhavati*

Non-deletion by means of LUK applies to a *saptamī* which occurs in combination after *prāvṛt* ‘rainy season’, *śarat* ‘autumn’, *kāla* ‘time’ and *div* ‘day, heaven’, provided *ja* follows in combination.

#### EXAMPLES:

*prāvṛṣijah* ‘born in the rainy season’  
*śaradijah* ‘born in autumn’  
*kālejajah* ‘born at an appropriate time’  
*divijah* ‘born in heaven’

1. This again is an expatiation (*prapañca*) of the *bāhulaka* provision of the preceding rule. Note that *prāvṛṣ* and *śarad* are specified separately; *kāla* ‘time’ is interpreted as referring to its word-form (*svarūpa*) only. These examples are all *upapada* compounds where affix *Da* is introduced after *jan*. Thus, we get *prāvṛṣ + Ni + jan + Da*, where *an* of *jan* goes through *ti*-deletion (1.1.64 *aco’nyādi ti*; 6.4.143 *teh*). Incidentally, *prāvṛṣ* is specified here with the application of *jaśta* (*prāvṛṣ(s→d)*; 8.2.39 *jhalāṁ jaśo’ nte*) and *cartva* (*prāvṛ(d→t)*; 8.4.55 *khari ca*; 8.4.56 *vāvasāne*).

### 6.3.16 विभाषावर्षक्षरशरवरात्

*vibhāṣā varsakṣaraśaravarāt*  
*/vibhāṣā 1/1 varṣakṣaraśaravarāt 5/1 (sam. dv.)/*  
*(alug uttarapade #1 saptamyāḥ #9 je #15)*  
*‘varṣa, kṣara, śara, vara’ ity etebhya uttarasyāḥ saptamyā ja uttarapade vibhāṣa alug bhavati*

Non-deletion by means of LUK applies, only optionally, to a *saptamī* which occurs in combination after *varṣa* ‘rainy season’, *kṣara* ‘cloud’, *śara* ‘reed, arrow’ and *vara* ‘enclosure’, provided *ja* follows in combination.

EXAMPLES:

*varṣejah* ‘born in the rainy season’  
*varsajah* ‘ibidem’  
*kṣarejah* ‘cloud-born’  
*kṣarajah* ‘ibidem’  
*śarejah* ‘born in (a bed of) reeds’  
*śarajah* ‘ibidem’  
*varejah* ‘born in an enclosure’  
*varajah* ‘ibidem’

1. Here again we find *upapada* compounds with optional non-deletion of *saptamī*.

### 6.3.17 घकालतनेषु कालनामः:

*ghakālataneṣu kālanāmnaḥ*  
*/ghakālatanesu* 7/3 *kālanāmnaḥ* 5/1 /  
*(alug uttarapade #1 saptamyāḥ #9 vibhāṣā #16)*  
*ghasamjñake pratyaye tanapratyaye ca parataḥ kālanāmna uttarasyāḥ*  
*saptamyā vibhāṣā alug bhavati*

Non-deletion by means of LUK applies, only optionally, to a *saptamī* which occurs after a nominal used with the signification of a temporal name, provided a constituent ending in an affix termed *gha*, or one constituted by the word *kāla*, or else, one ending in affix *tana*, combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

*pūrvāhṇetare* ‘a little later in the morning’  
*pūrvāhṇatare* ‘ibidem’  
*pūrvāhṇetame* ‘extremely late in the morning’  
*pūrvāhṇatame* ‘ibidem’  
*pūrvāhṇekale* ‘in the morning’  
*pūrvāhṇakale* ‘ibidem’  
*pūrvāhṇetane* ‘ibidem’  
*pūrvāhṇatane* ‘ibidem’

1. The word *gha* refers here to affixes *taraP* and *tamaP* (1.1.22 *taraptamapau ghah*). The word *kāla* is interpreted as referring to its form (*svarūpagrahaṇa*). Of course, *kālanāmnaḥ* specifies bases signifying *kāla* ‘time’. The word *tana*

refers to affixes *Tyu* and *TyuL* (4.3.23 *sāyañciram . . . tuṭ ca*), augmented with *tUT* and replaced with *ana* (7.1.1 *yuvor anākau*).

Note that *pūrvāhna* is a *tatpuruṣa* compound formed by 2.2.1 *pūrvāparā . . .*, where 5.4.91 *rājāḥah . . .* introduces affix *TaC* and 5.4.88 *ahno' hna etebhyah* replaces *ahan* with *ahna*. Rule 8.4.7 *ahno' dantāt* finally replaces the *n* of *ahna* with *η*. Affixes *taraP* and *tamaP* are then introduced with the signification of comparative excellence (*ātiśāyana*). A specification of *taraP* and *tamaP*, which denotes meanings of their bases (*svārtha*), is made to indicate the locative meaning of bases. The locative specification of *kāla* is made to show syntactic coordination. Finally, the locative specification of *tana* is made because of its association (*sāhacarya*) with *gha* and *kāla*.

*Kāśikā* offers *śuklatare* ‘the two comparatively whiter’ and *śklatame* ‘the two comparatively whitest’ as counter-examples to show how *saptamī* cannot go through non-deletion. That is, *śukla* does not denote *kāla* ‘time’. The deletion is thus obligatory (*nitya*). The conditions of *halantāt* and *adantāt* are still valid. Thus, we get deletion after *rātri* ‘night’ in *rātritarāyām* ‘comparatively late in the night’. Recall that *tadantavidhi* ‘treating *x* as that which ends in *x*’, as will be indicated by 6.3.50 *hṛdayasya hṛllekha . . .*, is not desired in this section of *uttarapade*.

### 6.3.18 शयवासवासिष्वकालात्

*śayavāsavāsiṣv akālāt*  
*/śayavāsavāsiṣu 7/3 = śayaś ca vāsaś ca vāśī ca (itar. dv.) , teṣu; akālāt 5/1 (nañ.) /*  
*(alug uttarapade #1 saptamyāḥ #9 vibhāṣā #16)*  
*'śaya, vāsa, vāśin' ity eteṣūttarapadeṣu akālavācina uttarasyāḥ saptamyā vibhāṣā' lug bhavati*

Non-deletion by means of *L*UK applies, only optionally, to a *saptamī* used with the signification of something other than *kāla* ‘time’, when *śaya* ‘reclining’, *vāsa* ‘dwelling’ and *vāśin* ‘inhabitant’ combine to follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*kheśayah* ‘reclining in the sky; floating in the air’  
*khaśayah* ‘ibidem’  
*grāmevāsaḥ* ‘living in the village’  
*grāmavāsaḥ* ‘ibidem’  
*grāmevāśi* ‘resident of a village’  
*grāmavāśi* ‘ibidem’

1. Note that affix *aC* (3.2.15 *adhikaraṇe śeteḥ*) is introduced in deriving *kheśaya*. Examples with *vāsa* and *vāśin* entail introduction of affixes *GHaÑ* and *NinI* (3.2.78 *supy ajātau ḡnīnis . . .*), respectively. *Kāśikā* offers *pūrvāhṇaśayah*

'reclining in the morning' as a counter-example to condition of *akālāt*. Similar counter-example in *bhūmiśayah* is offered to conditions of *halantāt* and *adantāt*.

2. A *vārtika* proposal is made for non-deletion of *saptamī* when *yoni* 'birth', or affixes *yaT* and *matUP*, follow *ap* 'water'. Thus, we get *apsuyonih*, *apsavyah* (4.3.54 *digādibhyo yat*), *apsumantau*. These compounds will be formed by split interpretation of *saptamī* (2.1.40 *saptamī śauṇḍaih*).

### 6.3.19 नेन्सिद्धबधातिषु च

*nensiddhabadhnātiṣu ca*

/na φ in-siddha-badhnātiṣu 7/3 = in ca siddhaś ca badhnātiś ca (itar. dv.),  
tesu/

(alug uttarapade #1 *saptamyah* #9)

*innanta uttarapade siddhaśabde badhnātau ca parataḥ saptamyā alug na  
bhavati*

Non-deletion by means of *LUK* does not apply to a *saptamī* when a constituent ending in affix *in* (3.2.78 *suṣy ajātau* . . . , etc.), or one constituted by *siddha* 'made, established', or else, a derivate of *bandh* 'tie', combines to follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*sthāndilasāyī* 'he who sleeps on bare grounds'

*sthāndilavartī* 'ibidem'

*sāṅkāśyasiddhah* 'made in Sāṅkāśya'

*kāmpilyasiddhah* 'made in Kāmpilya'

*cakrabaddhah* 'tied to a wheel'

1. This rule negates non-deletion of *saptamī* under the condition of specific right contexts. Thus, we get *sthāndilavartin* 'he who has taken a vow to sleep on bare grounds', an *upapada* compound with *NinI* (3.2.80 *vrata*, 2.2.19 *upapadam atin*). This rule negates what is made available by 6.3.14 *tatpuruse kṛti bahulam*.

It has already been indicated that, in this section of *uttarapade*, a *tadantavidhi* 'treating x as that which ends in x' interpretation is not desired. Why are we then accepting this interpretation with reference to *in*? It is stated that there are two types of *in* affixes: *kṛt* and *taddhita*. The first occurs only after a verbal root. The question of its occurrence after a nominal ending in *saptamī* thus does not arise. We do not find any *in* after *saptamī* in the *taddhita* derivates, either. Accepting a *tadantavidhi* interpretation is thus appropriate (*Nyāsa ad Kāś: nanu cottarapadādhikāre pratyayagrahaṇe tadantavidhir nesyatā iti jñāpitam etat. saptamyā parasyenpratyayasyāsambhavat* . . . *tasmād innatam eva gṛhyata iti yuktam etat*).

The compound formation of *sāṅkāśyasiddhah* and *kāmpilyasiddhah* is ac-

complished by 2.1.41 *siddhaśuṣka-pakvabandhaiś ca*. The word *baddha*, in *cakrabaddhah*, is a derivate of *niṣṭhā* (1.1.26 *ktaktavatū niṣṭhā*), where *n* of *bandh* is deleted (6.4.24 *aniditām hal . . .*). The compound is formed with the split interpretation of *saptamī* (2.1.40 *saptamī śauṇḍaiḥ*). How come the compound cannot be accepted as formed with *bandhah*? Because that will be a derivate of *GHaṄ* where 6.3.13 *bandhe ca vibhāṣā* offers optional non-deletion.

### 6.3.20 स्थे च भाषायाम्

*sthe ca bhāṣāyām*  
*/sthe 7/1 ca φ bhāṣāyām 7/1/*  
*(alug uttarapade #1 saptamyāḥ #16 na φ)*  
*sthe cottarapade bhāṣāyāṁ saptamyā alug na bhavati*

Non-deletion by means of *L*UK does not apply to a *saptamī* when *stha*, in the classical language, occurs in combination to follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*samasthah* ‘standing on even grounds; happy’  
*viṣamasthah* ‘standing on uneven grounds; unhappy’  
*kūṭasthah* ‘standing still’  
*parvatasthah* ‘standing on top of a mountain’

1. This again is a negation of non-deletion offered by 6.3.14 *tatpuruse . . .*. Rule 3.2.4 *supi sthah* introduces affix *Ka* in deriving *samasthah*, *viṣamasthah*, *kūṭasthah* and *parvatasthah*. The *ā* of *sthā* is deleted by 6.4.64 *āto lopa . . .*.
2. The condition of *bhāṣāyām* will rule out negation of non-deletion in the Vedic, for example, *ākhare tiṣṭhati* = *ākhareṣṭhah* ‘stays in a hole’. The *s* of *sthā* will be replaced with *ś* of 8.3.106 *pūrvapadāt*.

### 6.3.21 षष्ठ्या आक्रोशे

*ṣaṣṭhyā ākrośe*  
*/ṣaṣṭhyāḥ 6/1 ākrośe 7/1/*  
*(alug uttarapade #1)*  
*ākrośe gamyamāne uttarapade parataḥ ṣaṣṭhyā alug bhavati*

Non-deletion by means of *L*UK applies to a *ṣaṣṭhī* when a constituent in combination follows, and the derivate denotes *ākrośa* ‘anger, insult’.

#### EXAMPLES:

*caurasyakulam* ‘some family of a thief!’  
*vṛṣalasyakulam* ‘some family of a Vṛṣala!’

1. Note that *ṣaṣṭhī* in these examples denotes *ākrośa* ‘anger’, and not *sambandha* ‘relation’. A compound such as *brāhmaṇakulam* ‘brāhmaṇa-clan’,

where *sambandha* is denoted, will go through deletion of its *saṣṭhī*.

Some *vārttika* proposals for non-deletion have also been made under this rule:

- (i) Non-deletion of *saṣṭhī* should also be stated where *yukti*, *danda* and *hara* are used in combination after *vāk*, *dik* and *paśyat*, respectively (*saṣṭhīprakaraṇe vāgdikpaśyadbhyo yuktidandaharesu yathāsanṄkhyam alug vaktavyah*). Thus, we get *vācoyuktih* ‘art of speaking’, *diśodanḍah* ‘formation of stars in the shape of a stick’ and *paśyatoharah* ‘he who robs right in front of your eyes; a thief; goldsmith’.
- (ii) Non-deletion by *LUK* should also be stated in *āmuṣyāyaṇa* ‘an illustrious descendant’, *āmuṣyaputrikā* ‘sense of (duty) of an illustrious son’ and *āmuṣyakulikā* ‘sense of (duty) of an illustrious clan’ (*āmuṣyāyaṇāmuṣyaputrikāmuṣyakuliketi ca vaktavyah*).
- (iii) A non-deletion of *saṣṭhī* in *devānāmpriyah* ‘slow-wit’ should also be stated (*devānāmpriya ity atra ca saṣṭhyā alug vaktavyah*).
- (iv) Non-deletion of *saṣṭhī* should also be stated where *śepā* ‘penis, testicles’, *puccha* ‘tail’ and *lāṅgūla* ‘tail’ are used in combination after *śvan* ‘dog’ and the derivate denotes a name (*śepapucchalāṅgūleṣu śunah samjñāyām saṣṭhyā alug vaktavyah*). Thus, *śunahśepāḥ*, *śunah-pucchāḥ* and *śunolāṅgūlāḥ*, all *bahuvrīhi* compounds with the denotatum of proper names.
- (v) Non-deletion of *saṣṭhī* should be stated when *dāsa* ‘slave’ follows *diva* in combination (*divaś ca dāse saṣṭhyā alug vaktavyah*). Thus, *divodāsāya gāyati* ‘sings for Divodāsa, the illustrious king of Kāśī’.

### 6.3.22 पुत्रेऽन्यतरस्याम्

*putre' nyatarasyām*

/ *putre' 7/1 anyatarasyām 7/1/*

(*alug uttarapade #1 saṣṭhyā ākrośe #21*)

*putraśabda uttarapade ākrośe gamyamāne' nyatarasyām saṣṭhyā alug bhavati*

Non-deletion by means of *LUK* applies, only optionally, to a *saṣṭhī* when

*putra* combines as a following constituent and derivates denote *ākrośa* ‘anger’.

EXAMPLES:

*dāsyāḥ putrah* ‘son of a maid (*bastard*)’

*dāśiputraḥ* ‘maid’s son’

*vr̥ṣalyāḥ putrah* ‘son of a sūdra woman’

*vr̥ṣalīputrah* ‘ibidem’

1. *Kāśikā* offers *brāhmaṇīputrah* ‘son of a brāhmaṇa woman’ as a counter-example to non-deletion, where *ākrośa* is not denoted. The example is thus a general statement (*sāmānyakathana*).

## 6.3.23 ऋतो विद्यायोनिसम्बन्धेभ्यः:

*r̥to vidyāyonisambandhebhyaḥ*

/ṛtah 5/1 *vidyā-yoni-sambandhebhyaḥ* 5/3 = *vidyā ca yoniś ca = vidyāyonī* (itar. dv.), *vidyāyonikṛtah sambandhah yeśām, tebhyaḥ* (bv.) / (*alug uttarapade #1 ṣaṣṭhyāḥ #21*)

*ṛkārāntebhyo vidyāsambandhavācibhyo yonisambandhavācibhyaś cottarasyāḥ ṣaṣṭhyā alug bhavati*

Non-deletion by means of LUK applies to a *ṣaṣṭhī* which occurs after a nominal stem ending in *r̥* and signifying a relationship established by means of *vidyā* ‘knowledge, study’ and *yoni* ‘birth’, provided a constituent combines to follow.

## EXAMPLES:

*hoturantevāśī* ‘student of a priest (*hotṛ*)’

*hotuhṛputrah* ‘son of a priest’

*piturantevāśī* ‘father’s student’

*pituhṛputrah* ‘son of (his) father’

1. Note that non-deletion cannot be blocked in examples such as *ācārya-putrah* ‘teacher’s son’ and *mātulaputraḥ* ‘maternal uncle’s son’ because *ācārya* ‘teacher’ and *mātula* ‘mother’s brother’ do not end in *r̥*. Non-deletion will similarly be blocked in *hotṛdhanam* ‘wealth of the *hotṛ*’, *pitṛdhanam* ‘father’s wealth’, *hotṛgrham* ‘home of the *hotṛ*’ and *pitṛgrham* ‘father’s house’, where *hotṛ* and *pitṛ* end in *r̥* but *dhana* ‘wealth’ and *grha* ‘home’ are not relatable via *vidyā* ‘knowledge’ and *yoni* ‘birth’.

2. Note that the *pañcamī* ‘ablative’ specification of *vidyāyonisambandhebhyaḥ* could only establish the intended relationship of initial constituents. A specification by *saptamī* should have been made if such a relationship was intended for the following constituents. But that would have excluded such a relationship of initial constituents. It is, therefore, concluded that both constituents must be relatable via *vidyāyonisambandha*. It is for this reason that sometimes we also find examples where constituents relatable via *vidyā* and *yoni* are juxtaposed. Thus, observe *hotuhṛputrah* ‘priest’s son’ and *piturantevāśī* ‘father’s student’ (see PM ad *Kāśikā*).

Jinendrabuddhi (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāśikā*) thinks that a rather long formulation of this *sūtra*, especially with the inclusion of *sambandha*, carries special meaning. That is, Pāṇini intended non-deletion only where the following constituent denoted *vidyāyonisambandha* (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāśi*: *tad etasmān mahataḥ sūtraprabandhād vidyāyonisambandhavācīny uttarapade ācāryasyāyam alug abhiṣṭa iti laksyata iti*).

## 6.3.24 विभाषा स्वसृपत्योः:

*vibhāṣā svasṛpatyoh*

/vibhāṣā 1/1 svasṛpatyoh 7/2 = svasā ca patiś ca (itar. dv.) /  
 (alug uttarapade #1 ṣaṣṭhyā #21 ḷto vidyāyonisambandhebhyaḥ #23)  
 ‘svasṛ, pati’ ity etayor uttarayor ḷkārāntebhyo vidyāyonisambandhavācibhyo  
 vibhāṣā alug bhavati

Non-deletion by means of *LUK* applies, only optionally, to a *sasthī* which occurs in combination after a nominal ending in *r* and denoting a relationship established by means of *vidyā* and *yoni*, provided *svasṛ* ‘sister’ and *pati* ‘husband’ combine as following constituents.

#### EXAMPLES:

mātuhṛṣvasā ‘mother’s sister’  
 mātṛṣvasā ‘ibidem’  
 pituhṛṣvasā ‘father’s sister’  
 pitṛṣvasā ‘ibidem’  
 duhituhṛpatih ‘daughter’s husband.  
 duhitṛpatih ‘ibidem’  
 nanānduhṛpatih ‘husband’s sister’s husband’  
 nanāndṛpatih ‘ibidem’

1. Note that *s* of *svasṛ* is obligatorily replaced with *s* when deletion of *ṣaṣṭhī* is applied (8.3.84 *mātṛpitṛbhyāṁ svasā*). Such a replacement becomes optional when non-deletion of *ṣaṣṭhī* applies (3.3.85 *mātṛpitṛbhyām anyatarasyām*).

#### 6.3.25 आनद् ऋतो द्वन्द्वे

ānañ ḷto dvandve  
 /ānañ 1/1 ḷtaḥ 6/1 dvandve 7/1/  
 (uttarapade #1 vidyāyonisambandhebhyaḥ #22)  
 ḷkārāntānāṁ vidyāyonisambandhavācināṁ yo dvandas tatrottaraṇade  
 pūrvapadasyānañ ādeśo bhavati

Augment *ānAṄ* is introduced to the initial constituent of a *dvandva* compound which is formed with constituents ending in *r* and signifying a relationship established by means of *vidyā* and *yoni*.

#### EXAMPLES:

hotāpotārau ‘hotṛ and potṛ, the two ritual priests’  
 neṣṭodgātārau ‘priest and reciter priest’  
 mātāpitārau ‘parents’  
 yātānanāndārau ‘husband’s brothers’s wife and husband’s sister’

1. Note that *ānAṄ* is marked with *Ṅ* as an *it*. Consequently, it is introduced in place of the final sound segment of a compound constituent which precedes (1.1.53 *nic ca*). Since *n* of *ān* in *ānAṄ* does not serve any purpose, and thus invariably gets deleted by 8.2.7 *nalopah prātipadikāntasya*, why was

*ānAṄ* not specified simply as *āṄ* or *ā?* So that its *n* could block the following *r* which is required to follow a replacement of *r* (1.1.51 *ur an raparah*). Refer to the appendix of 1.1.53 *nic ca* for derivational details of *hotāpotārau* and *mātāpitarau*.

2. The condition of *rT* blocks *ānAṄ* in *pitṛpitāmahau* ‘father and grandfather’ where *pitāmaha* does not end in *r*. How come *ānAṄ* is allowed in *pitāputrau* and *mātāputrau*? The word *putra* is here carried from 6.3.21 *putre* *nyatarasyām*. But if *putra* is carried over here, it should also be carried over in 6.2.23 *vibhāśā svasṛpatyoh*. This would occasion an optional derivate, i.e., *bhrātusputrah*, even when *ākroṣa* is not denoted (6.3.22 *putre* *nyatarasyām*). Well, *putre* will be carried over only here, via *mandūkapluti* ‘frog’s leap’. It will not be carried over to 6.2.23 *vibhāśā svasṛpatyoh*. But there is still a problem. Augment *ānAṄ* is to be introduced when the constituents end in *r*. Obviously, *putra* of *mātāputrau* and *pitāputrau* does not end in *r*. Well, a *dvandva* compound qualified with *rT* is different from one where *putra* will constitute the following constituent. I omit discussion of additional arguments offered by commentators relative to *rtaḥ* as a qualifier to *kāryin* ‘operand’. I also omit any discussion of *saptamī* in *putre*. Refer to *Nyāsa* and *PM* ad *Kāśikā* for details.

### 6.3.26 देवताद्वन्द्वे च

*devatādvandve ca*

/ *devatā-dvandve* 7/1 = *devatānāṁ dvandvah*

(*sas. tat.*), *tasmin; ca*  $\emptyset$  /

*devatāvācināṁ yo dvandas tatrottarapade pūrvapadasyānañ ādeśo bhavati*

Augment *ānAṄ* is introduced to the preceding constituent of a *dvandva* compound when the same is used in combination before a following constituent, provided the compound constituency denotes a divinity (*devatā*).

EXAMPLES:

*indrāvaraṇau* ‘Indra and Varuṇa’

*indrāsomau* ‘Indra and Soma’

*indrābṛhaspatī* ‘Indra and Bṛhaspatī’

1. Why is *dvandva* used again in this rule when it is already available from *anuvṛtti*? So that *ānAṄ* could be restricted to only those compounds where constituent combinations are most famous (*prasiddhasāhacaryārtham*), both in the classical usage as well as in the Vedic. Usages of the Vedic generally relate to compounds where divinities denoted by individual constituents are jointly referred to as recipients of ritual oblation (*sahavāpanirdiṣṭāḥ*). Thus, we cannot get *ānAṄ* in examples such as *brahma-prajāpatī* ‘Brahman-Prajāpatī’ and *śivavaiśravaṇau* ‘Śiva-Vaiśravaṇa’.

2. A *vārttika* proposal blocks introduction of *ānAN* to *vāyu*, irrespective of whether it is combined as an initial or following constituent (*ubhayatra vāyoḥ pratiṣedho vaktavyah*). Thus, we get *agnivāyū* ‘Agni and Vāyu’ and *vāyavagnī* ‘Vāyu and Agni’.

### 6.3.27 इदग्ने: सोमवरुणयोः:

*īdagneh somavarunayoh*

/it 1/1 *agneh* 6/1 *soma-varunayoh* 7/2 (itar. dv.)/

(*uttarapade* #1 *devatādvandve* #26)

‘*soma, varuṇa*’ity etayor devatādvandve’ gner ikārādeśo bhavati

A long *i* comes in place of the final of *agni* when the same occurs in a *dvandva* compound formed with constituents signifying divinity, provided *soma* and *varuṇa* combine to follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*agnīsomau* ‘Agni and Soma’

*agnīvaruṇau* ‘Agni and Varuṇa’

1. Here again, *i* comes in place of *i* of *agni*. The *s* of *soma* is replaced with *ś* by 8.3.82 *agneh stutstomasomāḥ*.

### 6.3.28 इद वृद्धौ

*id vrddhau*

/it 1/1 *vrddhau* 7/1/

(*uttarapade* #1 *devatādvandve* #26 *agneh* #27)

*kṛtavṛddhāv uttarapade devatādvandve’ gner ikāra ādeśo bhavati*

A short *i* comes as a replacement for the final of *agni* when, in a *dvandva* compound formed with constituents denoting divinity, a constituent containing a replacement in *vrddhi* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*āgnivāruṇīm* ‘... a ritual oblation whose deities are Agni and Varuṇa’  
*āgnimārutam* ‘a ritual sacrifice whose deities are Agni and Marut’

1. This rule offers *iT* to block *ānAN* and *iT*. Our derivates *āgnivāruṇī* and *āgnimāruta* are derived by introducing *aN* (4.2.23 *sā sya devatā*), parallel to *agnivāruṇau devate asya* ‘those whose divinities are Agni and Varuṇa’ and *agnimārutau devate asya* ‘those whose divinities are Agni and Marut’. The first example constitutes an exception to the *iT* of 6.3.27 *id agneh*. . . . The second is an exception to *ānAN* of 6.3.26 *devatādvandve ca*. The *vrddhi* of both constituents is accomplished by 7.3.26 *devatādvandve ca*. The *NiP* of these examples is introduced by 4.1.15 *tiddhāṇaṇ*. . . .

2. The condition of *vrddhi* in the following constituent blocks *iT* in exam-

bles such as *āgnendrah*, where 7.3.24 *nendrasya parasya* negates it. A *Mahābhāṣya* proposal negates *iT* when *viṣṇu* constitutes the following constituent (*id vṛddhau viṣṇoh pratiṣedho vaktauryah*). Thus, there is no *iT* for the *ā* of *āgnāvaiṣṇavam*.

### 6.3.29 दिवो द्यावा

*divo dyāvā*  
*/divah 6/1 dyāvā 1/1/*  
*(uttarapade #1 devatādvandve #26)*

‘*div*’ *ity etasya ‘dyāvā’ ity ayam ādeśo bhavati devatādvandve uttarapade*

The form *dyāvā* comes as a replacement for *div* ‘day, heaven’ in a *dvandva* compound formed with constituents denoting divinity, provided a constituent combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

*dyāvākṣāme* ‘heaven and earth’  
*dyāvābhūmī* ‘ibidem’

1. Note that *dyāvā* replaces *div* in toto (1.1.54 *anekālśit sarvasya*).

### 6.3.30 दिवसश्च पृथिव्याम्

*divasaś ca pṛthivyām*  
*/divasaḥ 1/1 ca φ pṛthivyām 7/1/*  
*(uttarapade #1 devatādvandve #26 divo dyāvā #29)*  
*pṛthivyām uttarapade devatādvandve divah ‘divas’ ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*  
*cakārād ‘dyāvā’ ca*

The form *divasa*, and *dyāvā* as well, come as replacements for *div* of a *dvandva* compound formed with constituents denoting divinity, provided *pṛthivi* ‘earth’ is used in combination to follow.

EXAMPLES:

*divaspṛthivyau* ‘heaven and earth’  
*dyāvāpṛthivyau* ‘ibidem’

1. Note that the actual replacement is *divas*. However, it has been specified in the rule as *divasa*. It is done to indicate that *s* of *divas* does not go through any modification (*vikāra*). That is, no *s→r→h*, etc. (*rutvādīni*). How would one explain *dyāvā* which replaces *div* in the non-*dvandva* context of *dyāvā cid asmai pṛthivī nametē*? This usage is Vedic, and hence, efforts must be made to explain it (*Kāś: kartavyo’ tra yatnah!*). One can accept it as a rare exception seen in the Vedic (*dṛṣṭānuvidhiḥ ca chandasī*), or else, one may take recourse to the *bāhulaka* provision of *chandasī bāhulam* ‘usages occur variously in the Vedic’.

### 6.3.31 उषासोषसः:

*uṣāsasasah*

/ *uṣāsā* 1/1 *uṣasah* 6/1/

(*uttarapade* #1 *devatādvandve* #26)

*usasah* ‘*uṣāsā*’ ity ayam ādeśo bhavati *devatādvandve* *uttarapade*

The form *uṣāsā* comes as a replacement for *uṣas* ‘dawn’, in a compound formed with constituents denoting divinity, provided a constituent combines to follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*uṣāsāsūryam* ‘dawn and sun’

*uṣāsānaktā* ‘dawn and night’

1. This rule offers *uṣāsā* as an exception to *ānAṄ* of 6.3.25 *devatādvandve ca*. This same is also true of examples of next two rules.

### 6.3.32 मातरपितरावुदीचाम्

*mātarapitarāv udīcām*

/ *mātarapitarau* 1/2 *udīcām* 6/3/

‘*mātarapitarau*’ ity *udīcām* ācāryāṇāṁ matenāraṇādeśo bhavati

The word *mātarapitarau*, in the opinion of eastern grammarians (*udīcām*), is derived (with *ārAṄ*) via *nipātana*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*mātarapitarau* ‘mother and father’

1. This rule derives *mātarapitarau*, via *nipātana*. That is, the final *r* (1.152 *nic ca*) of *māṭṛ* ‘mother’ is replaced with *arAṄ*. In the opinion of others, we will get *mātāpitara* with *ānAṄ*.

### 6.3.33 पितरामातरा च च्छन्दसि

*pitarāmātarā ca cchandasi*

/ *pitarāmātarā* 1/2 *ca* φ *chandasi* 7/1/

‘*pitarāmātarā*’ iti *chandasi* *nipātyate*

The word *pitarāmātarā* is also derived, via *nipātana*, in the Vedic.

#### EXAMPLES:

*pitarāmātarā* ‘mother and father’

1. This *nipātana* employs *arāṄ* replacing the final *r* of *pitr* ‘father’. The *au* ‘nominative dual’ after *māṭṛ* is replaced with *ā* (7.1.39 *supāṇ suluk*). The *r* of *māṭṛ* then goes through a replacement in *guṇa* (7.3.110 *rto nisarvanāmaṣṭhā-nayoh*).

### 6.3.34 स्त्रिया: पुंवद्धाषितपुंस्कादनूङ् समानाधिकरणे स्त्रियामपूरणीप्रियादिषु

*striyāḥ pumvadbhāṣitapumskādanūn samānādhikaraṇe striyām apūraṇi-priyādiṣu*

/ *striyāḥ* 6/1 *pumvad* φ *bhāṣitapumskādanūn* (6/1 deleted); = *na* ūñ = *anūn* (*nañ*); *bhāṣitah* *pumān yasminn arthe sa* = *bhāṣitapumskāḥ* (*bv.*), *tasmāt*; *bhāṣitapumskād anūn yasmin striśabde sa bhāṣitapumskādanūn striśabdah* (*bv.*); *samānādhikaraṇe* 7/1 *striyām* 7/1 *apūraṇi-priyādiṣu* 7/3 = *pūraṇī ca priyādayaś ca* (*itar. dv.*); *na pūraṇīpriyādayaḥ* (*nañ*)./

(*uttarapade #1*)

*bhāṣitapuṇskādanūnah striśabdasya pumśabdasyeva rūpam bhavati samānādhikaraṇe uttarapade strilinge pūraṇīpriyādivarjite*

The form of a nominal which denotes feminine, and shares an identical base for usage with a corresponding masculine, is, when not ending in affix ūṄ, treated as that of its masculine, provided a nominal not ending in a *pūraṇa* suffix, and not belonging to the list headed by *priyā*, follows in syntactic coordination with the signification of feminine.

#### EXAMPLES:

*darśanīyabhāryaḥ* ‘he whose wife is beautiful’

*ślakṣṇacūḍaḥ* ‘he whose hairdo is beautiful’

*dirghaṅgaḥ* ‘he whose thighs are strong’

1. The characteristic denotatum of a form is spoken of as the conditioning cause for its usage (*pravṛttinimitta*). Thus, ‘worth seeing, beautiful’ can be accepted as the conditioning cause for usage of *darśanīya* ‘beautiful’. The word *bhāṣitapumskā* is explained as ‘a form whose denotatum conditions the denotation of its corresponding masculine’. Thus, *darśanīyā* can be accepted as *bhāṣitapumskā*, because it denotes its masculine counterpart with the same sense which conditions its own usage. The cause for usage of both is the same. For reasons of identical denotatum (*āyāma*) conditioning their usage, such forms are accepted as having identical bases (*samānākṛti*). The word *bhāṣitapumskā* thus refers to a form which shares the same denotatum in both masculine and feminine. The word *darśanīyā* is accepted as *bhāṣitapumskā* since it denotes its masculine counterpart *darśanīya* with the same characteristic meaning as its own.

The word *strī* of *striyāḥ* can be interpreted with three meanings:

- (i) *strī* denotes affixes (*TāP*, etc.) used with the denotatum of feminine (*strīpratyaya*);
- (ii) *strī* denotes a thing qualified with the sense (*arthā*) of a female (*strītvavisiṣṭadravya*);
- (iii) *strī* denotes a form (*śabda*) with the denotatum of feminine.

Accepting the first interpretation, i.e., *pratyayapakṣa* ‘affixal interpretation of *strī*’, will result in deletion of feminine affixes. That is, the form after which the feminine affix was introduced will be retained. But accepting this interpretation will create problems. Thus, consider *paṭubhāryah*, paraphrased as *paṭvī bhāryā* ‘he whose wife is clever’. Rule 1.1.58 *ačah parasmin pūrvavidhau* will offer *sthānivadbhāva*, once the feminine affix is removed from *paṭvī*. The result will be an undesired *v* coming as a replacement in *yaṄ* for *u* of *paṭu*, especially when *i* of the affix is restored through *sthānivadbhāva*. Similarly, in deriving *gargavṛndārikā*, the second interpretation will make the qualified word with the meaning of a female to go through operations similar to a word qualified with the sense of masculine. The third view, since it would change the feminine form to that of its masculine, is accepted.

### 6.3.35 तसिलादिष्वाकृत्वसुचः:

*tasilādiśu ākṛtvasucaḥ*

/ *tasilādiśu* 7/3 = *tasil ādir yeṣām* (bv.); ā φ *kṛtvasucaḥ* 5/1/  
(*striyāḥ puṇvad bhāṣitapuṇskādanūn* #33)

‘*pañcamyāś tasil*’ ity atah *prabhṛti* ‘*samkhyāyāḥ kriyābhyaवृttigaṇane kṛtvasuc*’  
*iti prāg etasmād ye pratyayāś teṣu bhāṣitapuṇskādanūnstriyāḥ puṇvad bhavati*  
The form of a nominal which denotes feminine, and shares identical bases for usage with a corresponding masculine, is, when not ending in affix *ūṄ*, treated as that of its masculine counterpart, provided affixes enumerated beginning with *tasIL* through *kṛtvasUC* follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*tasyāḥ śālāyāḥ* = *tataḥ* ‘from that (house)’

*tasyām . . .* = *tatra* ‘in that (house)’

*yasyāḥ . . .* = *yataḥ* ‘from (the house) which’

*yasyām . . .* = *yatra* ‘in (the house) which’

1. Note that our earlier rule had the condition of *uttarapade*. This rule is formulated for contexts where *uttarapade* is not required. The *tasilādi* affixes have been enumerated by rules 5.3.7 *pañcamyāś tasil* through 5.4.17 *samkhyāyā kriyābhyaवृttigaṇane kṛtvasuc*. Since these are enumerated within the domain of 5.3.1 *prāg diśo vibhaktih* they are termed *vibhakti*:

2. Note that *tyad* and *yad*, which are used in *sā* and *yā*, are used with the same meaning also in their masculine counterparts *sah* and *yah*. It is for this reason that they can be accepted as *bhāṣitapuṇskā*. A masculine transformation on *tad + ṬāP + ḌasI + tra* and *tad + ṬāP + Ḍi + tra*, will, subsequent to deletion of *ṬāP* and *Ḍi*, yield *tad + tas* and *tad + tra*. Rule 7.2.102 *tyadādīnāṁ ah* will replace *d* of *tad* with *a*. Thus, *ta(d→a) + tra = ta + a + tra* and *ya(d→a) + tra = ya + a + tra*. An application of 6.1.97 *ato guṇe* will yield *t(a + a→a) + tra = tatra* and *y(a + a→a) + tra = yatra*. Similar rules apply in deriving *tad + tas =*

*tatas* and *yad + tas* = *yatas* which, after *rutva-visarga* produce *tataḥ* and *yataḥ*, respectively. Refer to derivational details of *tatra* and other relevant derivate under the appendix of rules 1.1.37 *svarādinipātam avyayam*, 2.4.71 *supodhātu-prātipadikayoh* and 2.4.82 *avyayād āpsupah*.

3. The *tasilādi* listing includes certain affixes before which *pumvadbhāva* ‘masculine transformation’ is not desired (*nesyate*). There are certain affixes which are not contained within the *tasilādi* group, but before which *pumvadbhāva* is desired (*isyate*). It is, therefore, recommended that these affixes be clearly specified. Kāśikā enumerates them: *tra* (5.3.10 *tratasau*) and *tas* (5.3.57 *pañcamyās tasil*); *taraP* (5.3.57 *dvivacana . . .*) and *tamaP* (5.3.55 *atiśāyane . . .*); *caraT* (5.3.53 *bhūtapūrve caraṭ*) and *jātīyaR* (5.3.69 *prakāravacane . . .*); *kalpaP*, *deṣya* and *deṣīyaR* (5.3.67 *īṣad asamāptau . . .*); *rūpyaP* (5.3.66 *praśamsāyāṁ rūpap*) and *pāṣaP* (5.3.47 *yāpye pāṣap*); *thamU* (5.3.24 *idamas . . .*) and *thāL* (5.3.23 *prakāravacane thāl*); *dā* and *rhiL* (5.3.15 *sarvaihānya*–5.3.16 *idamo rhil*); *tiL* and *tātiL* (5.4.41 *vṛkajyeṣṭhābhyaṁ . . .*).

4. The *Mahābhāṣya* proposes some additional *pumvadbhāva* proposals as follows:

- (i) A statement should be made about *pumvadbhāva* of nominals used with the signification of *bahu* ‘many, much’ and *alpa* ‘little, less’ when *Sas* ‘accusative plural’ follows (*śasi bahvālpārthasya pumvadbhāvo vaktavyah*). Thus, *bahuśo dehi* and *alpaśo dehi*.
- (ii) A statement of *pumvadbhāva* should be made when a nominal used with the signification of quality (*guṇavacana*) is used before affixes *tva* and *traL*. Thus, *paṭvyā bhāvah* = *paṭutvam* and *paṭutā* ‘cleverness’.
- (iii) A statement of *pumvadbhāva* should be made for that which is termed *bha* when a *taddhita* affix other than *dhā* follows (*bhasyādhe taddhite pumvadbhāvo vaktavyah*). Thus, *hastinīnāṁ samūhah* = *hāstikam* ‘group of (female) elephants’. How can one derive *āgneyah*, paraphrased as *āgnāyo devatā* ‘sya ‘that whose divinity is *āgnāya*’. That is, when *pumvadbhāva* is blocked before *dhā*? The form should be *āgnāyeyah* if *dhā* is introduced after *āgnāyi*. Efforts must be made to derive it with *pumvadbhāva* (*kartavyo tra yatnah*). It is stated that this provision of *pumvadbhāva* should be restricted where the signification is not an *apatya* ‘offspring’. This masculine transformation will then restore *agni*, and there will not be any problem in deriving *āgneyah*.
- (iv) This *pumvadbhāva* must also be stated before affixes *thaK* and *chaS*. Thus, consider *bhavatyāḥ chātrāḥ* = *bhāvathkāḥ* and *bhavadīyāḥ* ‘your students’.

### 6.3.36 क्यद्मानिनोश्च

*kyānmāninoś ca*

/kyāñ-māñinoh 7/2 = *kyāñ ca māñin ca* (itar. dv.), *tayoh; ca* φ/  
(*uttarapade* #1 *striyāñ pumvad bhāṣitapumskādanūñ* #33)

*kyāñi parato māñini ca striyā bhāṣitapumskādanūñ pumvad bhavati*

The form of a nominal which denotes feminine, and shares identical bases for usage with a corresponding masculine, is, when not ending in affix *ūñ*, treated as that of its masculine, provided a word ending in affix *Kyañ* and *māñin* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*etāyate* ‘acts like a hind’

*śyetāyate* ‘acts like a hawk’

*darśanīyamāñi ayam asyāñ* ‘this (husband) of hers considers himself handsome’

*darśanīyamāñinīyam asyāñ* ‘she considers herself beautiful’

1. The words *enī* and *śyenī* are dérives of *NiP* introduced after *eta* and *syeta*, with an additional provision of *n* replacing their *t* (4.1.39 *varṇād anudāttāt . . .*). Forms such as *etāyate* and *śyetāyate*, paraphrased as *enī iva ācarati* and *śyenī iva ācarati*, respectively, are derived with the introduction of affix *Kyañ* after *enī + sU* and *śyenī + sU*. An application of *pumvadbhāva* on *enī + sU + (K)ya(Ñ)* and *śyenī + sU + (k)ya(Ñ)*, subsequent to the removal of *NiP* and deletion of *sU*, will produce *etū + ya* and *śyeta + ya*. A removal of *NiP* will also result in the removal of *n* which replaced *t* of *eta* and *syeta* of *enī* and *śyenī*. For, *NiP* and (*n*→*t*) were introduced concurrently (*sanniyogaśiṣṭa*). Recall that 7.4.25 *akṛtsārvadadhātu . . .* will here cause *a* before *ya* to be replaced with *ā*. Thus, *etāya* and *śyetāya* will be roots after which *LAT* can be introduced to subsequently derive *etāyate* and *śyetāyate*.

Similar steps are involved in deriving *darśanīyamāñi* and *darśanīyamāñinī* from (*darśaniya + NiP*) + *am* + (*man + NinI*) = *darśanīyā + māñin* and (*darśanīyā + am*) + (*man + NinI + NiP*) = *darśanīyā + māñinī*, respectively. Our final dérives, subsequent to the application of *pumvadbhāva*, will be: *darśanīyamāñi* and *darśanīyamāñinī*, respectively.

2. Note that *māñin* is used here to cover dérives lacking syntactic coordination (*sāmāñādhikaranya*). That is, when the object of *dṛś* and the agent of *manin* are not the same. For, in situations where they are both in syntactic coordination, *pumvadbhāva* can be accomplished by 6.3.34 *striyāñ bhāṣitapumskād*. . . . Consider *darśanīyamāñinī* which is paraphrased as *darśanīyām ātmāñam manyate devadattā iyam* ‘this daughter of Devadatta considers herself beautiful’. Now consider the example where syntactic coordination between the object of *dṛś* and agent of *man* is lacking: *darśanīyām imāñ yajñadattāñ manyate devadattā* ‘Devadatta’s daughter considers this daughter of Yajñadatta beautiful’.

## 6.3.37 न कोपथाया:

/ na kopadhāyāḥ

/ na φ kopadhāyāḥ 6/1 = kakāra upadhā yasyāḥ sā (bv.), tasyāḥ/

(uttarapade #1 striyāḥ puṇvad bhāśitapumskādanūn #33)

*kopadhāyāḥ striyāḥ puṇvadbhāvo na bhavati*

The form of a nominal which denotes feminine, shares identical bases for usage with a corresponding masculine, and contains *k* in its *upadhā* ‘penultimate position’, is, when not ending in affix *ūN*, not treated as that of its masculine.

## EXAMPLES:

*pācikābhāryāḥ* ‘he whose wife is a cook’

*kārikābhāryāḥ* ‘he whose wife is a doer’

*madrikābhāryāḥ* ‘he whose wife is from Madra’

*vrijikābhāryāḥ* ‘he whose wife is from Vrji’

*madrikāyate* ‘acts like one from Madra’

*vrijikāyate* ‘acts like one from Vrji’

*madrikāmāninī* ‘considers herself from Madra’

*vrijikāmāninī* ‘considers herself from Vrji’

1. This rule blocks *puṇvadbhāva* in examples where a feminine contains *k* in its penultimate position (*kakāropadha*). This negative provision is made against positive provision of the earlier rule. Thus, consider *pācikā* and *kārikā* which are both derivates of *NvuL* terminating in the feminine affix *TāP*. Their *iT* has been introduced by 7.3.44 *pratyayasthāt*. . . . These derivates are both *bhāśitapumskā*. Consequently, *puṇvadbhāva* is available to them from 6.3.34 *striyāḥ bhāśitapumskād*. . . . This rule negates it. Examples such as *madrikābhāryāḥ* and *vrijikābhāryāḥ* also had *puṇvadbhāva* of *madrikā* and *vrijikā* available to them from 6.3.35 *tasilādi*. . . . Recall that the bases after which the feminine affix is introduced to derive *madrikā* and *vrijikā* are derivates of *kaN* (4.2.131 *madravrjyoḥ* . . .). Derivates of *KyaN*, for example *madrikāyate* and *vrijikāyate*, had *puṇvadbhāva* available from 6.3.36 *kyañmāninōś ca*. Our present rule negates it here.

2. This negation of *puṇvadbhāva*, specified with *kakāropadha* ‘having *k* in its penultimate position’, should negate *vu*, i.e., *aka*, when related to a *taddhita*. Thus, *puṇvadbhāva* should apply to *pākā* ‘young female’, a derivate of *TāP* introduced after *pāka* ending in *kaN*. An example is: *pākabhāryāḥ* ‘he whose wife is young’.

## 6.3.38 संज्ञापूरण्योऽच

*saṃjñāpūranyoś ca*

/ saṃjñāpūranyoḥ 6/2 (itar. dv.); ca φ/

(uttarapade #1 striyāḥ puṇvad bhāśitapumskād anūn #33 na #37)

*samjñāyāḥ pūranyāś ca striyāḥ pumvadbhāvo na bhavati*

The form of a nominal which denotes feminine, shares identical bases for usage with a corresponding masculine, and is either a name (*samjñā*) or ends in a *pūrana* suffix, is not treated as that of its masculine.

#### EXAMPLES:

*dattābhāryah* ‘he whose wife is Dattā’  
*guptābhāryah* ‘he whose wife is Guptā’  
*dattāpāśā* ‘Dattā who deserves censure’  
*guptāpāśā* ‘Guptā who deserves censure’  
*dattāyate* ‘someone who acts as if she was Dattā’  
*guptāyale* ‘someone who acts as if she was Guptā’  
*dattāmānī* ‘she who considers herself Dattā’  
*guptāmānī* ‘she who considers herself Guptā’  
*pañcamībhāryah* ‘he whose wife is the fifth’  
*daśamībhāryah* ‘he whose wife is the tenth’  
*pañcamīpāśā* ‘the fifth who deserves censure’  
*daśamīpāśā* ‘the tenth who deserves censure’  
*pañcamīyate* ‘she acts as if she was the fifth’  
*daśamīyate* ‘she acts as if she was the tenth’  
*pañcamīmānī* ‘she considers herself the fifth’  
*daśamīmānī* ‘she considers herself the tenth’

1. This rule negates *pumvadbhāva* of female names and forms which end in a *pūrana* suffix. Note that *dāna* ‘giving’ and *gopana* ‘preserving’ condition the usage of both *datta*/ *dattā* and *gupta*/ *guptā*, respectively. Consequently, *dattā* and *guptā*, both derivates of *TāP*, are accepted as *bhāṣitapuṁskā*. Incidentally, *datta* and *gupta*, their masculine counterparts, end in *Kta* introduced after *dā* and *gup* (3.3.174 *kticktau ca samjñāyām*). The sense of *pañcamatva* ‘fifthness’ and *daśamatva* ‘tenthness’ can constitute the condition for usage of *pañcamā*/ *pañcamī* and *daśama*/ *daśamī*. That is, *pañcamī* ‘fifth’ and *daśamī* ‘tenth’ are also *bhāṣitapuṁskā*.

Why list derivates of *KyaṄ* as examples when they do not differ in form? That is, whether *pumvadbhāva* applies or not. These examples are offered to specify the scope of negation.

#### 6.3.39 वृद्धनिमित्तस्य च तद्वितस्यारक्तविकारे

*vrddhinimittasya ca taddhitasvāraktavikāre*

/ *vrddhinimittasya* 6/1 = *vrddher nimittam yasmin* (bv.), *tasya; ca* φ/ *taddhitasya* 6/1 *araktvikāre* = *raktam ca vikāraś ca = raktavikāram* (dv.); *na raktavikāram* (naṄ.), *tasmin/*

(*uttarapade* #1 *striyāḥ pumvadbhāṣitapuṁskādanūn* #33 *na* #37)

*vṛddhinimittas taddhitah yadi rakte’ rthe vikāre ca na vihitah, tadantasya strīśabdasya na pumvad bhavati*

The form of a nominal which denotes feminine, shares identical bases for usage with a corresponding masculine and ends in a *taddhita* affix conditioning *vrddhi*, is not treated as that of its masculine, provided this *taddhita* affix was introduced with the signification of something other than *rakta* ‘colored by means of . . . (4.2.1 *tena raktam* . . .)’ and *vikāra* ‘a modification of . . . (4.3.134 *tasya vikārah*)’.

#### EXAMPLES:

- sraughnībhāryah* ‘he whose wife is from Srughna’
- māthurībhāryah* ‘he whose wife is from Mathurā’
- sraughnipāśā* ‘the one from Srughna deserves censure’
- sraughnīyate* ‘acts as one from Srughna’
- māthuriyate* ‘acts as one from Mathurā’
- sraughnīmānī* ‘she who considers herself as one from Srughna’
- māthurīmānī* ‘she who considers herself as one from Mathurā’

1. Note that the *taddhita* affixes which are accepted as conditioning *vrddhi* are marked with *Ṅ*, *N* (7.2.115 *aco nniti*) and *K* as an *it* (7.2.118 *kiti ca*). Our example constituents, i.e., *sraughnī* and *māthurī*, are derivates of *aN* (4.3.53 *tatra bhavaḥ*), used in the feminine with affix *ṄiP* (4.1.15 *tiḍḍhānaṄ* . . .). This *aNi* is obviously not introduced with the signification of *rakta* and *vikāra*. The negation of *pumvadbhāva* thus becomes applicable.

2. *Kāśikā* offers *madhyamabhbāryah* ‘he whose wife was born as a middle child’ as a counter-example to the condition of *vṛddhinimitta* ‘cause of *vrddhi*'. Recall that *madhyama* is a *taddhita* derivate with affix *ma* (4.3.8 *madhyān mah*). But this affix does not have any *Ṅ*, *N* or *K* which may cause *vrddhi*. The negation of *pumvadbhāva* is thus blocked. Now consider *kāṇḍalāvabhāryah* ‘he whose wife chops wood’ which is offered as a counter-example to the condition of *taddhita*. Since *kāṇḍalāvā*, a derivate of *aN* (3.2.1 *karmany an*) used in the feminine, has an affix other than a *taddhita*, *pumvadbhāva* still cannot be blocked. Finally, counter-examples relative to the condition of *araktvikāre* ‘when not denoting *rakta* and *vikāra*’, are offered as: *kāṣāya-bṛhatikah* ‘he who wears a robe colored with a red dye’ and *lauheśah* ‘he whose cart-rails are made of iron’. The feminine affixes in *kāṣāyi* and *lauhi* are introduced after *taddhita* derivates conditioned with the signification of *rakta* and *vikāra*. Here again *pumvadbhāva* cannot be negated.

3. Note that *vṛddhinimitta*, a qualifier to *taddhita*, is interpreted here as a *bahuvrīhi*, paraphrased as: *vṛddher nimittam yasmin* ‘that in which there is the cause of *vrddhi*'. A *tatpuruṣa* interpretation will block *pumvadbhāva* of *tāvatī* and *yāvatī* in *tāvadbhāryah* and *yāvadbhāryah*. The *ā* of *tāvatī* and *yāvatī* is termed *vrddhi*, but it is not conditioned here by a *taddhita* affix containing *Ṅ*, *N* and *K*. The *ā* in *tāvatī* and *yāvatī* is introduced to *tad + vatUP* and *yad +*

*vatUP* by rule 6.3.91 *ā sarvanāmnah*. The *NiP* in *tāvatī* and *yāvatī* is introduced by 4.1.6 *ugitaś ca*.

### 6.3.40 स्वाङ्गाच्चेतः

*svāngāc cetah*

/ *svāngāt* 5/1 *ca φ ītaḥ* 6/1 /

(*uttarapade #1 striyāḥ pumvad bhāṣitapumskādanūn #33 na #37*)

*svāngād uttaro ya īkāras tadantāyāḥ striyā na pumvad bhavati amānini parataḥ*

The form of a nominal which, ending in *ī* used after a constituent signifying one's own limb (*svāṅga*), denotes feminine and shares identical bases for usage with a corresponding masculine, is not treated as that of its masculine when a constituent other than *mānī* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*dīrghakesībhāryah* 'he whose wife has long hairs'

*ślakṣṇakesībhāryah* 'he whose wife has shiny hairs'

*dīrghakesīpāśā* 'she, the one with long hairs, deserves to be censured'

*ślakṣṇakesīpāśā* 'she, the one with shiny hairs, deserves to be censured'

*dīrghakesīyate* 'she acts like someone with long hairs'

*ślakṣṇakesīyate* 'she acts like someone with shiny hairs'

1. This rule negates *pumvadbhāva* of feminine derivates used with the signification of *svāṅga* 'one's own limb'. The feminine affix *NiS* of *dīrghakesī* 'she who has long hairs' is introduced by 4.1.54 *svāngāc copasarjanād*. . . .

2. A counter-example to the condition of *svāṅga* is offered as *patvībhāryah* 'he whose wife is clever' where *paṭu* 'clever' denotes quality (*guṇa*). The condition of *iT* is imposed so that *akeśā bhāryā yasya = akeśabhāryah* 'he whose wife does not have any hair', where *akeśā*, ending in *ā* of *TāP*, can avail *pumvadbhāva*. Affix *NiS*, in this derivate, is blocked by 4.1.57 *sahanañvidyamāna*. . . .

3. A *vārttika* proposal allows this negation when *mānī* does not follow. *Kāśikā* reads *amānī* at the end as part of this *sūtra*. Thus, *kāṭhī* of *kāṭhamānī* 'she who considers herself a *Kāṭha*' goes through *pumvadbhāva*.

### 6.3.41 जातेऽच

*jāteś ca*

/ *jāteḥ* 5/1 *ca φ /*

(*uttarapade #1 striyāḥ pumvad bhāṣitapumskād anūn #33 na #37*)

*jāteś ca striyā na pumvad bhavati amānī parataḥ*

The form of a nominal which denotes *jāti* 'class' in the feminine, and shares identical bases for usage with a corresponding masculine, is not

treated as that of its masculine when a constituent other than *mānīn* follows.

EXAMPLES:

*kaṭhībhāryah* ‘he whose wife is a Kāṭha’  
*bahvṛcībhāryah* ‘he whose wife is a Bahvṛca’  
*kaṭhīpāśā* ‘this Kāṭha woman deserves censure’  
*bahvṛcīpāśā* ‘this Bahvṛca woman deserves censure’  
*kaṭhiyate* ‘acts like a Kāṭha woman’  
*bahvṛciyate* ‘acts like a Bahvṛca woman’

1. Recall that affix *Niś* is introduced in *kaṭhī* and *bahvṛcī* by 4.1.63 *jāter astrīviṣayā*. . . . The condition of *amānīni* still applies.

2. A proposal not to negate *pūṇvadbhāva* specified by enumeration (*aupasaṅkhyānika*) is also made. This mainly concerns *pūṇvadbhāva* proposal of a *vārttika*, ad 5.3.35 *tasilādiṣu* . . . (cf. *bhasyādhe taddhite*).

### 6.3.42 पुंवत्कर्मधारयजातीयदेशीयेषु

*pūṇvat karmadhārayajātīyadeśīyesu*  
*/pūṇvat φ karmadhāraya-jātīya-deśīyeṣu 7/3 (itar. dv.)/*  
*uttarapade #1 striyāḥ bhāṣitapūṇskādanūn #33)*  
*karmadhāraye samāse ‘jātīya, deśīya’ ity etayoś ca pratyayor bhāṣitapūṇskād anūn striyāḥ pūṇvad bhavati*

The form of a nominal which denotes feminine, does not end in affix *uṄ* and shares identical bases for usage with a corresponding masculine, is treated as that of the masculine when this same combines in a *karmadhāraya* compound, and affixes *jātīyaR* and *deśīyaR* follow.

EXAMPLES:

*pācakavrndārikā* ‘a female cook’  
*pācakajātīyā* ‘like a cook’  
*pācakadeśīyā* ‘almost a cook’  
*dattavrndārikā* ‘a cook named Dattā’  
*dattajātīyā* ‘like Dattā’  
*dattadeśīyā* ‘almost like Dattā’  
*pañcamavrndārikā* ‘the fifth cook’  
*pañcamajātīyā* ‘like the fifth cook’  
*pañcamadeśīyā* ‘almost like the fifth cook’  
*sraughnabhāryā* ‘a wife born in Srughna’  
*sraughnajātīyā* ‘a wife like someone born in Srughna’  
*sraughnadeśīyā* ‘almost like one born in Srughna’  
*ślakṣṇamukhavrndārikā* ‘a cook with a shining face’  
*ślakṣṇamukhajātīyā* ‘like one with a shining face’

*ślakṣṇamukhadeśīyā* ‘almost like someone with a shining face’  
*kaṭhavṛndārikā* ‘a Kaṭhī who is a cook’  
*kaṭhajātiyā* ‘like a Kaṭhī’  
*kathadeśīyā* ‘almost like a Kaṭhī’

1. This rule is formulated so that *pumvadbhāva* can apply where it has been denied. Thus, consider the following:

- (a) *pācakavṛndārikā* and *pācakajātiyā*, where the negation of 6.1.37 *na kopadhāyāḥ* does not apply;
- (b) *dattavṛndārikā* and *pañcamavṛndārikā*, where the negation of 6.3.38 *samjnāpūraṇayos ca* does not apply;
- (c) *sraughnjātiyā* and *sraughnadeśīyā*, where the negation of 6.3.39 *vṛddhinimittasya ca . . .* does not apply;
- (d) *ślakṣṇamukhavṛndārikā*, *ślakṣṇamukhajātiyā* and *ślakṣṇamukhadeśīyā*, where the negation of 6.3.40 *svāṅgāc cetaḥ* does not apply;
- (e) *kaṭhavṛndārikā*, *kaṭhajātiyā* and *kathadeśīyā*, where the negation of 6.3.41 *jātēś ca* does not apply.

Note, however, that this rule is not formulated so that *pumvadbhāva* can apply, even where the two conditions of *bhāṣitapumskāt* and *anūn* are not satisfied. Thus, *khaṭvābhāryah* and *brahmabandhūvṛndārikā*, where *khaṭvā*, of the first compound, is obligatorily feminine, and *brahmabandhū*, of the second, ends in *ūN*.

2. Rules 5..3.69 *prakāravacane jātiyāR* and 5.3.67 *ışad asamāptau* introduce affixes *jātiyāR* and *deśīyāR*, respectively.

3. There are some additional proposals made in the *Mahābhāṣya*:

- (i) *kukkuṭī* ‘hen’, etc., avail *pumvadbhāva* when *anḍā* ‘egg’, etc., are used in combination after them. Thus, *kukkutyā anḍām* = *kukkutyānḍām* ‘hen’s-egg’ and *mṛgyāḥ padam* = *mṛgapadam* ‘foot of a female deer’. It has also been suggested that such a provision is not to be made. For, since the initial constituents of these compounds denote their class in general, and not the female within that class, *pumvadbhāva* is not needed.
- (ii) Shortening (*hrasva*), as against *pumvadbhāva*, should be applied where an affix marked with *KH* as an *it*, or an affix termed *gha* (1.1.22 *taraptamāpau ghah*), follows. Thus, *kālīmmanyā harinīmmanyā* (3.2.83 *ātmamāne khaś ca*) and *paṭvitārā/ paṭvitamā*.

### 6.3.43 घरूपकल्पचेलद्वावगोत्रमतहतेषु डशोऽनेकाचो हस्तः

*gharūpakaṭpaceladbruvagotramatahateṣu nyō' nekāco hrasvah*  
*/gha-rūpa-kalpa-celaṭ-bruva-gotra-mata-hateṣu 7/3 (itar. dv.), tesu; nyāḥ 6/*  
*1 anekācaḥ 1/1 = anekāḥ ac yasmin (bv.); na anekāc (nañ.); hrasvah 1/1/*  
*'gha-rūpa-kalpa-celaṭ-bruva-gotra-mata-hata' ity eteṣu parato bhāṣitapumskāt*  
*paro yo niṣpratyayas tadantasyānekāco hrasvo bhavati*

A *Nī* at the end of a poly syllabic (*anekāc*) nominal which denotes feminine, does not end in affix *uNī*, and shares identical bases for usage with a corresponding masculine, is replaced with its short counterpart when *gha*, *rūpa*, *kalpa*, *celaT*, *bruva*, *gotra*, *mata*, and *hata* follow.

EXAMPLES:

*brāhmaṇitarā* ‘a better brāhmaṇa woman’  
*brahmaṇitamā* ‘the best brāhmaṇa woman’  
*brāhmaṇirūpā* ‘an excellent brāhmaṇa woman’  
*brāhmaṇikalpā* ‘kind of a brāhmaṇa woman’  
*brāhmaṇicelī* ‘not quite a brāhmaṇa woman’  
*brāhmaṇibruvā* ‘a brāhmaṇa woman by name only’  
*brāhmaṇigotrā* ‘a brāhmaṇa woman by *gotra* only’  
*brāhmaṇimatā* ‘a brāhmaṇa woman deserving of censure’  
*brāhmaṇihatā* ‘ibidem’

1. This rule offers shortening (*hrasva*) against *purnvadbhāva*. The word *gha* here refers to forms ending in affixes *taraP* and *tamaP* (1.1.21 *tarapta-mapau ghah*). Similar references are made by affixes *rūpaP* (5.3.66 *praśam-sāyām . . .*) and *kalpaP* (5.3.67 *iṣad asamāptau . . .*). A reference with *celaT*, *bruva*, *gotra*, *mata* and *hata* is made to words used with the signification of *kutsā* ‘censure’. These are not affixes.

The first two, i.e., *cela* and *bruva*, are derivates of *aC* (3.1.134 *nandigrāhipacādī . . .*). A specification of *cela*, with *T* as an *it*, is made so that *NīP* could be introduced by 4.1.15 *tiḍḍhānañ . . .* Note that *brū* ‘to speak’ gets *aC* and no replacement in *vac*, via *nipātana*. A compound formation with *cela*, etc., is allowed by 2.1.52 *kutsitāni kutsanaih*. A compound with *mata* and *hata* is allowed by 2.1.56 *viśeṣāṇam viśeṣyena . . .*

The word *brāhmaṇī* is a derivate of *NīS*. The shortening of this rule applies to its final *i*. This shortening, however, still maintains the condition of *bhāṣitapuṁska*. Thus, no shortening is allowed in *āmalakītarā* and *kuvalītarā*, where *āmalakī* and *kuvalī* are obligatorily feminine.

### 6.3.44 नद्याः शेषस्याऽन्यतरस्याम्

*nadyāḥ śeṣasyānyatarasyām*  
*/nadyāḥ 5/1 śeṣasya 6/1 anyatarasyām 7/1/*  
*(uttarapade #1 gharūpacelaubruvagotramatahateṣu hrasvah #43)*  
*nadyāḥ śeṣasya ghādiṣu parataḥ hrasvo bhavati*

The final vowel of remaining nominals, namely those which are termed *nadī*, is replaced with its corresponding short only optionally, when *gha*, *rūpa*, *kalpa*, *celaT*, *bruva*, *gotra*, *mata*, and *hata* follow.

EXAMPLES:

*brahmabandhutarā* ‘a better brahmabandhū’

*brahmabandhūtarā* ‘ibidem’  
*brahmabandhutamā* ‘the best brahmabandhū’  
*brahmabandhūtamā* ‘ibidem’  
*vīrabandhūtarā* ‘a better vīrabandhū’  
*vīrabandhūtarā* ‘ibidem’  
*strītarā* ‘better woman’  
*strītarā* ‘ibidem’  
*strītamā* ‘best woman’  
*strītamā* ‘ibidem’

1. This rule offers optional shortening to *nadī* words, not covered by the preceding rule. That is, *nadī* words which do not end in *Nī*, and also those which end in *Nī* but are constituted by a single vowel (*ekāc*). Recall that 1.4.3 *yūstryākhyau nadī* assigns the term *nadī* to feminine forms ending in *i* and *ū*.

2. A *vārttika* proposal is made to negate this shortening when a *nadī* word happens to be a derivate of affix *kṛt* (vt: *kṛnnadyāḥ pratīṣedho vaktavyāḥ*). Thus, consider *lakṣmītarā* and *tantrītarā*, where *lakṣmī* and *tantrī* are derivates of *kṛt* (III:158–9: *avitṛṣ.../lakṣmer muṭ ca*).

### 6.3.45 उगितरस्च

*ugitaś ca*  
*/ugitah 5/1 = uk it yasya = ugit (bv.), tasmāt; ca φ/*  
*(uttarapade #1 gharūpakalpaceladbruvagotramatahateṣु hrasvah #43*  
*anyatarasyāṁ nadyāḥ #44)*

*ugitaś ca parasyā nadyā ghādiṣu anyatarasyāṁ hrasvo bhavati*

The final sound segment of a nominal termed *nadī* when occurring in combination after a form with *uK*, i.e., *u*, *r*, *l*, as an *it*, is also replaced with its short counterpart, provided *gha*, *rūpa*, *kalpa*, *celaṭ*, *bruva*, *gotra*, *mata*, and *hata* follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*śreyasītarā* ‘comparatively more superior’  
*śreyasītarā* ‘ibidem’  
*śreyastarā* ‘ibidem’  
*viduṣītarā* ‘comparatively more learned’  
*viduṣītarā* ‘ibidem’  
*vidvattarā* ‘ibidem’

1. This rule allows optional shortening in case of a *nadī* word derived with a *taddhita* affix marked with *U* and *R* as an *it*. Of course, the right context of *gha*, etc., is still valid. Thus, *śreyasītarā*, *śreyasītarā*. Recall that *śreyasī* is derived with *NīP* (4.1.6 *ugitaś ca*) introduced after *śreyas*. The word *śreyas* itself is a derivate of *īyasUN* (5.3.57 *dvivacana...*), where *prāsasya* ‘excellent’, of *praśasya* + *īyasUN*, is replaced with *śra* (5.3.60 *prāsasyasya śrah*).

Note that *viduśitarā* is a derivate of *taraP* introduced after *vidusī* ‘learned female’. Affix *NiP* is introduced here after *vidvas* ‘knowledgeable’ which, in turn, is a derivate of *ŚatR* (3.2.124 *laṭah śatṛśānacāv . . .*) replacing *LAT*. A further replacement in *vas* for *ŚatR* is then ordered by 7.1.36 *videh śatur vasuh*. Deriving *viduśi* from *vidvas* + *NiP* involves *samprasāraṇa* of *vas* (6.4.131 *vasoh . . .*), followed by a single replacement similar to the preceding (*pūrvavarūpa*) *u* of the sequence *u + a*.

Note that *Kāśikā* also desires *puṇyavadbhāva* ‘masculine transformation’ as an alternate to shortening. Bhāṭṭoji (ad SK) states that 6.3.35 *tasilādiṣu . . .* could itself account for masculine transformation. Besides, it cannot be blocked in the absence of shortening. This renders forms with long vowels, i.e., *śreyasitarā*, a suspect.

### 6.3.46 आन्महतः समानाधिकरणजातीययोः:

*ān mahataḥ samānādhikarana jātīyayoh*  
*/ āt 5/1 mahataḥ 5/1 samānādhikarana-jātīyayoh 7/2 (itar. dvः), tayoh/*  
*(uttarapade #1)*  
*samānādhikarana uttarapade jātīye ca pratyaye parato mahata ākārādeśo*  
*bhavati*

The final *t* of *mahat* ‘great’ is replaced with *ā* when a syntactically coreferential *pada*, or affix *jātīyaR*, follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*mahādevah* ‘the great god; Śiva’  
*mahābrāhmaṇah* ‘a great brāhmaṇa’  
*mahābāhuḥ* ‘he whose arms are long’  
*mahābalah* ‘he who has great strength’  
*mahājātīyah* ‘moderately large’

1. This rule introduces *āT* (*ā*; 1.1.70 *taparas tatkālasya*) as a replacement for the final *t* (1.1.52 *alo’ ntyasya*) of *mahat* when the same is followed, either by a *pada* in syntactic coordination or by *jātīyaR*. Thus we get *mahādevah* and *mahājātīyah*, etc. But consider *mahāputrah*, paraphrased as *mahataḥ putrah* ‘son of a great man’, where this replacement does not apply. For, *mahat* is used in the genitive with *putrah* in the nominative. Obviously, they are not in syntactic coordination.

A specification by *samānādhikaranaḥ* is made so that *mahat* could not be limited to refer to the enumeration of 2.1.51 *sanmahat . . .*. This interpretation is in consonance with *paribhāṣā* (114): *lakṣaṇapratipaddoktayoh pratipadok-tasyaiva grahaṇam* ‘a specification made by specific enumeration alone is accepted when the same comes into conflict with one made by a generalized specification of a given rule’. This would limit the application of this rule to *tatpurusa* compounds only. But since its application is also desired in case of

*bahuvrīhi* compounds, for example *mahābāhu*, *samānādhikarāṇaḥ* ‘coreferential’ must be stated in this rule. Why is this replacement in ā not applied to *mahat* of *mahaścandraṁāḥ* ‘big moon’, paraphrased as *amahān mahān sampanno mahadbhūtaś candramāḥ* ‘a previously not so big moon has become big’. Because the meaning of *mahat* here is secondary (*gaunā*; Kāś. *gaunatvān mahadarthasya na bhavaty ātvam*).

2. The *t* in āt of this rule is used for clarity (*vispastārtham*). It could not be accepted as used for indicating ā, via *taparakaraṇa* (1.1.70 *taparas tatkālasya*). For, ā alone could accomplish that.

3. A *vārtika* proposal is made to also allow ā, and *pumvadbhāva* as well, where *ghāsa* ‘grass, food’, *kara* ‘hand’ and *viśiṣṭa* ‘distinguished’ occur as following constituents, and a meaning with no syntactic coordination is involved. Thus, *mahatyā ghāsaḥ* = *mahāghāsaḥ*, *mahākarah* and *mahāviśiṣṭah*.

A second *vārtika* proposal is made for ā with reference to *aṣṭan* ‘eight’ when the same combines with *kapāla* ‘bowl’ as a following constituent, and the derivate denotes *havis* ‘ritual oblation of food’. Thus, consider *aṣṭasu kapāleṣu saṃskṛtam* = *aṣṭākapālam* of *aṣṭākapāle caruṇ nirvapet* ‘should offer ritual oblation of *caru* in *aṣṭākapāla*’. We will get *aṣṭākapālam* in contexts outside the meaning of *havis*.

An additional proposal for ā is made, again with reference to *aṣṭan* ‘eight’, when *go* follows and the derivate denotes the sense of *yukta* ‘equipped, associated’. Thus, *aṣṭāgavena śakaṭena* ‘by a cart pulled by eight bulls’. But consider *aṣṭagavaṁ brāhmaṇasya* ‘eight cows of the brāhmaṇa’, where no meaning of *yukta* is present.

### 6.3.47 द्वयष्टनः संख्यायामबहुव्रीहीशीत्योः

*dvyaṣṭanāḥ saṃkhyāyām abahuvrīhyaśītyoḥ*

/ *dvya-aṣṭanāḥ* 6/1 = *dva* ca *aṣṭa* ca = *dvyaṣṭa* (sam. dv.), *tasya*; *saṃkhyāyām* 7/1 *abahuvrīhy-śītyoḥ* 7/2 = *bahuvrīhi* ca *aṣṭiś* ca = *bahuvrīhy-aṣṭi* (nañ); *na bahuvrīhyaśīti* (nañ. with int. dv.), *tayoh/* (*uttarapade* #1 āt #46)

‘*dvi*, *aṣṭan*’ ity etayor ākārādeśo *bhavati saṃkhyāyām uttarapade abahuvrīhyaśītyoḥ*

The final sound segment (*aL*) of *dvi* and *aṣṭan* is replaced with ā when a constituent denoting *saṃkhyā* ‘number’, with the exception of *aṣṭi* ‘eighty’, combines to follow and the compound is not a *bahuvrīhi*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*dvādaśa* ‘twelve’

*dvāvīṁśatī* ‘twenty-two’

*dvātriṁśat* ‘twenty-three’

*aṣṭādaśa* ‘eighteen’

*aṣṭāvimiṁśatiḥ* ‘twenty-eight’  
*aṣṭātrimśat* ‘eighty-three’

1. This rule allows a replacement in *ā* to *dvi* and *aśītā*, when a number word other than *aśītā* combines to follow and the compound is not a *bahuvrīhi*. Thus, consider *dvāvimiṁśati* and *aṣṭāvimiṁśati*.
2. This replacement will be blocked in *dvaimāturaḥ* ‘son of two mothers’ and *aṣṭamāturaḥ* ‘son of eight mothers’ where a constituent denoting number does not combine to follow. This replacement will also be blocked in *tridaśāḥ*, paraphrased as *tṛtyā yauvanākhyā daśā sadā yeśām* ‘those whose third state of life named ‘youth’ is eternal’. Incidentally, it is a *bahuvrīhi* compound (2.2.25 *samkhyayā vyayā . . .*) where the *samāsānta* affix *DaC* is introduced (5.4.73 *bahuvrīhau . . .*) to follow. A replacement in *ā* will also be blocked in *dvyaśītā* ‘eighty-two’ because *aśītā* combines to follow *dvi*.

3. A *vārttika* proposal is made to restrict this replacement in *ā* only to contexts where the following constituent denotes a number lower than a hundred (*prāk śatāt*). Thus *dviśatam* ‘two hundred’ and *dvisahasram* ‘two thousand’ will be counter-examples.

### 6.3.48 त्रेस्त्रयः:

*trestrayaḥ*

/ *treḥ* 6/1 *trayah* 1/1/

(*uttarapade* #1 *saṃkhyāyām abahuvrīhyaśītyoḥ* #47)

‘tri’ ity etasya śabdasya *trayas* ādeśo bhavati *saṃkhyāyām* *uttarapade*’  
*bahuvrīhyaśītyoḥ*

The final sound segment of *tri* is replaced with *trayas* when a constituent denoting *saṃkhyā* ‘number’ with the exception of *aśītā* combines to follow and the compound is not a *bahuvrīhi*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*trayodaśā* ‘thirteen’

*trayoviṁśatiḥ* ‘twenty-three’

*trayastrimśat* ‘thirty-three’

1. This rule offers *trayas* as a replacement of *tri* when *tri* combines in a non-*bahuvrīhi* compound with a following constituent other than *aśītā*. Thus, consider *trayodaśā*, *trayoviṁśatiḥ* and *trayastrimśat*.

Note that the restriction of a number lower than a hundred still applies. In addition, we still have conditions of *abahuvrīhau* and *aśītā*. This replacement will thus be blocked in *tridaśāḥ/tryaśītih*, and *triśatam/trisahasram*, etc.

### 6.3.49 विभाषा चत्वारिंशत्प्रभृतौ सर्वेषाम्

*vibhāṣā catvāriṁśatprabhṛtau sarveṣām*

/ vibhāṣā 1/1 catvārimśatprabhṛtau 7/1 = catvārimśat prabhṛti yasyāḥ (bv.),  
*tasyām; sarveṣām* 6/3/  
*(uttarapade #1 abahuvrīhyaśityoh #47)*

Replacements stated in place of all, i.e., *dvi*, *aṣṭan* and *tri*, apply, only optionally, when a constituent denoting number, namely *catvārimśat*, etc., with the exclusion of *aṣṭi*, combine to follow and the compound is not a *bahuvrīhi*.

EXAMPLES:

*dvicatvārimśat* 'forty-two'  
*dvācatvārimśat* 'ibidem'  
*trīpañcāsat* 'fifty-three'  
*trayahpañcāsat* 'ibidem'  
*aṣṭapañcāsat* 'fifty-eight'  
*aṣṭāpañcāsat* 'ibidem'

1. Replacements offered under the preceding two rules are here made optional. That is, when *dvi*, *tri* and *aṣṭan* combine in a non-*bahuvrīhi* compound with a following number word which denotes forty and above and is not *aṣṭi*. Additionally, the restriction of a number word denoting less than a hundred still applies. Thus, we get *dvicatvārimśat*/*dvācatvārimśat*, etc. Compounds such as *dviśatam*, *dvisahasram*, etc., will be excluded because of their *sata* 'hundred'.

### 6.3.50 हृदयस्य हृलेखयदण्लासेषु

*hṛdayasya hṛllekhyayadaṇlāsesu*  
/ *hṛdayasya* 6/1 *hṛt* 1/1 *lekha-yad-aṇ-lāsesu* 7/3 (*itar. dv.*), *teṣu*/  
*(uttarapade #1)*

*hṛdayasya* 'hṛt' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati 'lekha, yat, aṇ, lāsa' ity eteṣu parataḥ  
The word *hṛdaya* is replaced with *hṛt* 'heart' when *lekha* 'line', *yat*, *aṇ* and *lāsa* 'jumping' follow.

EXAMPLES:

*hṛllekhaḥ* = *hṛdayam likhati* 'heart-writing'  
*hṛdyam* = *hṛdayasya priyam* 'dear to heart'  
*hārddam* = *hṛdayasyedam* 'pertaining to one's heart'  
*hṛllāsaḥ* = *hṛdayasya lāsaḥ* 'heart's joy'

1. This rule offers *hṛt* as a replacement for *hṛdaya* when *lekha*, *yaT* and *aN* follow. Note that *yaT* and *aN* are affixes, and this specification does not involve interpretation via *tadantavidhi*. That is, they are here understood as introduced after *hṛdaya*. This is in consonance with *paribhāṣā* (26): *uttarapadādhikāre tadantagrahaṇe tadantāgraḥanasya* 'a specification made by an affix in the domain of *uttarapade* does not involve interpretation via *tadantavidhi*'.

The word *lekha* is here understood as derived with *aN*. That is, it is not interpreted here as derived with *GHaÑ*. A *GHaÑ* interpretation of *lekha* will thus not permit this replacement. Thus, *hṛdayasya lekhah* = *hṛdayalekhah*.

### 6.3.51 वा शोकव्यञ्जेषु

*vā śokasyañrogesu*

/vā φ śoka-syañ-rogesu 7/3 (itar. dv.), *tesu*/

(*uttarapade* #1 *hṛdayasya hṛt* #50)

'śoka, syañ, roga' ity *eteṣu parato hṛdayasya vā 'hṛt'* ity *ayam ādeśo bhavati*

The word *hṛdaya* is replaced with *hṛt*, only optionally, when *śoka* 'grief, sadness', *SyaÑ* and *roga* 'disease' combine to follow.

EXAMPLES:

*hṛcchokah* 'heart's grief'

*hṛdayaśokah* 'ibidem'

*sauhārdyam* 'good-heartedness; friendship'

*suhṛdayam* 'ibidem'

*hṛdrogah* 'heart disease'

*hṛdayarogah* 'ibidem'

1. This rule renders a replacement by *hṛt* optional when *hṛdaya* is followed by *śoka*, *SyaÑ* and *roga*. The *SyaÑ* of this specification is here interpreted as affix *SyaÑ*. Recall that this affix is introduced after *hṛdaya*, based on its listing in the *brāhmaṇādi* group of nominals (5.1.124 *guṇavacana-brāhmaṇādi* . . .). Thus, we get *hṛcchokah*/*hṛdayaśokah* and *sauhārdyam*/*suhṛdayam* 'good heartedness', etc.

2. A replacement in *vṛddhi* (7.3.19 *hṛdbhagasindhvante* . . .) is accomplished for both constituents, i.e., *su* and *hṛt*, when *hṛdaya* is replaced with *hṛt*, as in *suhṛdaya* + (*S*)*ya(Ñ)*. If *hṛdaya* is not replaced with *hṛt*, we will get initial *vṛddhi* of 7.2.117 *taddhiteṣv acām* . . ., where the final *a* of *hṛdaya* will be deleted by 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*. The *t* of *hṛt* in *hṛcchoka* is replaced with *c* (8.4.39 *stoh ścunā ścuḥ*). A similar replacement of *ś* of *śoka* with *ch* is accomplished by 8.4.62 *śāś cho'ti*.

3. Why do we have to state this replacement of *hṛdaya* with *hṛt* when they are recognized as two separate bases. That is, these two separate bases can account for desired forms independently. An optional provision thus made for *hṛt* to replace *hṛdaya* is nothing but expatiation (*prapañca*; *Kāś: hṛdayaśabdena samānārtho hṛtśabdah prakṛtyantaram asti tenaiva siddhe vikalpa-vidhānam prapañcārtham*).

### 6.3.52 पादस्य पदाज्यातिगोपहतेषु

*pādasya padājyātigopahateṣu*

/pādasya 6/1 pada-ājy-āti-ga-upahatesu 7/3 (itar. dv.)/  
(uttarapade)

pādasya 'pada' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati 'āji, āti, ga, upahata' ity eteṣūttara-padeṣu

The word *pāda* is replaced by *pada* 'foot' when *āji* 'he who goes', *āti* 'he who comes', *ga* and *upahata* 'struck by' combine to follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*padājih* = *pādābhyaṁ ajati* 'goes by foot'

*padātih* = *pādābhyaṁ aṭati* 'foot-goer; infantryman'

*padagah* = *pādābhyaṁ gacchati* 'ibidem'

*padopahatah* = *pādenopahatah* 'kicked by foot'

1. This rule replaces *pāda* with *pada* when *āji*, *āti*, *ga* and *upahata* combine to follow. Note that *āji* and *āti* are derivates of the *Uṇādi* affix *iN*, introduced after *aj* and *at*. A replacement in *vī*, required for *aj* (22.4.56 *ajer vyaghañapoh*), is blocked because of *iN*. Thus we get *padājih*, etc.

2. Note that this replacement in *pada* also has accentual consequences. The word *pāda*, as a member of the *vṛṣādi* group of nominals (6.1.202 *vṛṣādīnāṁ ca*), is marked *udātta* at the beginning. Its replacement in *pada* is offered *udātta* at the end (6.1.168 *ūḍidampadā* . . .). Consequently, in a compound such as *padopahatah*, *pada* retains its final *udātta* (6.2.48 *trīyā karmani*). That is, the compound is *udātta* at the beginning. The other derivates, i.e., *padātih*, *padājih* and *padgah*, are marked *udātta* at the end, via *kṛt* accent.

3. Incidentally, a replacement in *pada* is here offered as ending in *a*. A replacement ending in *d* is offered by the next rule.

#### 6.3.53 पद्यत्यतदर्थे

*pad yati atadarthe*

/pad 1/1 yati 7/1 atadarthe 7/1 = *tasmai idam = tadartham; na tadartham (nañ. with int. cat tat.), tasmin/*

*yatpratyaye parataḥ pādasya pad ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*

The word *pāda* is replaced with *pad* when affix *yaT*, used with the significance of something other than *tadartha* 'intended or beneficial for that', follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*pādyāḥ* = *śarkarāḥ, pādau vidhyanti* 'gravel which hurts feet'

*pādyāḥ* = *kaṇṭakāḥ* 'thorns which pierce feet'

1. This rule offers *pad* as a replacement for *pāda* when it is used before affix *yaT*, signifying something other than *tadartha* 'intended for that'. Recall that rule 5.4.25 *pādārghyāṁ ca* introduces affix *yaT* after *pāda* under the

meaning condition of *tādarthyā*. This rule cannot allow this replacement in that context. We will still get *pādyartham udakam* ‘ritual water for wiping feet’. This rule will allow *pad* as a replacement when, for example, *yaT* is introduced by 4.4.83 *vidhyaty adhanuṣā*. We can then get *padyāḥ*, paraphrased as *pādau vidhyanty = padyāḥ kāṇṭakāḥ* ‘thorns which pierce feet’.

2. A *vārttika* proposal is made to also allow this replacement where *ika* combines to follow with the signification of *carati* ‘goes, moves’. Thus, *pādābhyaṁ carati = padikāḥ*. This *ika* is a replacement of affix *ŚthaN* (4.4.10 *parpādibhyaś ṣthan*). Incidentally, *pāda* in this proposal denotes ‘foot’, and not a measure (*pramāṇa*). That is, *dvipādyam*, etc., of 5.1.34 *pañapādamāṣā . . .* will not qualify for this replacement.

### 6.3.54 हिमकाषिहतिष्

*himakāṣihatiṣ ca*

/ hima-kāṣi-hatiṣ 7/3 = himaṁ ta kāṣi ca hatiṣ ca = himakāṣihatayah (itar. dv.), tāsu; ca φ/

(uttarapade #1 pādasya #52 pad #53)

‘hima, kāṣin, hati’ ity eteṣu pādaśabdasya ‘pad’ ity ayam ādeśo bhavati

The word *pāda* is also replaced with *pad*, when *hima* ‘snow’, *kāṣin* ‘rubbing’ and *hati* ‘stroking’ combine to follow.

EXAMPLES:

*paddhimam* ‘foot-cold’

*pathāṣinah* ‘pedestrian’

*paddhatih* ‘sidewalk, dirtroad’

1. This rule allows *pad* as a replacement for *pāda*, also when *hima*, *kāṣin* and *hati* combine to follow. Note also that *paddhima* is a genitive *tatpurusa* compound, where *h* of *hima* gets replaced with *dh* (8.4.61 *jhayo ho’ nyatarasyāṁ*). Affix *NiṇI* (3.2.78 *sypy ajātau . . .*) is introduced in deriving *pathāṣin*, where *d* of *pad* gets replaced with *t* (8.4.55 *khari ca*).

### 6.3.55 ऋचः शे

*rcaḥ śe*

/ rcaḥ 6/1 śe 7/1/

(uttarapade #1 pādasya #52 pad #53)

*rksambandhinah pādaśabdasya śe parataḥ ‘pad’ ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*

The word *pāda*, when used in relation to *ṛk* ‘hymn’, is replaced with *pad*, provided *śe* (affix *śas*; 5.4.43 *saṃkhyai kavacanāt . . .*) follows.

EXAMPLES:

*paccho gāyatrīṁ śamsati* ‘praises Gāyatrī by its quarters’

1. This rule allows *pāda* to be replaced with *pad* when affix *śas* follows, and the derivate relates to the signification of a hymn. Affix *śas* (5.4.43 *samkhyai kavacanāc ca*) is introduced in *pacchah* with the signification of *vīpsā* ‘pervasion, repetition’. Thus, (*pāda*→*pad*) + *śas*→*pad* + *śas*, where *d* gets replaced with *c* (*ścutu*; 8.4.10 *stos ścunā ścuḥ*). The *s* of *śas* is also replaced with *ch* of 8.4.62 *śaś cho' ti*.

This replacement will not be allowed in case of *pādaśah*, of *pādaśah kārsāpaṇam dadāti* ‘gives a quarter of Kārṣāpaṇa each’, because the derivate meaning does not relate to a hymn.

### 6.3.56 वा घोषमिश्रशब्देषु

*vā ghoṣamiśraśabdesu*

/ *vā* φ *ghoṣa-miśra-śabdeṣu* 7/3 (itar. dv.) /

(uttarapade #1 *pādasya* #52 *pad* #53)

‘*ghoṣa, miśra, śabda*’ ity eteṣū cottareṣu *pādasya* ‘*pad*’ ity ayam ādeśo bhavati

The word *pāda* is optionally replaced with *pad* when *ghoṣa* ‘noise’, *miśra* ‘mixed’ and *śabda* ‘noise, word’ combine to follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*padghoṣah* ‘foot-noise’

*pādaghoṣah* ‘ibidem’

*panmiśrah* ‘foot-mixed’

*pādamiśrah* ‘ibidem’

*pacchabdhah* ‘foot-noise’

*pādaśabdah* ‘ibidem’

1. This rule makes the replacement optional when *pāda* combines with *ghoṣa*, *miśra* and *śabda* to follow. A *vārttika* proposal is additionally made to allow this replacement when *niṣka* ‘gold coin’ combines to follow. Thus, *panniṣkah* ‘one quarter of a gold coin, named *niṣka*’ and *pādanīṣkah*.

2. Note that *pāda* of these examples combines with *ghoṣa* and *śabda* to form a genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound. A compound with *miśra* is interpreted as instrumental *tatpuruṣa* (2.1.31 *pūrvasadṛṣṭa* . . .). Incidentally, the *d* of *padmiśrah*, is replaced with *n* (8.4.44 *yaro' nunāsike* . . .). For phonological changes in deriving *pacchabda* from *padśabda*, follow rules similar to *pacchah* of the preceding rule.

### 6.3.57 उदकस्योदः संज्ञायाम्

*udakasyodah samjñāyām*

/ *udakasya* 6/1 *udah* 1/1 *samjñāyām* 7/1 /

(uttarapade #1)

*udakaśabdasya samjñāyām viṣaye* ‘*uda*’ ity ayam ādeśo bhavati

The word *udaka* ‘water’ is replaced with *uda* when a constituent follows, and the derivate signifies a name (*samjñā*).

**EXAMPLES:**

*udamegho nāma yasya audameghih putrah* ‘Audameghi is the son of (he whose name is) Udamegha’

*udavāhō nāma yasya audavāhih putrah*

‘Audavāhi is the son of (he whose name is) Udavāha’

1. This rule allows *udaka* to be replaced with *uda* when the same combines with a following constituent and the derivate denotes a name (*samjñā*). Thus, consider *audameghih* and *audavāhih* where *udamegha* is a genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound. It can even be interpreted as a *tatpuruṣa* where the middle constituent is deleted and the compound is paraphrased as *udakapūro meghah*. The base, i.e., *udavāha*, of our next example, i.e., *audavāhih*, is a derivate of 3.2.1 *karmany aṇ*. This replacement in *uda* will be blocked in *udakagirih* ‘a mountain with water’. Obviously, this example does not denote a name.

2. A *vārttika* proposal is made for *uda* to replace *udaka* when it is used as a following constituent and the derivate denotes a name. Thus, *lohitodah* ‘red-water’, *kṣirodah* ‘milk-water’ and *nilodah* ‘blue-water’.

### 6.3.58 पेषंवासवाहनधिषु च

*peṣamvāsavāhanadhiṣu ca*

/ *peṣam-vāsa-vāhana-dhiṣu* 7/3 (itar. dv.) *ca/*

(*uttarapade* #1 *udakasodah* #56)

‘*peṣam*, *vāsa*, *vāhana*, *dhi*’ *ity eteṣu cottarapadeṣu udakasya* ‘*uda*’ *ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*

The word *udaka* is replaced with *uda* when *peṣam* ‘grinding’, *vāsa* ‘living’, *vāhana* ‘carrier’ and *dhi* ‘receptacle’ combine to follow.

**EXAMPLES:**

*udapesam pinaṣti* . . . grinds something into a paste by adding water’

*udavāsaḥ* = *udakasya vāsaḥ* ‘residing in water; reservoir’

*udavāhanaḥ* = *udakasya vāhanah* ‘water-carrier’

*udadhīḥ* = *udakam dhīyate* *smin* ‘that which holds water; ocean’

1. This rule allows *udaka* to be replaced with *uda* when *peṣa* ‘paste’, *vāsa* ‘residence’ and *dhi* ‘that in which something is placed’ follow in combination.

### 6.3.59 एकहलादौ पूरयितव्ये १ न्यतरस्याम्

*ekahalādau pūrayitavye' nyatarasyām*

/ekahalādau 7/1 = eko hal ādir yasya (bv. with three constituents (*tri-pada*)), tasmin; pūrayitavye 7/1 anyatarasyām 7/1/  
(uttarapade #1 udakasyodah #57)

*ekahalādau pūrayitavyavāciny anyatarasyām udakasya ‘uda’ ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*

The word *udaka* is optionally replaced with *uda* when a constituent which contains a single consonant (*hal*) at its beginning and signifies the sense of *pūrayitavya* ‘that which is to be filled up’ combines to follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*udakumbhah* ‘pitcher of water’

*udakakumbhah* ‘ibidem’

*udapātram* ‘water vessel’

*udakapātram* ‘ibidem’

1. This rule allows *udaka* to be replaced with *uda* when it combines with a following constituent beginning with a single consonant and denoting the sense of *pūrayitavya* ‘that which is to be filled up’. This replacement will not be available to *udakasthalam* ‘water-place’ and *udakaparvataḥ* ‘water-mountain’, where the first has *sthala* beginning with two consonants and the second does not denote something to be filled up.

#### 6.3.60 मन्थौदनसकुबिन्दुवज्रभारहारवीवधगाहेषु

*manthaudanasaktubinduvajrabhārahāravīvadha-gāheṣu*

/ mantha-odana-saktu-bindu-vajra-bhāra-hāra-vīvadha-gāheṣu 7/3 (itar. dv.), eteṣu/

(uttarapade #1 udakasyodah #57 anyatarasyām #59)

‘mantha, odana, saktu, bindu, vajra, bhāra, hāra, vīvadha, gāha’ ity eteṣūttarapadesūdakasya ‘uda’ ity ayam ādeśo bhavati

The word *udaka* is optionally replaced by *uda* when *mantha* ‘mixed beverage’, *odana* ‘rice’, *saktu* ‘barley (roasted and powdered) meal’, *bindu* ‘drop’, *vajra* ‘water-jar’, *bhāra* ‘load’, *hāra* ‘carrier’, *vīvadha* ‘carrying pole, yoke’ and *gāha* ‘plunger’ follow in combination.

#### EXAMPLES:

*udamanthah* = *udakena manthah* ‘churned by means of water’

*udakamanthah* ‘ibidem’

*udaudanah* = *udakenaudanah* ‘rice with water’

*udakaudanah* ‘ibidem’

*udasaktuh* = *udakena saktuh* ‘saktu with water’

*udakasaktuh* ‘ibidem’

*udabinduh* = *udakasya binduh* ‘water drop’

*udakabinduh* ‘ibidem’

*udavajrah* = *udakasya vajrah* ‘water-jar; ‘water with force like Vajra’

*udakavajrah* ‘ibidem’

*udabhārah* = *udakam bibharttiḥ* ‘water-carrier’

*udakabhārah* ‘ibidem’

*udavivadhaḥ* = *udakasya vivadhaḥ* ‘load of water’

*udakavivadhaḥ* ‘ibidem’

*udagāḥaḥ* = *udakam gāhate* ‘he who measures the depth of water; ‘diver’

*udakagāḥaḥ* ‘ibidem’

1. This rule allows *uda* as an optional replacement for *udaka* when *mantha*, etc., combine to follow. This, *udakena manthah* = *udamanthah*, etc.

### 6.3.61 इको ह्रस्वोऽडव्यो गालवस्य

*iko hrasvo' ḥnyoh gālavasya*

/ikah 6/1 hrasvah 1/1 aṇyoh 6/1 gālavasya 6/1/

(uttarapade #1 anyatarasyāṁ #58)

*igantasyāñyantasyottarapade hrasvo bhavati gālavasyācāryasya matenānyatarasyāṁ*

The final of a nominal which ends in *iK*, with the exception of *Ṅi*, in the opinion of Gālava, is optionally replaced with its short counterpart when a constituent combines to follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*grāmaniputraḥ* ‘son of a village leader’

*grāmanīputraḥ* ‘ibidem’

*brahmabandhuputraḥ* ‘son of a bad brāhmaṇa’; ‘son of a brāhmaṇa woman, but by name ...’

*brahmabandhūputraḥ* ‘ibidem’

1. This rule allows a short replacement for the final *iK* vowel of an initial constituent, provided the *iK* vowel is not the *i* of a feminine affix marked with *Ṅ* (*Ṅi*). This, of course, is Gālava’s opinion. Others may have their own options. Is this rule optional? Yes, but not because of *gālavasya*. Notice that *anyatarasyāṁ* is also carried. Why then use *gālavasya*? Commentators explain that *gālavasya* is used for denoting respect (*pūjārtham*; *Kāś*: *gālavagrahaṇam pūjārtham*). The option, however, is interpreted as *vyavasthitavibhāṣa* ‘fixed option’.

2. The condition of an *iK* is imposed so that non-*iK* vowels, for example in *khaṭvārūḍha* and *mālāḍpāda*, do not qualify for this replacement. The condition of *aṇyoh* is imposed to similarly exclude *gārgīputra* and *vātsīputra*, where *gārgī* and *vātsī* are feminine forms ending in *Ṅi*. Since this is a fixed option, examples such as *kāriṣagandhīpati* will be excluded. Such examples will come under the purview of 6.3.139 *samprasāraṇasya*.

3. A *vārttika* proposal blocks this replacement in *avyayībhāva* compounds, and also where constituents may qualify for replacements in *iyAN* and *uvAN*. Thus, consider *śrikulam* and *bhrūkulam*; *kāñḍibhūtam* and *vṛṣalibhūtam*.

Yet another *vārttika* proposal restores the short replacement for the long *ū* of *bhrū* in *bhrukukṣaḥ* and *bhrukuṭiḥ*. A different proposal (*apara āha*) would have *ū* of *bhrū* replaced with *a*, instead. Thus, *bhraṇkusaḥ* and *bhrakuṭi*.

### 6.3.62 एक तद्विते च

*eka taddhite ca*

/ *eka* (deleted 6/1) *taddhite* 7/1 *ca* φ /

(*uttarapade* #1 *hrasvah* #61)

*ekaśabdasya taddhite uttarapade ca hrasvo bhavati*

The final *ā* of *eka* is replaced with its short counterpart when a *taddhita* affix, or a constituent in combination, follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*aikarūpyam* = *ekasyā āgatam* ‘having arrived from one; descendants of the same woman’

*ekamayam* ‘consisting of one’

*ekatuam* = *ekasyā bhāvah* ‘unity; sense of oneness’

*ekakṣiram* = *ekasyāḥ kṣiram* ‘milk of one and same cow’

*ekadugdham* ‘ibidem’

1. This rule allows a short replacement for the *ā* of *ekā* when a *taddhita* affix, or a constituent in combination, follows. Notice that *eka* is used here without any nominal ending (*avibhaktiko nirdeśaḥ*). This short replacement must apply to the long *ā* of *ekā*. For, to state that the short final *a* of *eka* be replaced with its short counterpart will not make any sense. Thus, what is specified with *eka* is the feminine *ekā* (*lingavīśīstasya*). Could the proposal mean shortening of *e* of *eka*? No. For, the short replacement is here ordered for a final long. Note also that shortening of the final *ā* of *ekā*, used as a qualifier (*guṇavacana*), is already available through masculine transformation (*pumvadbhāva*; *vt. twatalor guṇavacanasya*, (ad 6.3.35 *tasilādiṣ* . . .)). This rule therefore allows shortening outside the scope of a qualifier meaning.

### 6.3.63 उग्रापोः संज्ञाभन्दसोर्बहुलम्

*nyāpoh samjñāchandasor bahulam*

/ *nyāpoh* 6/2 = *nī ca āp ca* = *nyāpau* (iter. dv.), *tayoh*; *samjñāchandasoh*

7/2 = *samjñā ca chandaś ca* (iter. dv.), *tayoh*; *bahulam* 1/1 /

(*uttarapade* #1 *hrasvah* #61)

*nyantasyābantasya ca samjñāchandasor bahulam hrasvo bhavati*

The final vowel of a nominal which ends in *Nī* and *āP* is variously

(*bahulam*), in the context of a name or Vedic usage, replaced with its short counterpart when a constituent follows.

EXAMPLES:

*revatiputraḥ* ‘son of Revatī’  
*rohiniputraḥ* ‘son of Rohinī’  
*nāndikarah* ‘speaker of a prologue (in a stage play)’  
*nāndighoṣaḥ* ‘announcement of a prologue’  
*nāndīviśālaḥ* ‘a divinity’  
*kumāridā* ‘bestower of a daughter’  
*urvidā* ‘bestower of the earth’  
*phālgunipaurṇamāsi* ‘full-moon night of the month of Phālguna’  
*jagāticchandah* ‘a meter named *jagati*’  
*śilaprasthām* ‘name of a place’  
*śilavaham* ‘ibidem’  
*lomakāgrham* ‘name of a place’  
*lomakāṣaṇḍam* ‘ibidem’  
*ajakṣireṇa juhoti* ‘offers oblations with goat’s milk’  
*ūrnāsūtrena kavayo vayanti* ‘weavers weave with threads of wool’

1. This rule allows shortening of the final of a form ending in feminine affixes *Nī* and *āP*, variously (*bahulam*). Of course, when the derivate denotes a name and the usage is Vedic. Thus, the *i* of *revatī* and *rohinī*, etc., are shortened. But consider *nāndī* of *nāndikarah*, etc., where, because of *bāhulaka*, this shortening does not apply. This same applies to *kumāri* and *uruñi*, as against *phālguni* and *jagati*. Now consider *śilā*, as an example of a constituent ending in *āP*, where shortening applies. But then the same does not apply in case of *lomakā*. Examples with *ajā* and *ūrnā* are: *ajakṣireṇa juhoti* and *ūrnāsūtrena kavayo vayanti*. The first goes through shortening but the second does not.

### 6.3.64 त्वे च

*tve ca*  
*/tve'7/1 ca φ/*

(*hrasvah* #61 *nyāpoḥ bahulam* #63)

*tva*प्रत्यये परातो न्यापोः बहुलम् ह्रस्वो भवति

The final vowel of a nominal which ends in *Nī* and *āP* is, variously, replaced with its short counterpart when affix *tva* (5.1.119 *tasya bhāvas . . .*) follows.

EXAMPLES:

*ajatvam* = *ajāyā bhāvah* ‘sense of being a she-goat’  
*ajātvam* ‘ibidem’

*rohinītvam* = *rohinīyā bhāvah* ‘sense of being Rohinī’  
*rohinītvam* ‘ibidem’

1. This rule extends the *bāhulaka* proposal of the earlier rule to constituents where *tva* (5.1.119 *tasya bhāvas* . . .) follows. Note that examples with the denotata of names are impossible to find.

### 6.3.65 इष्टकेशीकामालानां चिततूलभारिषु

*iṣṭakeśīkāmālānām citatūlabhāriṣu*

/ *iṣṭakeśīkāmālānām* = *iṣṭakā ca iṣīkā ca mālā ca* (itar. dv.); *cita-tūla-bhāriṣu*  
 7/3 (itar. dv.) /  
 (*uttarapade* #1 *hrasvah* #61)

*iṣṭakeśīkāmālānām* ‘cita, tūla bhārin’ ity eteṣūttarapadeṣu yathāsaṃkhyam  
*hrasvo bhavati*

The final vowel of *iṣṭakā*, *iṣīkā* and *mālā* are replaced with a corresponding short when *cita*, *tūla*, and *bhāra* combine to follow, respectively.

EXAMPLES:

*iṣṭakacitam* ‘heap of ritual bricks’

*iṣīkatūlam* ‘bundle of reeds’

*mālabhāriṇī kanyā* ‘a girl who wears garlands’

1. This rule allows shortening where *iṣṭakā*, *iṣīkā* and *mālā* occur in combination before *cita*, *tūla* and *bhārin*, respectively. Compounds ending in *iṣṭakā*, *iṣīkā* and *mālā* also qualify for this replacement, provided *cita*, *tūla* and *bhārin* also combine to follow. Obviously, this interpretation takes recourse to *tadantavidhi*, interpreting *iṣṭakā*, *iṣīkā* and *mālā* as also what may end in them. Thus, we get *pakveṣṭakacitam* ‘heap of fired bricks’, *muñjeśīka-tūlam* ‘bundle of Muñja reeds’ and *utpalamālabhāriṇī kanyā* ‘a girl who wears lotus garlands’.

### 6.3.66 खित्यनव्ययस्य

*khiti anavyayasya*

/ *khiti* 7/1 = *kha it yasya* (bv.), *tasmin*; *anavyayasya* 6/1 = *na avyayasya*  
 (*nañ*.)/

(*uttarapade* #1 *hrasvah* #61)

*khidante uttarapade' navyayasya hrasvo bhavati*

The final vowel of a word, with the exception of an indeclinable (*avyaya*), is replaced with its corresponding short when a constituent marked with *KH* as an *it* follows.

EXAMPLES:

*kālimmanyā* ‘she who considers herself Kālī (*dark*)’

*harinimmanyā* ‘she who considers herself a deer’

1. This rule allows shortening of the final vowel of a non-indeclinable (*anavyayasya*) when what follows in combination also ends in an affix marked with *KH* as an *it*. Thus, consider *kālimmanyā* and *hariṇimmanyā*, where *kālīm* and *hariṇīm* are non-indeclinables and *manyā* is a derivate of *KHaS* (3.2.83 *ātmamāne khaś ca*). Refer to notes and appendix of 3.2.83 for relevant details. The condition of *anavyayasya* is imposed so that shortening does not apply to *dośā* and *divā* of *dośāmanyam ahah* ‘a night-like day’ and *divāmmanyā rātriḥ* ‘a day-like night’. For, *dośā* and *divā* are both indeclinables.

2. Note that *khiti* is here interpreted via *tadantavidhi*. That is, it refers to a form which follows a non-indeclinable in combination, and also ends in an affix marked with *KH* as an *it*. That is, *khiti* cannot be interpreted as referring to an affix alone, as one may expect in view of the *paribhāṣā* (26): *uttarapadādhikāre*. . . . The negation of *anavyayasya* would not be necessary if an *avyaya* ended in an affix marked with *KH* as an *it*. Such affixes are introduced after a *dhātu* ‘verbal root’.

3. Note that augment *mUM*, for example one introduced by the following rule, will not block this shortening. For, it will be useless to provide for shortening when the same can be blocked by *mUM* (*Kāś: mumā hrasvo na bādhyate, anyathā hi hrasvaśāsanam anarthakam syāt*).

### 6.3.67 अरुद्विषदजन्तस्य मुम्

*arurdviṣadajantasya mum*

/ *arurdviṣad-ajantasya* 6/1 = *ac ante yasya* = *ajantah* (bv.); *aruś ca dviṣac ca ajantaś ca* (sam. dv.), *tasya; mum* 1/1 /  
(*uttarapade* #1 *khity anavyayasya* #65)

‘*arus, dviṣat*’ *ity etayor ajantānāṁ ca khidanta uttarapade mum āgamo bhavati anavyayasya*

Augment *mUM* is introduced to *arus*, *dviṣat* and a non-indeclinable word ending in a vowel (*aC*) when a constituent with *KH* as its *it* combines to follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*aruntudah* ‘that which hurts the wound’

*dviṣantapah* ‘he who makes his enemy suffer’

*kālimmanyā* ‘she who considers herself dark’

1. This rule introduces augment *mUM* to non-indeclinable stems constituted by *arus* and *dviṣat*, or to stems which may end in a vowel. Of course, when a constituent ending in an affix marked with *KH* as an *it* combines to follow. Consider *aruntudah* and *dviṣantapah* where the final *s* and *t* of *arus* and *dviṣat* get deleted by 8.2.23 *saṃyogāntasya lopah*. Other derivational details can be found under the appendix of 3.2.39 *dviṣatparayos tāpeh*.

2. A compound such as *vidvanmanyā* ‘she who considers herself schol-

arly' will not be allowed *mUM* because this rule does not include *vidvat* in its specification. Similar exclusion will apply to *dosāmanyam* and *divāmmanyā*.

3. The word *anta* is included so that *mUM* is introduced subsequent to the shortening of bases ending in a vowel (*Kāś. kṛtājantakāryapratipat�artham*).

### 6.3.68 इच्च एकाचोऽप्रत्ययवच्च

*ica ekāco' m pratyayavac ca*

*/icah 6/1 ekācah 6/1 = eko'c yasmin sa ekāc (bv.), tasya; am 1/1 pratyayavat  
ϕ ca ϕ/*

(*uttarapade #1 khiti #66*)

*ijantasya ekācah khidante uttarapade' m āgamo bhavati, ampratyayavac ca  
dvitīyaikavacanavac ca sa bhavati*

Augment *am* is introduced to a monosyllabic word which ends in a vowel denoted by the abbreviatory term *iC* (Ss. 1–4), with the additional provision that *am* be treated as if an affix, provided a constituent marked with *KH* as an *it* combines to follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*gāmmanyah* 'thinking about one's self as cow'

*strīmmanyah* 'thinking about one's self as a woman'

*striyammanyah* 'ibidem'

*narammanyah* 'thinking about one's self as a man'

*śriyammanyah* 'thinking about one's self as a brāhmaṇa'

1. This rule introduces augment *am* to a monosyllabic constituent which ends in a vowel denoted by *iC*, provided a constituent ending in an affix marked with *KH* as an *it* follows. Note that *am* is additionally treated as if it was affix *am* 'accusative singular'. This extensional provision requires *am* to be read twice in interpreting this rule (*dvir āvartate*).

Interpreting augment *am* as if it was the accusative singular affix *am* will facilitate operations such as: (a) *ātva*, as in *gām*, where the final *o* of *go* and the following *a* of *am* are both replaced with a single *ā*; (b) *pūrvasavarṇā-ekādeśa* 'single replacement homogeneous with the preceding', as in *strī + am*→*strīm* (6.1.103 *ami pūrvah*), of *strīmmanyah*; (c) *guṇādeśa*: a replacement in *guna* for *r̥*, as in *nṛ + am*→*naram*, of *narammanyah* (7.3.113 *r̥to nīsarvanā-masthānayoh*); and (d) *iyanuvāni* 'replacement in *iyAN* and *uvAN'*, as in *śr(i→iy) + am* = *śriyam* and *bhr(ū→uv) + am* = *bhruvam* (6.4.81 *abhyāsasyā-savarne*), of *śriyammanyah* and *bhruvammanyah*. The *am*, however, goes through deletion by *LUK* when it follows *śrī*, used as a neuter (7.1.23 *svamor napumṣakāt*). Thus, *śriyamanyam*, paraphrased as *śriyam ātmānam manyate brāhmaṇakulam* 'this clan of the brāhmaṇas considers itself to be rich'. This, however, is Patañjali's view. Others may still accept *śriyammanyam*.

### 6.3.69 वाचंयमपुरन्दरौ च

*vācamyama-purandaraū ca  
/ vacam̄yama-purandaraū 1/2 (itar. dv.); ca φ/  
(mum #67)*

*'vācamyama, purandara' ity etau nipātyete*

The words *vācamyama* and *purandara* are derived with the introduction of augment *mUM*, via *nipātana*.

EXAMPLES:

*vācamyama āste* 'stays with a vow of not speaking'  
*purandarah* 'destroyer of cities'

1. This rule offers *am*, and shortening as well, in deriving *vācamyama* and *purandara* via *nipātana*. Note that *KHaC* is introduced after *yam* under the cooccurrence condition of *vāc* as an object (3.2.40 *āci yamo vrate*). Thus, *vācamyama āste*. An *uapada* compound is similarly formed with *dāra* under the cooccurrence condition of *pur* 'city', ending in the accusative (3.2.42 *pūḥ sarvayor dārisahoh*).

### 6.3.70 कारेसत्यागदस्य

*kāre satyāgadasya  
/ kāre 7/1 satyāgadasya 6/1 = satyam ca agadaś ca = satyāgadam (sam.  
dv.), tasya/  
(uttarapade #1 mum #67)*

*kāraśabda uttarapade 'satya, agada' ity etayor mum āgamō bhavati*

Augment *mUM* is introduced to *satya* 'truth' and *agada* 'non-affliction' when *kāra* combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

*satyaṅkārah* = *satyam karoti*; *satyasya kārah vā* 'he who proves something to be true'  
*agadaṅkārah* 'he who makes someone free of afflictions'

1. This rule introduces *mUM* to *satya* and *agada* when *kāra* combines to follow. The following summarizes several *vārttika* proposals made under this rule:

(1) *asti, dhenu, loka* receive *mUM* when *kāra, bhāvya* and *pr̄ṇa* combine to follow them, respectively. Thus, *astumkārah* 'he who says, 'so be it'; *dhembhavyā* 'a cow soon to be milk-giving'; *lokampr̄ṇā* 'pleasant to people'.

(2) *mUM* is also introduced to *bhakṣa* when *kāra* combines to follow, in the Vedic. Thus, *bhakṣamkārah*.

(3) *mUM* is also introduced to *anabhyāśa* when *itya* combines to follow. Thus, *anabhyāśamityah* 'he who goes without eating?'.

(4) *mUM* is also introduced to *bhrāṣṭra* and *agni* before *indha*. Thus, *bhrāṣṭramindhah* ‘firewood for roasting’ and *agnimindhah* ‘firewood’.

(5) *mUM* is also introduced to *gila*, provided what precedes is not *gila* itself. Thus, *timiṅgilah* ‘firefly’; but not \**gilaṅgilah*. The *mUM* could, however, be introduced before *gilagila*. Thus, *timiṅgilagilah*.

(6) *mUM* is also introduced to *uṣṇa* and *bhadra* when occurring before *karaṇa*. Thus, *uṣṇaṅkaraṇam* ‘warming’ and *bhadraṅkaraṇam* ‘making something look good’.

(7) A replacement in *putraT* is optionally recommended for *duhitṛ* when occurring after *sūta*, *ugra*, *rāja*, *bhoja* and *meru*. Thus, *sūtāputrī* and *sūtāduhitā*, etc. The *T* as an *it* in *putraT* is intended for the feminine affix *NīP* (4.1.15 *tiddhāṇañ* . . .).

### 6.3.71 श्येनतिलस्य पाते जे

*śyenatilasya pāte ūe*

/ *śyena-tilasya* 6/1 = *śyenaś ca tilaś ca= śyenatilam* (*sam. dv.*), *tasya; pāte* 7/1 *ūe* 7/1/

(*uttarapade #1 mum #67*)

‘*śyena*, *tila*’ *ity etayoh pātaśabda uttarapade ūapratyaye pare mum āgamo bhavati*

Augment *mUM* is introduced to *śyena* and *tila* when *pāta*, followed by affix *Na*, combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

*śyainampātā mrgayā* = *śyenapāto'* *syāṁ kriḍāyām* ‘a sport (hunting) in which falcons hunt’

*tailampātā* ‘a sport where a sesamum seeds are thrown’

1. This rule introduces *mUM* after the final vowel (1.1.47 *mid aco' ntyāl parah*) of *śyena* and *tila* when *pāta* combines as following constituent and affix *Na* follows. Thus we get *śyainampātā* and *tailampātā*.

This augment cannot be introduced to *śyena* of *śyenapāta* where *pāta* is a derivate of affix *GHaÑ*. Refer to notes under rule 4.2.58 *ghañah sāsyāṁ kriyeti* for further details.

### 6.3.72 रात्रे: कृति विभाषा

*rātreḥ kṛti vibhāṣā*

/ *rātreḥ* 6/1 *kṛti* 7/1 *vibhāṣā* 1/1/

(*uttarapade #1 mum #67*)

*rātreḥ kṛdante uttarapade vibhāṣā mum āgamo bhavati*

Augment *mUM* is optionally introduced to *rātri* when a constituent ending in a *kṛt* affix combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

*rātriñcaraḥ* ‘night-wanderer’

*rātricarah* ‘ibidem’

*rātrimaṭah* ‘ibidem’

*rātryaṭah* ‘ibidem’

1. This option (*vibhāṣā*) is interpreted as *aprāpta-vibhāṣā* since it has not been made available earlier. Thus, we get *rātriñcaraḥ*, an *upapada* compound with *Ta* (3.2.15 *careś taḥ*), i.e., *rātri* + *am* + *car* + *Ta*. We similarly get *rātrimaṭaḥ* with *aC* (3.1.134 *nandigrahipacādy* . . .), i.e., *rātri* + *am* + *aṭ* + *aC*.

Recall that 6.3.67 *arurduviṣad* . . . offers *mUM* before a constituent ending in an affix marked with *KH* as an *it*. This will offer a single form *rātrīmmanyah*, since the provision is obligaroy (*nitya*). Our present rule applies when a *kṛt* affix not marked with *KH* as an *it* follows.

### 6.3.73 नलोपो नञः:

*nalopo nañah*

/ *nalopah* 1/1 = *nakārasya lopah* (*śāṣ. tat.*); *nañah* 6/1/  
(*uttarapade #1*)

*naño nakārasya lopo bhavaty uttarapade*

The *n* of *naÑ* is deleted by *LOPA* when a constituent combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

*avṛṣalah* ‘someone other than a Vṛṣala’

*asurāpah* ‘someone other than one who drinks liquor’

*asomapah* ‘someone other than one who drinks Soma’

1. This rule allows deletion of *n*, of *naÑ* ‘not’, when the same combines with a following constituent.

A *vārttika* proposal is also made to delete *n* when the following constituent ends in a *tiÑ*, and the derivate denotes contempt (*avakṣepa*). Thus, *akarosi tvam jālm!* ‘hey, you, how come you are not doing this’.

### 6.3.74 तस्मानुडचि

*tasmān nud aci*

/ *tasmāt* 5/1 *nuṭ* 1/1 *aci* 7/1

(*uttarapade #1 nañah #73*)

*tasmāl luptanakārān nañah nud ḫagamo bhavati ajādāv uttarapade*

Augment *nUT* is introduced after that *naÑ* which goes through deletion of its *n*, provided a *pada* beginning with a vowel follows in combination.

## EXAMPLES:

*anajah* ‘non-goat’  
*anaśvah* ‘non-horse’

1. This rule introduces *nUT* after a *naṄ* which has lost its *n* to deletion and which combines with a following constituent beginning with a vowel. Since *nUT* is marked with *T* as an *it*, one may be tempted to introduce *nUT* before the *a* of *naṄ* (1.1.46 *ādyantau takitau*). But why delete *n*, and subsequently restore the same with *nUT*? It is, therefore, claimed that *tasmāt* facilitates introduction of *nUT* at the beginning of a constituent which occurs after *naṄ*.

## 6.3.75 नभाणनपः नवेदानासत्यानमुचिनकुलनखनपुंसकनक्षत्रनक्रनाकेषु प्रकृत्या

*nabhrāṇapānnavedānāsatyānamucinakulanakhanaपुंसakanakṣatranakranākeṣu prakṛtyā*  
*/ nabhrāṭ-napāṭ-navedāḥ-nāsatyāḥ-namuci-nakula-nakha-naपुंसaka-*  
*nakṣatra-nakra-nākeṣu 7/3 (itar. dv.), teṣu; prakṛtyā 3/1/*  
*(naṄ #73)*  
*‘nabhrāṭ, napāṭ, navedāḥ, nāsatyāḥ, namuci, nakula, nakha, naपुंसaka,*  
*nakṣatra, nakra, nāka’ ity eteṣu naṄ prakṛtyā bhavati*  
*The naṄ in nabhrāṭ, napāṭ, navedāḥ, nāsatyāḥ, namuci, nakula, nakha, naपुंसaka, nakṣatra, nakra and nāka remains as is.*

## EXAMPLES:

*nabhrāṭ* = *na bhrājata iti* ‘cloud’  
*napāṭ* = *na pātīti* ‘nephew’  
*navedāḥ* = *na vettīti* ‘ignorant’  
*nāsatyāḥ* = *satsu sādhavaḥ satyāḥ, na satyāḥ =*  
*usatyāḥ* = *na asatyāḥ* ‘twins; the Aśvins’  
*namuciḥ* = *na muñcatīti* ‘demon’  
*nakulāḥ* = *nāsyā kulam asti* ‘mongoose’  
*nakham* = *nāsyā khamastiti* ‘nail’  
*naपुंसakam* = *na stī na pumān* ‘neuter’  
*nakṣatram* = *na kṣarate kṣiyata iti* ‘asterism, constellation’  
*nakrah* = *na krāmaūti* ‘that which does not walk; alligator’  
*nākam* = *nāsmīn akam asti* ‘heaven; that in which there is no absence of happiness’

1. These derivates constitute an exception to the two preceding rules, via *nipātana*. That is, the *n* of their *naṄ* does not go through deletion.

## 6.3.76 एकादिश्चैकस्य चादुक्

*ekādiś caikasya cāduk*

/ekādiḥ 1/1 = eka ādir yasya (bv.); ca φ ekasya 6/1 ca φ āduK 1/1  
(uttarapade #1 nañah #73 prakṛtyā #75)

ekādiś ca nañ prakṛtyā bhavati ekaśabdasya cādug āgamo bhavati

The *naÑ* with *eka* at its beginning also remains as is, when a constituent combines to follow; additionally, augment *āduK* is introduced to *eka*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*ekānnavimśatiḥ* = *ekena na viṁśatiḥ* ‘nineteen’

*ekānnatriṁśat* ‘twenty-nine’

1. This rule retains *naÑ* when the same combines with a preceding *eka*. Additionally, *eka* receives augment *āduK*. Thus, *eka* + *Tā* + *naviṁśati* + *sU* = *eka* + *ād* + *naviṁśati* = *ekādnaviṁśati*, where a compound between *naÑ* and *viṁśati* is formed first. Note that *eka* and *naviṁśati* combine to form a *trīyā-tatpurusa* under the split-interpretaion (*yogavibhāga*) of 2.2.21 *trīyā* . . .

Note that *āduK* is introduced at the end of *eka* which precedes. This way, an optional replacement in *n* (*anunāsika*) can be accomplished for *d*, when occurring at the end of a *pada* (8.4.44 *yaro' nunāsike . . .*). This end of the *pada* status will be impaired if *āduK* is introduced at the beginning of the following constituent. Consequently, an optional *n*-replacement for *d* which may occur at the end of a *pada* cannot be accomplished. This is how we can also get *ekādnaviṁśati* and *ekādnatriṁśat*.

#### 6.3.77 नगोऽप्राणिष्वन्यतरस्याम्

*nago'* *prāniṣv anyatarasyām*

/nagah 1/1 aprāniṣu 7/3 = na prāniṇah (*naÑ.*), teṣu; anyatarasyām 7/1/  
(uttarapade #1 nañah #73 prakṛtyā #75)

*nañ prakṛtyā bhavaty anyatarasyām aprāniṣu vartamāno yo nagaśabdas tatra*  
*nañ prakṛtyā vikalpena bhavati*

The *naÑ* in *naga*, used with the signification of *aprāniṇ* ‘non-sentient’, optionally remains as is, when a constituent combines to follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*nagah* (*vṛkṣāh* / *parvatāh*) ‘trees; mountains’  
*agā vṛkṣāh* ‘ibidem’

1. Note that *ga* of *naga* is a derivate of the *Unādi* affix *Da* (235: *gamer dah*), where *am* of *gam* goes through *ti*-deletion. This optional retention of *naÑ* is not available to *agah*, of *ago vṛṣalaḥ sītena* ‘a vṛṣala (lowly untouchable) who cannot move because of cold’, since the derivate denotes a *prāniṇ* ‘living being’. That is, *n* of *naÑ* cannot be retained.

## 6.3.78 सहस्य सः संज्ञायाम्

*sahasya saḥ samjñāyām*  
 / *sahasya* 6/1 *sah* 1/1 *saṃjñāyām* 7/1/  
 (*uttarapade* #1)

*sahaśabdasya sa ity ayam ādeśo bhavati saṃjñāyām viṣaye*

The word *saha* is replaced with *sa* when it combines with a following constituent and the derivate denotes a name.

## EXAMPLES:

*sāśvattham* ‘a forest with Aśvattha trees’

*sapalāśam* ‘a forest with Palāśa trees’

*saśīmśapam* ‘a forest with Śimśapa trees’

1. This rule offers *sa* as a replacement for *saha* combining with a following constituent and the derivate signifying a name. Thus, *saha aśvatthena* = *sāśvattham*, etc., where a *bahuvrīhi* compound is formed by 2.2.28 *tena sheti tulyayoge*. This replacement will be blocked in *sahayudhvā* and *sahakṛtvā* where an *upapada* compound is formed with affix *KvaNIP* (3.2.96 *sahē ca*) and derivates do not denote a name.

2. This replacement is also consequential for accent. The word *saha* is marked *udātta* at the beginning. Its *ha* then becomes *anudātta*. A substitute, here *sa*, which replaces *saha*, must then be marked with an accent somewhere in between the *udātta* and *anudātta*. The *sa* is therefore marked with *svarita*. But this could be true only where the compound is a *bahuvrīhi*. Elsewhere, for example, in the *avyayibhāva* compounds *seṣṭi* and *sapaśu*, this accent will be blocked by *udātta* at the end (*antodātta*; 6.1.220 *saṃsāsyā*).

## 6.3.79 ग्रन्थान्ताधिके च

*granthāntādhike ca*  
 / *granthāntādhike* 7/1 = *granthasya antah* (*saṃ. tat.*); *granthāntaś ca adhikañ ca* (*saṃ. dv.*), *tasmin; ca* φ/  
 (*uttarapade* #1 *sahasya saḥ* #78)

*granthānte, adhike ca vartamānasya sahaśabdasya sa ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*  
 The word *saha*, when used with the signification of ‘end of a treatise (*granthānta*)’ and ‘more than . . .’ (*adhika*), is replaced with *sa*, provided a constituent combines to follow.

## EXAMPLES:

*sakalam jyautiṣam adhīte* ‘studies the entire Jyautiṣa’

*sasamgraham vyākaraṇam adhiyate* ‘grammar is studied along with the Samgraha’

*sadrōṇā khārī* ‘a khārī in excess of a droṇa’

*saṃsāḥ kārṣāpaṇāḥ* ‘a kārṣāpaṇā in excess of a māṣa’

1. This rule replaces *saha* with *sa* when it denotes the sense of *anta* ‘end’ and *adhika* ‘more than, in excess of’. Note that this replacement is restricted to *avyayibhāva* compounds formed by 2.1.6 *avyayaṁ vibhaktisamīpa*. . . It is for this reason that, elsewhere, this replacement is allowed by 6.3.81 *avyayibhāve cākāle*. That is, where *saha* is combined with a following constituent used with the signification of something other than *kāla* ‘time’.

### 6.3.80 द्वितीये चानुपाख्ये

*dvitīye cā nupākhye*

/ *dvitīye* 7/1 *ca* φ *anupākhye* 7/1 /  
(*uttarapade* #1 *sahasya sah* #78)

*anumeye dvitīye uttarapade parataḥ sahasya sa ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*

The word *saha* is also replaced with *sa* when a constituent with the denotatum of an indirectly perceived non-principal entity combines to follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*sāgnih kapotah* ‘a pigeon whose presence is indicative of fire’

*sapiśācā vātyā* ‘a hurricane indicative of the presence of goblins’

*sarākṣasikā śālā* ‘a house indicative of the presence of demons’

1. The word *dvitīya* is explained as *dvayoh sahayuktayor apradhānah* ‘the non-principal among two entities associated with *saha*’. Thus, *agni* is non-principal in *sāgnih kapotah* = *agninā saha yuktaḥ kapotah* ‘pigeon in association with fire’. The word *anupākhya* is explained as *upākhyād anyah* = *anumeyah* ‘something not directly perceived; assumed’. Fire is non-principal here since its presence can always be assumed via presence of a pigeon. Conversely, *kapota* is principal since its presence cannot necessarily be assumed via presence of fire.

### 6.3.81 अव्ययीभावे चाकाले

*avyayibhāve cākāle*

/ *avyayibhāve* 7/1 *ca* φ *akāle* 7/1 = *na kālah* (*nañ.*), *tasmin* /  
(*uttarapade* #1 *sahasya sah* #78)

*avyayibhāve ca samāse’ kālavāciny uttarapade sahasya sa ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*

The word *saha* is replaced with *sa*, also in a compound termed *avyayibhāva* which ends in a following constituent with the signification of something other than *kāla* ‘time’.

#### EXAMPLES:

*sacakram* (*dhehi*) ‘. . . with the wheel’

*sadhusram* (*prāja*) ‘. . . with the axle’

1. This rule allows *saha* to be replaced with *sa* when *saha* combines in an *avyayibhāva* compound with a following constituent denoting something other than *kāla* ‘time’. The condition of *akāle* is needed so that a compound such as *sahapūrvāhnām* does not qualify for this replacement. Obviously, since *pūrvāhṇā* ‘first half of a day’ denotes time. Incidentally, *sadhuram* and *sacakram* are both *avyayibhāva* compounds formed by 2.1.6 *avyayaṃ vibhaktisamīpa* . . . , where *sadhuram* also involves the *samāsānta* affix *TaC* (5.4.74 *rkpūrabdhūḥ* . . . ).

### 6.3.82 वोपसर्जनस्य

*vopasarjanasya*

/va φ *upasarjanasya* 6/1/

(*sahasya saḥ* #78)

*yasya sarve' vayavā upasarjanībhūtāḥ sa sarvopasarjano bahuvrīhiḥ; tada vayavasya sahaśabdasya vā sa ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*

The *saha* of a compound formed with all constituents termed *upasarjana* is replaced with *sa*, only optionally.

#### EXAMPLES:

*saputraḥ* ‘with (his) son’

*sahaputraḥ* ‘ibidem’

*sacchātrah* ‘with (his) student’

*sahachātrah* ‘ibidem’

1. This rule allows *saha* to be optionally replaced with *sa* when contained within a compound formed with all constituents termed *upasarjana* (1.2.45 *prathamānirdiṣṭa* . . . ). This option, as one understands from 2.2.24 *anekam anyapadārthe*, is only available to *bahuvrīhi* compounds.

2. Note that *upasarjana* is not used here as a qualifier to *saha*. It is, instead, used as a qualifier to all compound constituents. Thus, the interpretation: ‘where all compound constituents are termed *upasarjana*’. The word *upasarjana*, denoting the property of a part of the compound, is thus manipulated to refer to the property of its whole (*Nyāsa*: *avayavadharmaṇa samudāyadharmaṣya tathā nirdeśāt*).

The *saha* of *sahayudhvā* and *sahakṛtvā* cannot be replaced with *sa* since these *tatpuruṣa* compounds have *saha* alone as an *upasarjana*. This replacement can also not be allowed in *sahakṛtvapriyah* and *priyasahakṛtvā* where *saha* is part of the *bahuvrīhi*. But the constituent which immediately follows *saha* is not directly relatable to the *bahuvrīhi* in reference. The first example has an intervening *kṛtvā*. The second has *sahakṛtvā* as the following constituent.

### 6.3.83 प्रकृत्याशिषि

*prakṛtyāśiṣi*

/prakṛtyā 3/1 āśiṣi 7/1/

(sahasya #78)

*prakṛtyā sahaśabdo bhavati āśiṣi viṣaye*

The word *saha* remains as is when a constituent combines to follow and āśis ‘benediction’ is denoted.

#### EXAMPLES:

*svasti devadattāya sahaputrāya sahacchātrāya*

*sahāmātyāya* ‘blessings to Devadatta, along with his son; . . . student; . . . his minister’

1. *Kāśikā* reads this *sūtra* as: *prakṛtyāśisy agovatsahaleṣu*, where *agovatsahaleṣu* ‘when a constituent other than *go* ‘cow’, *vatsa* ‘calf’ and *hala* ‘plough’ follows’ is an addition made in view of a *vārttika* proposal. The *gavādi* ‘go, etc.’ of this *vārttika* proposal is illustrated by *Patañjali* with *svasti bhavate sagave savatsāya sahalāya* ‘blessings to you wih your cow, calf and plough’. The option of the preceding rule will still offer *sahagave*, etc. I have decided not to include *agovatsahaleṣu* as part of the reading of this *sūtra*.

#### 6.3.84 समानस्य छन्दस्यपूर्धप्रभृत्युक्तेषु

*saṃānasya chandasī amūrdha prabhṛtyudarkeṣu*

/ *saṃānasya* 6/1 *chandasī* 7/1 *amūrdha prabhṛtyudarkesu* 7/3 = *mūrdhā ca prabhṛtiś ca udarkaś ca* = *mūrdha prabhṛtyudarkāḥ* (itar. dv.); *na mūrdha prabhṛtyudarkāḥ* (nañ. with int. dv.) /

(uttarapade #1 sah #78)

*saṃānasya* ‘sa’ ity ayam ādeśo bhavati *chandasī viṣaye* ‘*mūrddhan*, *prabhṛti*, *udarka*’ ity etāny *uttarapadāni varjayitvā*

The word *saṃāna* is replaced with *sa*, in the Vedic, when a constituent other than *mūrddhan*, *prabhṛti* and *udarka* combines to follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*anubhrātā sagārbhyah* ‘younger brother’

*anusakhā sayūthah* ‘a companion who follows’

*yo nāḥ sanūtyah* ‘he who is an outsider for us’

1. This rule allows *saṃāna*, in the Vedic, to be replaced with *sa*, provided the following constituent is not *mūrddhan*, *prabhṛti* and *udarka*. Consider *sagarbhyah*, a derivate of affix *yaN* (4.4.114 *sagarbhasayūtha* . . .), introduced after *sagarbha* + *Ni*. Thus, *saṃānah garbhah* = *sagarbhabhah*, *tatra bhavaḥ* = *sagarbhyah* ‘same womb, born there = born in the same womb’. These example compounds are all formed by 2.1.58 *pūrvāparapratīhāma*. . . . This *sa* replacement is negated for *saṃānamūrddhā*, *saṃānaprabhṛtyayah* and *saṃānodarkāḥ*. But how would one derive *saṃānah pakṣo*’ *sya* = *sapakṣah* ‘he who is on the

'same side', *samāno dharmo* 'sya = sādharmyam' . . . whose *dharma* is the same' and *samānā jātir asya* 'he whose class is the same'. A split-interpretation of this *sūtra* as *samānasya* accomplishes the derivation. The *samāna* of example compounds is replaced with *sa* after formation of a *bahuvrīhi*.

### 6.3.85 ज्योतिर्जनपदरात्रिनाभिनामगोत्रस्थानवर्णवयोवचनबन्धुष्

*jyotirjanapadarātrinābhināmagotrarūpasthānavarṇavayovacanabandhuṣu*  
*/jyotir-janapada-rātri-nābhi-nāman-gotra-rūpa-sthāna-varṇa-vayas-vacana-*  
*bandhuṣu 7/3/*

(*uttarapade* 31 *sah* #78 *samānasya* #84)

'*jyotiṣi*, *janapada*, *rātri*, *nābhi*, *nāman*, *gotra*, *rūpa*, *sthāna*, *varṇa*, *vayas*, *vacana*, *bandhu*' ity eteṣūttarapadeṣu *samānasya* 'sa' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati  
 The word *samāna* is replaced with *sa* when *jyotiṣi*, *janapada*, *rātri*, *nābhi*, *nāman*, *gotra*, *rūpa*, *sthāna*, *varṇa*, *vayas*, *vacana*, and *bandhu* combine to follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*sajyotiḥ* 'having the same glow'

*sajanapadah* 'belonging to the same principality'

*sarātrih* 'similar night'

*sanābhih* 'having the same center (navel)'

*sanāmā* 'having the same name'

*sagotrah* 'having the same *gotra*'

*sarūpah* 'having the same appearance'

*sasthānah* 'residing at the same place'

*savarṇah* 'having the same color (sub-class)'

*savayāḥ* 'being of the same age'

*savacanah* 'having similar speech'

*sabandhuḥ* 'having same clansman'

- These examples are mostly interpreted as *bahuvrīhi* compounds. Thus, *samānā jyotiḥ asya* 'that whose glow is the same', etc. Note, however, that a *taṭpuruṣa* interpretation of these compounds cannot be ruled out. Thus, *samānam jyotiḥ* = *sajyotiḥ* 'same glow', etc.

### 6.3.86 चरणे ब्रह्मचारिणि

*carane brahmacāriṇi*

*/ carane 7/1 brahmacāriṇi 7/1/*

(*uttarapade* #1 *sah* #78 *samānasya* #84)

*carane gamyamāne brahmacāriṇy uttarapade samānasya sa* ity ayam ādeśo bhavati

The word *samāna* is replaced with *sa* when *brahmacārin* combines as a following constituent, and *carana* is denoted.

## EXAMPLES:

*sabramhacārī* ‘a fellow student with similar vows of studying the same branch of the Veda’

1. The word *brahma* here means *veda*. The word *carana* is used in the sense of a Vedic branch. The word *brahmacārin* ‘pursuer of the Brahman’, in the context of *carana*, thus refers to a person who has taken the vow of pursuing the study of a Vedic branch. A fellow student with similar vow of study is called *sabrahmacārin*. Note that *carana* is a relative term. It can refer to the four principal branches of the Vedas. It can also refer to sub-branches within these four principal branches.

## 6.3.87 तीर्थे ये

*tūrthe ye*

/tūrthe 7/1 ye 7/1/

(uttarapade #1 sah #78 samānasya #84)

*tīrthaśabde uttarapade yatpratyayānte samānasya vibhāṣā sa ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*

The word *samāna* is replaced with *sa* when *tīrtha*, terminating in *yaT*, combines to follow.

## EXAMPLES:

*satīrthyah* ‘he who studies at the same teacher’s place’

1. This rule allows *samāna* to be replaced with *sa* when *tīrtha* combines as a following constituent ending *ya*. Note that *samānatīrtha* is a *karmadhāraya* ending in the *taddhita* affix *yaT* (4.4.107 *samānatīrthe vāsi*). The word *tīrtha* is used here in the sense of a teacher’s place.

## 6.3.88 विभाषोदरे

*vibhāṣodare*

/vibhāṣa 1/1 udare 7/1/

(uttarapade #1 sah #78 samānasya #84)

*udaraśabda uttarapade yatpratyayānte samānasaya vibhāṣā sa ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*

The word *samāna* is replaced with *sa* only optionally when *udara*, terminating in affix *yaT*, combines to follow.

## EXAMPLES:

*sodaryah* ‘brother

*samānodaryah* ‘ibidem’

1. This rule optionally allows *samāna* to be replaced with *sa* when *udara*

'belly, womb', ending in *yaT*, combines to follow. Thus, *samānodaryah* and *sodaryah*, where *samānodara* and *sodara* receive affixes *yaT* and *ya*, respectively (4.4.108 *samānodare śayita* . . .; 4.4.109 *sodarād yaḥ*).

### 6.3.89 दृग्दृशवतुष्

*drgdṛśavatuṣu*

/ *drg-dṛśa-vatuṣu* 7/3 (itar. dv.) /

(*uttarapade* #1 *sah* #78 *samānasya* #84)

'dṛk, dṛśa, *vatu*' ity *eteṣu parataḥ samānasya* 'sa' ity *ayam ādeśo bhavati*  
The word *samāna* is replaced with *sa* when *dṛk*, *dṛśa* and *vatU* combine  
to follow.

EXAMPLES:

*sadṛk* 'similar to . . .'

*sadṛśah* 'ibidem'

1. This rule allows *samāna* to be replaced with *sa* when *dṛk*, *dṛśa* and *vatU* combine to follow. Recall that affixes *kaṄ* and *KvIN* are introduced after verbal root *dṛśIR* when *tyad*, etc., occur in conjunction (3.2.60 *dṛśādiṣu* . . .). A *vārttika* proposal is made under that rule to also allow these affixes when *samāna* and *anya* are used in conjunction with *dṛśIR* (*samānānyayoś ceti vaktavyam*). This gives us *sadṛk* and *sadṛśa*. A *vārttika* proposal is additionally made there to allow affix *ksa* after *dṛśIR* to derive *dṛkṣa*. This with *samāna* will yield *sadṛkṣa*.

How come no examples for *vatU* are offered here? It is specified here for *anuvṛtti* in the following rule (*Kāś*: *vatugrahaṇam uttarārtham*). Note that affix *vatUP* is introduced only after *yad*, *tad* and *etad*, when the signification is *parimāṇa* 'measure' (5.2.39 *yattadetebhyaḥ parimāṇe*). Obviously, examples of *vaiU* with *samāna* are impossible (*asambhavat*) to find.

### 6.3.90 इदं किमोरीश्की

*idankimorīśkī*

/ *idāṅkimoh* 6/2 = *idam ca kim ca* (itar. dv.), *tayoh*; *īśkī* (deleted 1/1) /

(*uttarapade* #1 *drgdṛśvatuṣu* #89)

'*idam, kim*' ity *etayor īś, kī*, ity *etau yathāsamkhym ādeśau bhavato*  
*drgdṛśvatuṣu*

The word *idam* and *kim* are replaced, respectively, with *īś* and *kī*, when *dṛk*, *dṛśa*, and *vatU* combine to follow.

EXAMPLES:

*īdṛk* 'like this'

*īdṛśah* 'ibidem'

*iyān* ‘this large’  
*kīdrk* ‘like what’  
*kīdr̥ṣah* ‘ibidem’  
*kīyān* ‘how large’

1. This rule offers *iś* and *kī* as replacement for *idam* and *kim*, respectively, when *dṛk*, *dṛṣa* and *vatU* follow. Refer to notes under 5.3.39 *yattadetebhyah parimāne* and 5.3.40 *kimidam̥bhyām . . .* for deriving *iyān* and *kīyān*. A *vārttika* proposal is also made to allow these replacements when *dṛkṣa* follows in combination after *kim* and *idam*. Thus, we also get *īdr̥ṣah* and *kīdr̥ṣah*.

### 6.3.91 आ सर्वनामः:

*ā sarvanāmnah*  
*/ā* (1/1 deleted) *sarvanāmnaḥ* 6/1/  
*(uttarapade #1 dṛg-dṛś-vatuṣu #89)*

*sarvanāmna ākārādeśo bhavati dṛgdṛśvatuṣu*

The final sound segment of a pronominal (*sarvanāman*) is replaced with *ā* when *dṛk*, *dṛṣa* and *vatU* combine to follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*tādṛk* ‘like that’  
*tādṛṣah* ‘ibidem’  
*tāvān* ‘that much, that large’  
*yādṛk* ‘like that which . . .’  
*yādṛṣah* ‘ibidem’  
*yāvān* ‘as much as . . .’

1. This rule offers *ā* as a replacement for the final sound (1.1.52 *alo*’ *ntyasya*) of a pronominal (*sarvanāma*; 1.1.27 *sarvādīni sarvanāmāni*) when *dṛk*, *dṛṣa* and *vatU* follow in combination. Here again we find a *vārttika* proposal (*dṛkṣe ceti ca vaktavyam*) to include *dṛkṣa* as a following constituent. Thus, we get *tādṛṣah* and *yādṛṣah*.

### 6.3.92 विष्वगदेवयोश्च टेरद्र्यञ्चतौ वप्रत्यये

*viṣvagdevayoś ca ṭeradryañcatau vapratyayē*  
*/viṣvag-devayoh (itar. dv.), tayoh; ca φ ṭeh 6/1 adri (1/1 deleted) añcatau*  
*7/1 vapratyayē 7/1 = vah pratyayo yasmāt (bv.), tasmin/*  
*(uttarapade 7/1 sarvanāmnah #91)*

‘*viṣvak*, *deva*’ *ity etayoh* *sarvanāmnaś ca ṭeh* ‘*adri*’ *ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*  
*añcatau vapratyayānta uttarapade*

The form *adri* comes in place of the *ti* (1.1.64 *aco’ ntyādi ti*) of *viṣvak*, *deva*, and a *sarvanāman* as well, when verbal root *añcU*, terminating in affix *vA*, combines to follow.

## EXAMPLES:

*viśvadryāñ* = *viśvag añcati* ‘all-pervading’  
*devadryāñ* ‘turned towards divine’  
*tadryāñ* ‘turned towards that’  
*yadryāñ* ‘turned towards the thing which . . .’

1. This rule offers *adri* as a replacement for the *ti* part (1.1.64 *aco' ntyādi ti*) of *viśvak* and *deva*, and of pronominals as well, when a constituent with *añc* ending in *vA* (3.2.59 *rtvigdadhṛksrag* . . .) follows. Thus, *viśv(a→adri)* + *añ* = *viśvadr(i→y)* + *añ* = *viśvadryāñ* and *dev(a→adri)* + *añ* = *devadr(i→y)* + *añ* = *devadryāng*, through application of 6.1.77 *iko yan aci*. Refer to the appendix of rule 3.2.59 *rtvigdadhṛksrag* . . . for deriving *añ* from *añc+KvIN*. Similar rules apply in deriving *tadryāñ* and *yadryāñ*, derivates with pronominal *tad* and *yad*.

A *vārttika* proposal is made to mark *adri* and *sadhri* with a final *udātta*, via *nipātana*. This will block the *kṛt* accent of 6.2.139 *gatikārakopapadāt kṛt*. Consequently, after the *i* is replaced with *y* (*yanādeśa*), the following constituent will receive *svarita* (8.2.4 *udāttasvaritayor* . . .).

*Kāśikā* offers *aśvam añcati* = *aśvācī* ‘moves the horse’, *viśvagyuk* and *viśvagañcanam* as counter-examples where *adri* cannot be used as a replacement. The first example does not have *viśvak* and *deva*; the second lacks *añc*, and the third does not have affix *v*. That is, *añcana* is a derivate of *LyuT*.

Why state *vapratyaye* when *añcatau* itself could have served the purpose. This specification with *vapratyaye* is made to indicate that, elsewhere, a specification made by a verbal root alone could be interpreted as referring to the entire form, beginning with the verbal root ending in the affix (*Nyāsa: anyatra dhātugrahaṇe dhātvādēḥ prakṛtipratyayasaṁudāyasya pratipattiḥ*). This *tadādividhi* ‘beginning with that . . .’ interpretation will facilitate a *s*-replacement for *h* (*visarga*; 8.3.46 *ataḥ krkamikamṣa* . . .) also in *ayah + krtam* → *ayaskṛtam* and *ayaskārah*. Otherwise, *s* could replace *h* only where *kṛ* alone was used as the following constituent, for example, in *ayaskṛt*. Incidentally, the final *t* (*tUK*) will be treated as part of *kṛ*.

Yet another *vārttika* proposal states that, in the Vedic, especially in the feminine, *adri* is found variously (*bahulam*). Consider *viśvācī* and *ghṛtācī* where it is not found, and *kadrīcī* where it is found.

## 6.3.93 समः समि

*samah sami*  
*/ samah 6/1 sami (1/1 deleted) /*  
*(uttarapade #1 añcatau vapratyaye #92)*  
*‘sam’ ity etasya ‘sami’ ity ayam ādeśo bhavati añcatau vapratyayānte uttarapade*  
The form *sami* comes in place of *sam* when verbal root *añcU*, terminating in affix *vA*, combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

*samyak* ‘nominative singular; turned together in one direction’  
*samyāñcau* ‘nominative dual’  
*samyāñcaḥ* ‘nominative plural’

1. This rule offers *sami* as a replacement for *sam* when verbal root *añc* terminating in *vA* follows. Thus, consider *samyāñ*/*samyāñcau*/*samyāñcaḥ*.

### 6.3.94 तिरसस्तिर्यलोपे

*tirasas* *tiry alope*

/ *tirasah* 6/1 *tiri* 7/1 *alope* 7/1 (*nañ. tat.*, *tasmin*) /  
 (*uttarapade* #1 *añcatau* *va* *pratyaye* #92)

‘*tiras*’ ity *etasya* ‘*tiri*’ ity *ayam* *ādeśo bhavaty añcatau vapratyayānte uttarapade*  
 The form *tiras* is replaced with *tiri* when verbal root *añcU* terminates in affix *vA* and combines to follow without going through any deletion.

EXAMPLES:

*tiryāñ* ‘nominative singular; crooked, slanted, oblique’  
*tiryāñcau* ‘nominative dual’  
*tiryāñcaḥ* ‘nominative plural’

1. This rule allows *tiras* to be replaced with *tiri* when *añc*, ending in *vA*, follows, provided the *a* of *añc* has not gone through deletion. Recall that the *a* of *añc* gets deleted by 6.4.138 *acah*, as in *tiraśā* and *tiraśce*. Note that *alope* is not desired to be interpreted as: *asya lopah*, *tasmin* ‘when deletion of *a* has occurred’.

### 6.3.95 सहस्य सधिः:

*sahasya* *sadhriḥ*

/ *sahasya* 6/1 *sadhriḥ* 1/1 /

(*uttarapade* #1 *añcatau vapratyaye* #92)

‘*saha*’ ity *asya* ‘*sadhri*’ ity *ayam* *ādeśo bhavaty añcatau vapratyayānte uttarapade*

The word *saha* is replaced with *sadhri* when a constituent with *añcU* terminating in affix *va* combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

*sadhryāñ* ‘nominative singular of *sadhryañc* ‘turned in the same direction’  
*sadhryāñcaḥ* ‘nominative plural . . .’  
*sadhṛīcaḥ* ‘accusative dual . . .’  
*sadhṛīcā* ‘instrumental singular’

1. Note that the *a* of *añc* is deleted (6.4.138 *acah*) in *sadhrīcah* and *sadhrīcā*, the accusative dual and instrumental singular forms, and the short *i* is replaced with long (6.4.138 *cau*). Also recall that the *ñ* of *añc* will be deleted by 6.4.24 *aniditām hala*. . . .

### 6.3.96 सध मादस्थयोऽचन्दसि

*sadha mādasthayoś chandasi*

/ *sadha* (1/1 deleted) *māda-stha-yoh* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*) *chandasi* 7/1/  
(*uttarapade #1 sahasya #95*)

*chandasi viṣaye ‘māda, stha’ ity etayor upapadayoh sahasya ‘sadha’ ity ayam  
ādeśo bhavati*

The word *saha* is replaced with *sadha* when, in the Vedic, *māda* and *stha* combine to follow.

EXAMPLES:

*sadhamādō dyumnninīrāpāḥ*  
*sadhasthā*

1. Note that *sadhamāda* is paraphrased as *mādena saha* where *māda*, as a derive of *GHaṄ*, combines to follow *saha*. A similar interpretation applies to *sadhasthā* where *sthā* ends in affix *ka* (3.2.3 *āto’ nūpasarge kah*).

### 6.3.97 द्विन्तरुपसर्गेभ्योऽप इत्

*dvyantarupasargebhyo’ pa īt*

*dvy-antar-upasargebhyah* 5/3 (*itar. dv.*) *apah* 6/1 *īt* 1/1/  
(*uttarapade #10*)

‘*dvi, antar*’ ity *etābhyaṁ upasargāc cottarasya āb* ity *etasya īkārādeśo bhavati*  
The initial (1.1.53 *ādeḥ parasya*) sound segment of *ap* is replaced with  
*iT* (1.1.70 *taparas tatkālasya*) when *ap* occurs in combination after *dvi, antar* and a preverb (*upasarga*).

EXAMPLES:

*dvīpam* ‘island’

*antaripam* ‘a portion of land stretching out into the sea’  
*samīpam* ‘near, proximate’

1. This rule offers *iT* (1.1.70 *taparas tatkālasya*) as a replacement for *ap* ‘water’. Note that *iT* replaces the *a* of *ap* in accord with 1.1.54 *ādeḥ parasya*. Refer to the appendix of 1.1.54 for derivational details. Incidentally, the *saṃsānta* affix *a* (5.4.74 *r̥kpūrabdhūḥ . . .*) is introduced in deriving *dvīpam*. *Kāśikā* offers *saṃgatā āpaḥ asmin = saṃgam, vigatā āpaḥ asmin = vīpam* and *nigatāḥ āpaḥ asmin = nīpam* as examples where an *upasarga* is in combination. Incidentally, the last should have been *nirgtā āpaḥ = nirīpam*.

2. A *vārttika* proposal blocks this replacement in *samā āpah asmin; samāpam nāma devayajanam* = *samāpah* ‘a sacrifice’. Some say that this replacement in long *i* should not apply when *ap* is used with a prefix ending in *a*. Thus, *pra + ap + a = prāpa*. The word *upasarga* here refers to *pra*, etc., in general. The technical sense of *upasarga* will require *kriyāyoga* ‘association with a verbal root signifying an action’ (1.1.59 *upasargāḥ kriyāyoge*). Obviously, *ap* is not a verbal root.

### 6.3.98 ऊदनोद्देशे

*ūdanor deśe*

/ *ūt* 1/1 *anoh* 6/1 *deśe* 7/1/

(*uttarapade* #1 *āpah* #97)

*anor uttarasya ap ūkārādeśo bhavati deśābhidhāne*

The initial (1.1.53 *ādeh parasya*) sound segment of *ap* is replaced with *ūT* (1.1.70 *taparas tatkālasya*) when *ap* occurs in combination after *anu* and the derivate denotes *deśa* ‘place’.

EXAMPLES:

*anūpo deśah* = *anugatā āpo*’ *smin* ‘a place named Anūpa’

1. This rule offers *ūT*, as a replacement for the *a* of *ap*, when the derivate signifies a *deśa* ‘place’. We will get *anvīpam* ‘a place close to water’ when the derivate does not signify a place.

### 6.3.99 अषष्ट्यत्रीयास्थस्यान्यस्य दुगशीराशास्थितोत्सुकोतिकारकरागच्छेषु

*asaṣṭhyatṛīyāsthasyānyasya dug āśirāśāsthāsthitotsukotikārakarāgacchesu*  
*/ aṣaṣṭhy-atṛīyā-sthasya* 6/1 = *na ṣaṣṭhī* = *asaṣṭhī*; *na tṛīyā* = *atṛīyā* (*nañ.*);  
*asaṣṭhī ca atṛīyā ca* = *asaṣṭhyatṛīye* (itar. dv.); *tayoḥ tiṣṭhati* = *asaṣṭhyatṛīyāsthah*, *tasya*; *anyasya* 6/1 *duk* 1/1 *āśir-āśā-āsthā-āsthita-utsuka-ūti-kāraka-rāga-cchesu* 7/3 (itar. dv.)/  
(*uttarapade* #1)

*asaṣṭhīsthasya atṛīyāsthasya cānyaśabdasya dug āgamo bhavati* ‘*āśis, āśā, āsthā, āsthita, utsuka, ūti, kāraka, rāga, cha*’ *ity eteṣu parataḥ*

Augment *dUK* is introduced to *anya*, when not used with *ṣaṣṭhī* and *tṛīyā*, provided *āśis* ‘benediction’, *āśā* ‘hope’, *āsthā* ‘faith, regard’, *āsthita* ‘preoccupied’, *utsuka* ‘eager’, *ūti* ‘help, assistance’, *kāraka* ‘doer, agent’, *rāga* ‘attachment, passion’, and affix *cha*, combine to follow.

EXAMPLES:

*anyadāśīḥ* = *anya āśīḥ* ‘a different benediction’

*anyadāśā* = *anya āśā* ‘a different hope’

*anyadāsthā* = *anya āsthā* ‘a different consideration’

*anyadāsthitāḥ* = *anya āsthitāḥ* ‘differently preoccupied’

*anyadutsukah* = *anya utsukah* ‘eager for something else’  
*anyadūtiḥ* = *anyā ūtiḥ* ‘a different help’  
*anyatkārakah* = *anyaḥ kārakah* ‘a different agent’  
*anyadrāgah* = *anyo rāgah* ‘a different passion’  
*anyadīyah* = *anyasmin bhavah* ‘belonging to another’

1. This rule offers *dUK* as an augment to *anya*, when *anya* is not used with genitive and instrumental. Additionally, *anya* must combine before *āśih*, etc., its following constituents. Thus, we get *anyadāśih*, etc. Note that affix *cha* is introduced to derive *anyasmin bhavah* = *anyadīyah* from *anya + Ni + cha* (4.2.138 *gahādibhyaś ca*; 7.1.2 *āyaneyī . . .*).

Kāśikā offers *anyasya āśih* = *anyāśih* and *anyena āsthitah* = *anyāsthitah* as counter-examples to the condition of *āśaṣṭhy-atṛtīyāsthasya* ‘when not ending in the genitive and instrumental’. We do not get augment *dUK*. We get a similar long vowel replacement.

How do we get *anyasya kārakam* = *anyatkārakam* and *anyasya idam* = *anyadīyam*, where *anya* is used with genitive? This negation of genitive and instrumental is non-obligatory (*anitya*). How do we know this? The use of negatives in *śaṣṭhī* and *tr̥tīyā* both serve as a mark (*jñāpaka*). For, Pāṇini would have simply stated *āśaṣṭhītr̥tīyāsthasya*. A verse summarizes this introduction of *dUK* as follows:

*dugāgamo' višeṣeṇa vaktavyah kārakacchayoh/  
saṣṭhītr̥tīyayor neṣṭa āśirādiṣu saptasu//*

‘augment *dUK* is to be generally stated before *kāraka* and *cha*; it is not desired before the other seven items listed beginning with *āśih*, especially when *anya* is used with *śaṣṭhī* and *tr̥tīyā*’

### 6.3.100 अर्थ विभाषा

*arthe vibhāṣā*  
*/ arthe 7/1 vibhāṣā 1/1/*

(*uttarapade #1 āśaṣṭhyatṛtīyāsthasya anyasya duk #99*)

*arthaśabde uttarapade anyasya vibhāṣa dug āgamo bhavati*

Augment *dUK* is optionally introduced to *anya*, when not used with *śaṣṭhī* and *tr̥tīyā*, provided *artha* combines to follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*anyadarthah* ‘for some other purpose’  
*anyārthah* ‘ibidem’

1. This rule makes *dUK* optional when *anya*, not used in the genitive and instrumental, is followed by *artha* in combination. Thus, *anyadarthah* and *anyārthah*. These compound are formed with the signification of *anyasmai idam* ‘intended for someone else’ (2.1.36 *caturthī tadarthārtha . . .*).

### 6.3.101 कोः कत् तपुरुषेऽचि

*koh kat tatpuruse' ci*

/ *koh* 6/1 *kat* 1/1 *tatpuruse* 7/1 *aci* 7/1 /

(*uttarapade* #1)

'*ku*' *ity etasya 'kad'* *ity ayam ādeśo bhavati tatpuruse samāse' jādāv uttarapade*  
*ku* is replaced with *kat* when, in a compound termed *tatpurusa*, a constituent beginning with a vowel (*ajādi*) combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

*kadajah* 'bad goat'

*kadaśvah* 'bad horse'

*haduṣṭrah* 'bad camel'

*kadannam* 'bad food'

1. Consider *ku + sU + aja + sU* → *kat + aja*, a *prādi* compound (2.2.18 *kugati prādayah*) where *t* of *kat* is replaced with *d* through *jaśva* (8.3.39 *jhalām jaśo' nte*). Other examples are similarly derived.

2. Note that a non-*tatpurusa* compound, for example, a *bahuvrīhi* such as *kūṣṭrah* 'he whose camel is bad' (as in *kūṣṭro rājā*), will not qualify for this replacement. A similar exclusion will be made for *kubrāhmaṇah* and *kupuruṣah*, where *brāhmaṇa* and *puruṣa* begin with a consonant.

3. A *vārttika* proposal is made to allow this replacement when *tri* combines after *ku*. Thus, *kutsitāḥ trayah* = *kattrayah* 'three bad ones'.

### 6.3.102 रथवदयोश्च

*rathavadayoś ca*

/ *ratha-vadayoḥ* 7/2 (itar. dv.), *tayoh*; *ca* φ /

(*uttarapade* #1 *koh kad* #101)

'*ratha, vada'* *ity etayoś cottarapadayoḥ koh 'kad'* *ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*

The word *ku* is replaced with *kad* when *ratha* and *vada* combine to follow.

EXAMPLES:

*kadrathah* 'a bad chariot'

*kadvadah* 'a bad speaker'

1. This rule allows *ku* to be replaced with *kat* when *ratha* and *vada* combine to follow. Thus, *kadrathah* and *kadvadah*. This, and rules which follow, are formulated so that *kad* replaces *ku* even when a constituent not beginning with a vowel (*anajādi*) follows.

### 6.3.103 तृणे च जातौ

*trñe ca jātau*

/ *tr̥ne* 7/1 *ca* φ *jātau* 7/1/  
 (*uttarapade* #1 *koh kad* #101)

*tr̥naśabda uttarapade jātāv abhidheyāyām koh kad ādeśo bhavati*

The word *ku* is replaced with *kat* also when *tr̥na* combines to follow, and the derivate denotes *jāti* ‘class’

EXAMPLES:

*kattṛṇā nāma jātiḥ* ‘any class of bad vegetation’

1. This rule allows *ku* to be replaced with *kad* when *tr̥na* combines to follow and the derivate denotes *jāti* ‘class’. Thus, *kattṛṇā* ‘bad grass; leek’. This replacement will not be available to *kutṛṇāni* ‘bad grass’, where the derivate denotes *nindā* ‘reproach’.

### 6.3.104 का पच्यक्षयोः

*kā pathyakṣayoh*

/ *kā* (1/1 deleted) *pathya-kṣayoh* 7/2 (itar. dv.)/  
 (*uttarapade* #1 *kioh* #101)

‘*pathin*, *akṣa*’ *ity etayor uttarapadayoh koh ‘kā’ ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*

The word *ku* is replaced with *kā* when *pathin* ‘path’ and *akṣa* ‘eye’ combine to follow.

EXAMPLES:

*kāpathah* = *kutsitah panthāḥ* ‘a bad road’

*kākṣah* = *kutsite akṣīṇī asya* ‘he whose eyes are bad (evil)’

1. This rule offers *kā* as a replacement for *ku* when *pathin* and *akṣa* combine to follow. Thus, *kutsitah panthāḥ* = *kāpathah* ‘bad road’ and *kutsite akṣīṇī asya* = *kākṣah* ‘he whose eyes are bad’, where *kā* replaces *ku* of (*ku*→*kā*) + *pathin* and 5.4.74 *r̥kpūrabdhūḥ* . . . introduces the *samāśānta* affix *a*. We thus get *kāpath(in)* + *a* = *kāpatha*, through *ti*-deletion (6.4.144 *nas taddhite*). The *bahuvrīhi* compound *kākṣa* is derived with the *samāśānta* affix *ṣaC* (5.4.113 *bahuvrīhau* . . .). Note that *kākṣah* can also be interpreted as a *tatpuruṣa* compound paraphrased as *kutsito* *kṣah* = *kākṣah* ‘bad axle’.

### 6.3.105 इषदर्थे च

*īṣadarthe ca*

/ *īṣadarthe* 7/1 = *īṣadah arthah* (ṣaṣ. tat.), *tasmāt*; *ca* φ/

(*uttarapade* #1 *koh* #101 *kā* #104)

*īṣadarthe vartamānasya koh ‘ka’ ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*

The word *ku*, when used with the signification of *īṣad* ‘slight’, is replaced with *kā*, provided a constituent combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

*kāmadhuram* ‘slightly sweet’  
*kālavaṇam* ‘slightly salted’  
*kāmlam* ‘slightly sour’  
*koṣnam* ‘slightly warm’

1. This rule allows *ku* to be replaced with *kā* when the same is used with the signification of *īṣat* ‘a little’. Thus, *īṣan madhuram* = *kāmadhuram* ‘a little sweet’ and *īṣad āmlam* = *kāmlam* and *īṣal lavaṇam* = *kālavanam* ‘a little salt’. Note that *īṣad āmlam* = *kāmlam* and *īṣad uṣṇam* = *koṣam*, where *āmlam* and *uṣṇam* begin with a vowel (*ajādi*), get *kā* from this rule on the basis of *paratva* ‘subsequent in order’. They should have received *kat*, instead, because *āmla* and *uṣṇa* begin with a vowel (6.3.101 *koh kat tatpuruṣe’ cī*).

### 6.3.106 विभाषा पुरुषे

*vibhāṣā puruṣe*  
*/vibhāṣā 1/1 puruṣe 7/1/*  
*(uttarapade #1 koh #101 kā #104)*  
*puruṣaśabda uttarapade vibhāṣā koh ‘kā’ ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*

The word *ku* is optionally replaced with *kā* when *puruṣa* combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

*kāpuruṣah* ‘a coward; contemptible person’  
*kupuruṣah* ‘ibidem; a bad person’

1. Commentators remind that this option is to be understood as *aprāptavibhāṣā*, an option which was not available. Why can this option not be accepted as *ubhayatra-vibhāṣā* ‘an option which is, and also is not, available’. It is available when the sense is *īṣadartha*. It is not available elsewhere. It is stated that the provision made under the condition of *īṣadartha* is obligatory (*nitya*). Consequently, *kā* is obligatorily selected as a replacement on the basis of *pūrvavipratiṣedha* ‘conflict of equal strength where a prior rule wins’.

### 6.3.107 कवञ्चोष्टे

*kavañ coṣṭe*  
*/kavam 1/1 ca φ uṣṇe 7/1/*  
*(uttarapade #1 koh #101 kā #104 vibhāṣā #106)*  
*uṣṇaśabda uttarapade koh kavam ity ayam ādeśo bhavati kā ca vibhāṣa*  
The word *ku* is optionally replaced with *kavañ* when *uṣṇa* ‘hot’ combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

*kavosnam* ‘slightly warm’

*koṣnam* ‘ibidem’

*kaduṣnam* ‘not warm enough’

1. This rule allows *ku* to be optionally replaced with *kavaN* when *uṣṇa* follows in combination. Thus, we get (*ku*→*kava*) + *uṣṇam* = *kavosnam*. The *ca* in this rule is used to attract *kā*. Thus, we also get (*ku*→*kā*) + *uṣṇam*→*koṣnam*. Note that *vibhāṣā* is also carried. That is, we get a third form where *ku* gets replaced with *kat*. Thus, (*ku*→*ka*(*t*→*d*)) + *uṣṇam* = *kaduṣnam*.

### 6.3.108 पथि च च्छन्दसि

*pathi cac . handasi*

/*pathi* 7/1 *ca* φ *chandasi* 7/1/

(*uttarapade* #1 *koh* #101 *kā* #103 *vibhāṣa* #106 *kavam* #107)

*pathisabda uttarapade chandasi viṣaye koh* ‘*kava*, *kā*’ *ity etāv ādeśau bhavato vibhāṣā*

The word *ku* is optionally replaced with *kavaN*, in the Vedic, when *pathin* ‘path’ combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

*kavapathah* ‘a bad road’

*kāpathah* ‘ibidem’

*kupathah* ‘ibidem’

1. This rule applies to Vedic when *pathin* combines to follow *ku*. Thus, we get (*ku*→*kava*) + *pathin* = *kavapath*(*in-*φ) + *a* = *kavapatha*, through the *samāsānta* affix (5.4.74 *r̥kpūrabdhūḥ*...) and *ti*-deletion. Another form will be *kāpatha* with a replacement in *kā*. If no option is accepted, we will get *kupatha* with no replacement.

### 6.3.109 पृष्ठोदरादीनि यथोपदिष्टम्

*pṛṣodarādīni yathopadiṣṭam*

/*pṛṣodarādīni* 1/3 = *pṛṣodara* ādiḥ *yēśām tāni* (bv.); *yathopadiṣṭam* = *yāni* *yāni upadiṣṭāni* = (*avyayibhāva*)/

*pṛṣodarādīni śabdarūpāni* (*yēśu lopāgamavarṇavikārāḥ* *śāstreṇa na vihitāḥ*, *dr̥ṣyante ca, tāni*) *yathopadiṣṭāni bhavanti*

Words such as *pṛṣodara*, etc., are accepted as derived.

EXAMPLES:

*pṛṣodaram* = *pṛṣad udaram yasya* ‘he whose belly is spotted’

*pṛṣodvānam* = *pṛṣad udvānam yasya* ‘he whose vomit is ...’

*balāhakah* = *vārivāhakah* ‘he who carries water; cloud’

*jīmūtah* = *jīvanasya mūtah* ‘container for water’

*śmaśānam* = *śavānām śayanam* ‘reclining of corpses; crematorium’

*ulūkhalam* = *ūrdhvam kham asya* ‘that which opens upward; a mortar’

*piśācāḥ* ‘goblin’

*mayūrah* ‘peacock; that which cries on ground’

1. Note that *yathopadiṣṭa* is here used in the sense of *śiṣṭoccārīta* ‘as used by the learned’. This rule is needed to account for *pṛṣodara*, etc., with no need to explain what rules apply to accomplish *LOPA* ‘deletion’, *āgama* ‘augment’, *varṇavikāra* ‘sound modification’, etc. Consider *pṛṣad udaram yasya* = *pṛṣodarāḥ* and *pṛṣad udvānam yasya* = *pṛṣodvānam*, where the final *t* of *pṛṣat* gets deleted. A replacement in *ba* for *vāri*, and in *l* for *v* of *vāhaka*, produces (*vāri* → *ba*) + (*v* → *l*) *āhakah* = *ba* + *lāhakah* = *balāhakah*. We can similarly accept *śavānām śayanam* = *śmaśānam*, where *śava* and *śayana* are, respectively, replaced with *śma* and *śāna*, to produce *śmaśāna*. The word *ulūkhala* is similarly derived by replacing *ūrdhva* with *ulū* and *khā* with *khala* to produce *ulūkhala*, paraphrased as *ūrdhvam kham yasya*. A replacement in *pi* and *śāca* is ordered to derive *piśāca* from *piśita* and *āśa*. Thus, *piśitā āśā yasya* = *piśācāḥ* ‘he whose hopes are shattered’. Or else, *piśitam ācāmati* ‘he who sips on powdered food’. The word *mayūra* is derived parallel to *mahyām rauti*, where affix *aC* (3.1.62 *acah*) is introduced after *ru* used in construction with *mahī* + *Ni*. We get *mayūra* by replacing *mahī* with *mayū* and deleting the *u* of *ru*. Thus (*mahī* → *mayū*) + *r(u* → *∅*) = *aC* = *mayūra*. Similar details can also be offered for deriving *āsvattha* and *kapittha*, etc.

2. A series of *vārtika* proposals are also offered to derive *uttaratāram* and *dakṣinatāram*, optionally, to *uttaratīram* and *dakṣinatīram*. Refer to the *Mahābhāṣya* for additional details.

### 6.3.110 संख्याविसायपूर्वस्याहस्र्याहन्त्यतरस्यां डौ

*samkhyāvisāyapūrvasyāhnasyāhan anyatarasyāṁ nau*

/ *samkhyā-vi-sāya-pūrvasya* 6/1 = *saṃkhyā ca viś ca sāyaś ca* = *saṃkhyā-*

*visāyam* (sam. dv.); *saṃkhyāvisāyam pūrvam yasya* (bv. with int. dv.);

*ahnasya* 6/1 *ahan* 1/1 *anyatarasyāṁ* 7/1 *nau* 7/1/

‘*saṃkhyā, vi, sāya*’ ity evam *pūrvasya ahnaśabdasya* ‘*ahan*’ ity *ayam ādeśo bhavaty anyatarasyāṁ nau parataḥ*

The word *ahna*, when used in combination after *saṃkhyā, vi* and *sāya*, is optionally replaced with *ahan* when *Ni* follows.

EXAMPLES:

*dvyahnah* = *dvayor ahnor bhavah* ‘born of two days’

*dvyahni* ‘locative singular . . .’

*dvyahani* ‘ibidem’

*dvyahne* ‘ibidem’

*vyahnah* ‘he whose day has elapsed’

*vyahni* ‘locative singular . . .’

*vyahani* ‘ibidem’

*vyahne* ‘ibidem’

*sāyāhnah* ‘end of the day; evening’

*sāyāhni* ‘locative singular’

*sāyāhani* ‘ibidem’

*sāyāhne* ‘ibidem’

1. This rule allows *ahna*, when used before the locative singular *Ni*, to be optionally replaced with *ahan*, provided *samkhyā* ‘number word’, *vi*, and *sāya* are used in combination to precede. Thus, *dvayor ahnor bhavaḥ* = *dvi + ahan + Ni + thaṄ* = *dvi + ahna + (Ni→∅) + (thaṄ→∅)* = *dvi + ahna*, where the compound is formed by 2.1.51 *taddhitārthottarapada*. . . . Affix *thaṄ* is introduced by 4.3.11 *kālāt thaṄ*, and is subsequently deleted by 4.1.88 *dvigor lug anapatye*. Our present rule then introduces *ahan* as a replacement for *ahna*, thereby producing *dvi + (ahna→ahan)* = *dv(i→y) + ahan* = *dryahan*. We will get *dryahna* if the option of replacing *ahna* with *ahan* is not accepted. An introduction of *Ni* after *dvahna* will again involve the replacement of *ahna* with *ahan* in deriving *dryahni* and *dryahani*, where the *a* of *an* of *ahan* will be optionally deleted by 6.4.134 *vibhāṣā niśyoḥ*. A compound with *sāya* is formed at the strength of the formulation of this rule.

### 6.3.111 द्वलोपे पूर्वस्य दीघोऽणः:

*ḍhralope pūrvasya dīrgho' ṣnah*

/ *ḍhralope* 7/1 = *ḍhakāraś ca rephaś ca* = *ḍhrau* (*itar. dv.*); *taylor lopo yasmin* (*bv.*), *tasmin*; *pūrvasya* 6/1 *dīrghah* 1/1 *aṇah* 1/1 /

*ḍhralope pūrvasyāṇo dīrgho bhavati*

A sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *aN*, when occurring before that which causes the deletion of *dh* and *r*, is replaced with its long counterpart.

### EXAMPLES:

*upagūdham* ‘concealed, embraced’

*mūḍhah* ‘idiot, infatuated’

*nīraktah* ‘with no blood’

*anīrathah* ‘fire-chariot’

1. This rule allows a long replacement for a short sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *aN*, provided a deleted *dh* and *r*, and what caused this deletion, follows. Consider the derivation of *līḍha*, a derivate of the *niśṭhā* suffix *Kta* introduced after *lih* ‘to lick, taste’, where 8.2.31 *ho ḏhah* replaces the *h* of *lih* with *dh*. Rules 8.2.40 *jhaṣastatho* . . . and 8.4.40 *ṣṭunā ṣtuh* then

apply on *lidh + ta* to yield *lidh + (t→dh→dh) a = lidh + dha*. Rule 8.3.13 *dho dhe lopah* then causes deletion of *dh* of *lidh + dha*, whereby we get *li(dh→∅) + dha = lidha*. Our present rule then applies on *lidha* to replace its short *i* with its long counterpart *ī*. We thus get *l(i→ī) + dha = īdha*. Similar application of rules are witnessed in deriving *mīdham*, *upagūḍham* and *nīraktam*. The *r* of *nir + raktam*, subsequent to compound formation by 2.2.18 *kugati . . .*, goes through deletion of 8.3.14 *ro ri*. Similar rules also apply in deriving *agnir + rathah = agnīrathah* and *indūrathah*.

2. The word *dhralope* is interpreted as a *bahuṛīhi* with internal *dvandva*, paraphrased as *dhakāraś ca rephaś ca = dhrau ‘dh and r’; dhryor lopo yasmin = dhralopah ‘that which conditions deletion of dh and r’; tasmin ‘when that follows’*. A genitive *tatpuruṣa* interpretation of *dhralope* will yield the following meaning: ‘when deletion of *dh* and *r* follows’. This will make it impossible for the rule to apply, since *LOPA* means non-appearance (*adarśana*) and hence, there will be nothing there to follow. Why can we not revive the deleted *dh* and *r* by means of *sthānivadbhāva* ‘treating a *LOPA* as what it replaced’? This will create problems in deriving *karaṇīya*, where, after an assumed deletion of *r*, the *a* of *ka* will be subject to lengthening. It is to resolve such problems that *dhralopa* is interpreted as a *bahuṛīhi*.

### 6.3.112 सहिवहोरोदवर्णस्य

*sahivahor od avarnasya*

/ *sahivahoh* 6/2 = *sahiś ca vahaś ca* (itar. dv.), *tayoh; ot* 1/1 *avarnasya*

6/1 = *aś cāsau varṇaś ca* (*karmadhāraya*), *tasya /*

(*dhralope* #111)

‘*sahi, vahi*’ ity etayor *avarnasyaukāra ādeśo bhavati dhralope*

The *a* of verbal roots *sahI* and *vahI* is replaced with *oT* (1.1.70 *tapa ras . . .*) when deletion of *dh* and *r*, by means of *LOPA*, occurs.

#### EXAMPLES:

*sodhā* ‘he who endures’

*sodhum* ‘to endure’

*sodhavyam* ‘that which is to be endured’

*vodhā* ‘he who carries’

*vodhum* ‘to carry’

*vodhavyam* ‘that which is to be carried’

1. This rule offers *o* as a replacement for the *a* of *sah* and *vah*, when that which caused deletion of *dh* and *r* follows. Thus, we get (*sah + Kta*) + *TāP* = *sodha + ā = sodhā*, etc. Note that *sodha* of *sodhā* is similar in derivation to *lidha*, where we do not get a replacement in *o*.

2. Note that the *a* which here gets replaced with *o* is specified with the qualification of *varṇa* ‘sound’. Consequently, *a* represents all sounds homo-

geneous with it. That is, it also represents its long counterpart ā. Why can we not get this reference to ā by simply using a, without the specification of varṇa? That is, in consonance with 1.1.69 *aṇudit savarnasya*. . . . This would have served the purpose, had it not been for the specification of o with t (*taparakarana*). This t would then have also been interpreted with a in consonance with *tād api taparah* ‘also what occurs after t’, a second interpretation of *taparah* (see 1.1.70 *taparas tatkālasya*). That is, a would then have been restricted to refer to itself only. This would have blocked the o-replacement of ā of vāh in *udavodhām*, deriving from *ud + a + v(a→ā→o) + (h→dh) + LUN*). The *vṛddhi*-replacement of a in vah is accomplished by 7.2.3 *vadavraja*. . . .

### 6.3.113 साध्यै साद्वा साधेति निगमे

*sādhyai sādhvā sādheti nigame*  
*/ sādhyai φ sādhvā φ sādhā 1/1 iti φ nigame 7/1 /*  
*‘sādhyai, sādhvā, sādhā’ iti nigame nipātyante*

The words *sādhyai*, *sādhvā* and *sādhā* are derived in the Vedic via *nipātana*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*sādhyai* ‘having prevailed, or conquered’

*sādhvā* ‘ibidem’

*sādhā* ‘overcome, prevailed’

1. This rule offers *sādhyai* and *sādhvā* as derived, via *nipātana*, in the Vedic. That is, a replacement in *dhyai* for *Ktvā*, and a lack of replacement in o for a of *saha* can both be accomplished, via *nipātana*. The word *sādhvā* retains *Ktvā* and does not avail o-replacement. Finally, *sādhvā*, a derivate of *trN* (3.2.135 *trn*), again involves no replacement in o. The long ā in all these examples can be accomplished by 6.3.110 *dhralope pūrvasya*. . . .

### 6.3.114 संहितायाम्

*saṃhitāyām/*  
*saṃhitāyām 7/1/*  
*‘saṃhitāyām’ ity ayam adhikārah; yad ita ūrdhvam anukramiṣyāmaḥ*  
*‘saṃhitāyām’ ity evam tad veditavyam*  
*When saṃhitā finds its scope . . .*

1. This is an *adhikāra*, valid through the end of this quarter. Note that an *adhikāra* carries (*anuvartate*), and thus, facilitates the application of rules contained within its domain. The word *saṃhitā* is explained as ‘close proximity between sounds’ (1.4.109 *parah sannikarṣah saṃhitā*). Refer to examples under rules which follow.

2. Note that operations specific to the condition of *uttarapade* are performed by different rules. The condition of *uttarapade* is specifically offered in the context of compounds. Operations referred to by *samhitā* can thus be performed obligatorily. That is, in consonance with the general understanding that *samhitakapade nityā* ‘*samhitā* is obligatory within a single *pada*’. Why do we then have *samhitāyām* as an *adhikāra*? Since the condition of *uttarapade* is limited to the context of a compound, this rule becomes necessary to account for contexts outside the condition of *uttarapade*. Thus, consider rule 6.3.134 *dvyaco' tas tiñāḥ* which offers a long replacement for the final sound of a form ending in *tiṄ*. Since a form which ends in a *tiṄ* affix does not combine in a compound with any following constituent, *uttarapade* cannot facilitate this replacement.

### 6.3.115 कर्णे लक्षणस्याविष्टपञ्चमणिभिन्नच्छन्नच्छ्रसुवस्तिकस्य

*karne lakṣaṇasyāviṣṭa-pañcan-maṇi-bhinna-chinna-chidrasruva-svastikasya / karne' 7/1 lakṣaṇasya 6/1 ḥaviṣṭa-aṣṭan-pañcan-maṇi-bhinna-chinna-chidrasruva-svastikasya 6/1 (na viṣṭa-pañcan . . . svastikasya (nañ. with int. dv.) / (pūrvasya dīrghaḥ anah #111 samhitāyām #114)*

*karmaśabde uttarapade lakṣaṇavācino dīrgho bhavati ‘viṣṭa, aṣṭan, pañcan, maṇi, bhinna, chinna, chidra, sruva, svastika’ ity etān varjayitvā*

A final short vowel denoted by *aN* of a nominal which denotes *lakṣaṇa* ‘characteristic mark’, and is other than *viṣṭa, aṣṭan, pañcan, maṇi, bhinna, chinna, chidra, sruva*, and *svastika*, is replaced with its long counterpart when *samhitā* finds its scope.

#### EXAMPLES:

*dātrākarnah* ‘branded with mark of a sickle on the ear’

*dviguṇākarnah* ‘branded with two marks on the ear’

*trigunākarnah* ‘branded with three marks on the ear’

*dvyāṅgulākarnah* ‘branded with a mark equal in measure to two fingers on the ear’

*aṅgulākarnah* ‘branded on the ear with mark of a finger’

1. This rule offers a long replacement for the final short vowel of a constituent which is used in combination with a following (*uttarapade*), namely *karna* ‘ear’, used with the signification of *lakṣaṇa* ‘mark’. Additionally, this preceding constituent must be one other than *viṣṭa*, etc.

2. Note that *lakṣaṇa* is explained (*Nyāsa ad Kāśikā: laksyate' nena svāmi-viśeṣasya sambandhaḥ*) as ‘that by means of which a particular relationship (here, ownership) is marked to be known’. Thus, *dātrākarnah* ‘. . . one on whose ear there is mark of a sickle’. Other example compounds, mostly *bahuvrīhis*, can be similarly understood.

## 6.3.116 नहिवृतिवृषिव्यधिरुचिसहितनिषु क्रौ

*nahivṛtivṛṣivyadhirucisahitanisu kvau*

(*pūrvasya dīrgho*’ nah #111 *samhitāyām* #114)

‘nahi, vṛti, vṛṣi, vyadhi, ruci, sahi, tani’ ity eteṣu

*kvipratyayānteshūttarapadesu pūrvapadasya dīrgho bhavati samhitāyām viṣaye*

A final short vowel denoted by *aN* of a nominal is replaced with its long counterpart when *nahi*, *vṛti*, *vṛṣi*, *vyadhi*, *rcui*, *sahi*, *tani*, all ending in *KvIP*, combine as following constituents.

EXAMPLES:

*upānat* ‘shoe, sandal’

*nīvṛt* ‘an inhabited place’

*prāvṛt* ‘rainy season’

*hṛdayāvit* ‘heart-piercing’

*nīruk* ‘tasteless, insipid’

*r̥tīsat* ‘conquering enemies’

*parītat* ‘encircling’

1. This rule allows a long replacement for the short *aN* at the end of what precedes, when verbal roots *nahI*, *vṛtI*, *vṛṣI*, *vyadhI*, *rcuI*, *sahI*, and *tanI*, used with affix *KvIP*, follow, and *saṃhitā* finds its scope. Thus, consider *upānat* ‘shoe’ where affix *KvIP* is introduced after *nah* by a *vārtika* (*sampadādibhyaḥ kvip*; ad 3.3.94 *striyām ktin*). The root-final *h* is then replaced with *t* (*cartva*; 8.4.55 *khari ca*), via *dh* (8.2.34 *naho dhah*) and *d* (*jaśtva*; 8.2.39 *jhalām jaśo’ nte*). Our present rule will then replace the short *a* of *upa*, in *upanat*, with its long counterpart yielding *upānat*.

2. Other derivates involve similar operations. Thus, *parīnat* where, given *pari + nah + KvIP*, the *n* of *nah* is replaced with *ṇ* (8.4.14 *upasargād asamāse’ pi . . .*). Affix *KvIP* is introduced by 3.2.75 *anyebhyo’ pi dṛṣyate*. This same *KvIP* is also introduced in deriving *nīvṛt*. Replacements in *jaś* (*d*; *jaśtva*) and *caR* (*t*; *cartva*) are also seen in *prāvṛt*. The *saṃprasāraṇa* of *vyadh* in *marmāvit* is accomplished by 6.1.16 *grahijyāvayivyadha*. . . . The *c* in *nīruk* goes through *kutva* of 8.2.30 *coh kuḥ*. The *s* of *sah* in *r̥tim sahate = r̥tīsat* is replaced with *ś* (8.3.109 *saheḥ pṛtanartābhyaṁ ca*), via *yoga-vibhāga* ‘split-interpretation’ of *saheḥ*. The final *h* of *sah* . . . , as usual, goes through *jaśtva* and *cartva*. The *t* of *tan*, in *paritanoti = parītat*, is deleted at the strength of a *vārtika* (*gamanādīnām iti vaktavyam*; ad 6.4.40 *gamah kvau*). Augment *tUK* is then introduced subsequently (6.1.71 *hrasvasya piti kṛti tuk*).

## 6.3.117 वनगिर्योः संज्ञायां कोटरकिंशुलकादीनाम्

*vanigiryoh samjñāyām koṭarakimśulakādīnām*

/ *vana-giryoh* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*) *saṃjñāyām* 7/1 *koṭara-kimśulaka-ādīnām* 6/3

= koṭaraś ca kiṁśulakaś ca (itar. dv.); koṭara-kiṁśulakau ādī yeṣām (bv.) / (uttarapade #1 pūrvasya dīrgho' nāh #111 saṁhitāyām #114)

'vana, giri' ity etayor uttarapadayor yathāsaṁkhyam koṭarādīnāṁ kiṁśula-kādīnāṁ ca dīrgho bhavti samjñāyām viṣaye

The final sound segment of nominals listed in the group headed by *koṭara* and *kiṁśulaka* is replaced with its long counterpart when *vana* and *giri*, respectively, combine to follow them in *saṁhitā* and the derivate denotes a name (*saṁjñā*).

#### EXAMPLES:

*koṭarāvanam* 'name of a forest'

*miśrakāvanam* 'ibidem'

*siddhrakāvanam* 'ibidem'

*sārikāvanam* 'ibidem'

*kiṁśulakāgirih* 'name of a mountain'

*añjalāgirih* 'ibidem'

1. This rule allows a long replacement for the short final vowels of nominals enumerated in the list headed by *koṭara* and *kiṁśula*, when *vana* and *giri*, respectively, follow to combine. Additionally, the derivates must denote a name (*saṁjñā*). Thus, *kotarāvanam* 'name of a forest' and *miśrakāvanam* 'ibidem'; and *kiṁśulakāgirih* and *añjalāgirih*. Note that, in accord with 1.3.10 *yathāsaṁkhyam anudēśah samānām*, we will get long replacement in nominals of the *koṭara* group only when *vana* combines to follow. Similarly, we will get a similar long replacement in nominals of the *kiṁśulaka* group when *giri* combines to follow. It is for this reason that *asipatravanam* and *kṛṣṇagirih* are treated as counter-examples.

2. All example compounds are genitive *tatpuruṣa*. The *n* of *vana* is replaced with *ṇ* by 8.4.4 *vanam puragāmiśrakā*. . . .

#### 6.3.118 वले

*vale*

/ vale 7/1 /

(pūrvasya dīrgho' ṇ #111, saṁhitāyām #114 samjñāyām #117)

*vale parataḥ pūrvasya dīrgho bhavati*

The final *aN* of a constituent is replaced with its long counterpart when *vala* combines to follow, and *saṁhitā* finds its scope.

#### EXAMPLES:

*āśutīvalah* 'distiller, brewer'

*kṛṣīvalah* 'farmer'

*dantāvalah* 'elephant'

1. This rule allows a long replacement for *aN*, also when *vala* follows and

derivates denote a name. Note that *vala* does not here refer to a nominal stem (*prātipadika*). Instead, and especially in view of association (*sāhacarya*) of *matUP* in the following rule, it here refers to affix *valaC* (5.2.112 *rajaḥkrṣyāsut . . .*). Thus, *āsut(i→i) valah* = *āsūtīvalah*, etc.

2. A *vārtika* proposal is made to block this lengthening in case of *utsāha*, *bhrātṛ* and *pīṭṛ*. Thus, we should still get *utsāhavalah*, as against *utsāhāvalah*, etc.

### 6.3.119 मतौ बह्वचोऽनजिरादीनाम्

*matau bahvaco' najirādīnām*

/ *matau* 7/1 *bahvacah* 6/1 = *bahvaco yasmin sa* (bv.); *anajirādīnām* 6/3 = *ajir ādir yeśām* = *ajirādayah*, *na ajirādayah* (nañ. with int. bv.), *teśām* / (*pūrvasya dīrgho' naḥ #111 samhitāyām #114 samjñāyām #117*)

*matau parato bahvaco' jirādivarjitasya dīrgho bhavati samjñāyām visaye*

The final *aN* of a polysyllabic nominal other than one listed in the group headed by *ajira* is replaced with its long counterpart when *matUP* follows and *samhitā* finds its scope, provided, of course, the derivate also denotes a name (*saṃjñā*).

#### EXAMPLES:

*udumbarāvatī* 'name of a river'

*maśakāvatī* 'name of a place'

*vīranāvatī* 'ibidem'

*puṣkarāvatī* 'ibidem'

*amarāvatī* 'ibidem'

*brīhimatī* 'name of a river'

*valayavatī* 'ibidem'

1. The final vowel of a nominal which consists of many vowels, but is not *ajira*, etc., is replaced with its long counterpart, when affix *matUP* follows and the derivate denotes a name. Thus, consider *udumbar(a→ā)vatī*, etc. Incidentally, affix *matUP* is introduced by 4.2.85 *nadyām matup*. A replacement in *v* for *m* of *matUP* is accomplished by 8.2.11 *saṃjñāyām*.

Kāśikā offers *brīhimatī* 'rich in rice', *ajiravatī* 'she who has a mole . . .' and *valayavatī* (*matUP*; 5.2.94 *tad asyāstītī . . .*) as counter-examples for conditions of *bahvac*, *anajirādi* and *saṃjñāyām*, respectively.

### 6.3.120 शरादीनां च

*śarādīnām ca*

/ *śarādīnām* 6/3 *ca φ/*

(*pūrvasya dīrgho' naḥ #111, samhitāyām #114 samjñāyām #116 matau #119*)

*śarādīnām ca matau dīrgho bhavati samjñāyām viśaye*

The final *aN* of nominals listed in the group headed by *sara* ‘arrow’ is replaced with its long counterpart when affix *matUP* follows and the derivate denotes a name.

EXAMPLES:

*śarāvatī* ‘name of a river’  
*vamśāvatī* ‘ibidem’

1. This rule allows a long replacement for the short final of nominals listed in the *śārādi* group, provided *matUP* follows and the derivate denotes a name. Here again the *m* of *matUP* is replaced with *v*, as also in case of *bṛihimatī*. It, however, cannot be permitted in cases where nominals of the *yavādi* group are involved (8.2.9 *mād upadhāyāś* . . .).

### 6.3.121 इको वहेऽपीले:

*iko vahē' pīloḥ*  
*/ikaḥ 6/1 vahē 7/1 apīloḥ 6/1/*  
*(uttarapade #1 dīrghaḥ #111 saṃhitāyām #114)*  
*igantasya pūrvapadasya pīluvarjitasya vaha uttarapade dīrgho bhavati*  
 The final *iK* of a nominal other than *pīlu* is replaced with its long counterpart when *vaha* combines to follow, and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

*r̥ṣīvaham* ‘name of a place’  
*kapīvaham* ‘ibidem’  
*munīvaham* ‘ibidem’

1. This rule allows shortening of the final *iK* of a preceding constituent when the same is not *pīlu*, but is combined before *vaha*. Our examples are all genitive *tatpurusa* compounds where *vaha* is a derivate of affix *aC* (3.1.134 *nandigrahipacādibhyah* . . .). *Kāśikā* offers *pīṇḍavaham* and *pīluvaham* as counter-examples to conditions of *ikaḥ* and *pīloḥ*, respectively. These derivates both denote names. Incidentally, *Nyāsa* lists the examples in the masculine nominative singular.

2. A *vārttika* (*vt. apīlvādīnām iti vaktavyam*) proposal is made to read the exclusion as: *apīlvādīnām* ‘except for *pīlu*, etc.’ This extended exclusion can also block lengthening in additional derivate, for example, *dāruvaham*, etc.

### 6.3.122 उपसर्गस्य घञ्यमनुष्ये बहुलम्

*upasargasya ghañy amanusye bahulam*  
*/upasargasya 6/1 ghañi 7/1 amanusye 7/1 = (nañ.); bahulam 1/1*  
*(uttarapade #1 pūrvasya dīrgho ṣaḥ #111 saṃhitāyām #114)*  
*upasargasya ghañante uttarapade' manusye' bhidheye bahulam dīrgho bhavati*

The final of a preverb (*upasarga*) is variously replaced with its long counterpart when affix *ghaṄ* follows, and the derivate does not denote *manuṣya* ‘human’.

#### EXAMPLES:

*vīkledah* ‘getting wet’  
*vīmārgah* ‘a broom’  
*apāmārgah* ‘a plant’

1. This rule variously allows a long replacement for the short of an *upasarga* when the same combines with a derivate of *GHaṄ*. Thus, *nīkledah*, *vīmārgah* and *apāmārgah*, where *GHaṄ* has been introduced after *kliḍ* and *mṛj* by 3.3.121 *halaś ca*. The initial *vrddhi*, and the *g*-replacement for *j* of *mṛj*, is accomplished by 7.2.114 *mṛjer vrddhiḥ* and 7.3.52 *cajo ku*. . . . This replacement will be blocked when the derivate denotes a human (*manuṣya*). Thus, consider *niṣādo manuṣyah* ‘*niṣāda* is a human’. Incidentally, since it is impossible to find affix *GHaṄ* introduced after a preverb, *GHaṄ* of *ghaṇi* is interpreted as ‘that which ends in *GHaṄ*’.

2. The following are some additional proposals made under this rule:

- (i) An *upasarga* should receive a final long replacement also when *sāda* and *kāra* combine to follow, and the derivate denotes *kṛitrima* ‘non-natural, artificial’. Thus, *prāsādah* ‘palace’ and *prākārah* ‘enclosure’, etc.
- (ii) Another proposal seeks optional lengthening when *veśa*, etc., combine to follow. Thus, *prativeśah*/*pratīveśah* ‘neighborhood’ and *pratirodhah*/*pratīrodhah* ‘obstacle’.

#### 6.3.123 इकः काशे

*ikaḥ kāśe*  
*/ikaḥ 6/1 kāśe 7/1/*  
*(uttarapade #1 dīrghah #111 saṃhitāyām #114 upasargasya #122)*  
*igantasyopasargasya kāśāśabda uttarapade dīrgho bhavati*

The final *iK* of a preverb is replaced with its long counterpart when *kāśa* combines to follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*nīkāśah* ‘look, appearance’  
*vīkāśah* ‘progression’  
*anūkāśah* ‘reflection of light’

1. This rule allows a long replacement when an *upasarga* ending in an *iK* combines with a following *kāśa*. Note that *kāśa* is not a derivate of *GHaṄ*. It is a derivate of *aC*, instead (3.1.134 *nandigrāhipacādy* . . .). The condition of *iK* is imposed so that *pra* could not receive a long *ā* in *prakāśah* ‘light’.

## 6.3.124 दस्ति

*das ti*  
*/daḥ 6/1 ti 7/1/*

(*dīrghah* #111 *samhitāyām* #114 *upasargasya* #122 *ikah* #123)  
 ‘*dā*’ *ity etasya yas takārādir ādeśas tasmin parata igantasyopasargasya dīrgho bhavati*

The final *iK* of a preverb is replaced with its long counterpart when a replacement of *dā* beginning with *t* follows.

EXAMPLES:

*nīttam* ‘made as a gift’  
*vīttam* ‘that which has passed’  
*parīttam* ‘given away’

1. This rule allows an *upasarga* which ends in an *iK* to receive a long vowel replacement when a *t*-initial replacement of *dā* follows. Thus, consider *ni-dā + Kta = nītta*, where the final *ā* (1.1.52 *alo’ ntyasya*) of *dā* is replaced with *t* (7.4.77 *aca upasargāt tah*). Rule 8.4.54 *khari ca* then replaces the *d* of *ni + d + t + ta* with *t*. Rule 8.4.64 *jharo jhari savarṇe* then deletes the preceding *t*. This produces *ni + (d→t) + (t→∅) + ta*. Our present rule then offers a long *ī* for the short of *ni*. This same happens in case of *vīttam* and *parīttam*.

2. Note that the condition of *daḥ* is imposed so that *vi* and *ni* could be blocked from receiving lengthening, due mainly to an absence of *dā*. The condition of *ti* will similarly block lengthening in *sudattam* where *dā* is replaced with *dad* (8.4.60 *do dad ghoḥ*).

3. Note that the genitive of *daḥ* is here interpreted as signifying *sthāny-ādeśa-sambandha* ‘substituentum substitute-relationship’. A question is raised as to how this long replacement for the final short of an *upasarga* can be accomplished. That is, when there will not be any *t*-initial replacement of *dā* to follow an *upasarga*. Recall that the *t*-initial replacement *dā* by 7.4.77 *aca upasargāt tah* will replace its final *ā*. That is, *d* of *ni + d + t + Kta*, will then intervene, and *ni* will not be directly followed by *t*-initial replacement. This long replacement cannot be accomplished even when the *d* is replaced with *t* by 8.4.54 *khari ca*. For, this *t*-replacement will become *asiddha* ‘suspended’ in view of the application of long replacement. Commentators explain that Pāṇini’s specification by *ti* itself indicates that *asiddhatva* of *cartva* (of 8.4.54 *khari ca*) cannot be accepted as valid.

## 6.3.125 अष्टनः संज्ञायाम्

*aṣṭanah samjñāyām*  
*/aṣṭanah 6/1 samjñāyām 7/1/*

(*uttarapade* 31 *pūrvasya dīrgho*’ *ṇah* #111 *samhitāyām* #114)

‘*aṣṭan*’ ity *asyottarapade samjñāyām dīrgho bhavati*

The final *aN* of *aṣṭan* is replaced with its long counterpart when a constituent combines to follow and the derivate denotes a name (*saṃjñā*).

#### EXAMPLES:

*aṣṭāvakrah* ‘he whose eight limbs are crooked; a name’

*aṣṭābandhurah* ‘ibidem’

*aṣṭāpadam* ‘he who has eight feet’

1. This rule allows lengthening of *aṣṭan* when a constituent follows and the derivate denotes a name. Thus *aṣṭāvakrah* ‘he whose eight limbs are crooked’, etc. Note that 8.2.7 *nalopah* . . . accomplishes *n*-deletion of *aṣṭan*.

#### 6.3.126 छन्दसि च

*chandasi ca*

/ *chandasi* 7/1 *ca* φ/

(*uttarapade* #1 *pūrvasya dīrgho*’ *ṇah* #111 *aṣṭanah* #125)

*chandasi viṣaye*’ *ṣṭan* *uttarapade dīrgho bhavati*

The final *aN* of *aṣṭan* is replaced with its long counterpart, also in the Vedic, when a constituent combines to follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*āgneyāmaṣṭākapālam* *nirvāpet* *cārum* ‘. . . offer oblations in eight vessels . . .’

*aṣṭāhiranyā* *dakṣinā* ‘a ritual gift of eight gold coins?’

*aṣṭāpadā* *devatā sumatī* ‘a verse of eight quarters . . .’

1. Note that *aṣṭasu kapāleśu saṃskṛtam* = *aṣṭākapālam* is a derivate of *aN*, introduced by 4.2.16 *saṃskṛtam* *bhakṣāḥ*. This affix, however, is deleted by 4.1.88 *dvigor lug anapatye*. The final *a* of *pāda*, of *aṣṭau pādāḥ asyāḥ* = *aṣṭāpadā*, is deleted by 5.4.138 *pādasya lopo*. . . An optional affix *NiP* is then introduced by 4.1.8 *pādo*’ *nyatarasyām*. A compound such as *aṣṭau hiran্যāni parimānam asyāḥ* = *aṣṭāhiranyā* ‘that whose measure is eight gold coins’ is formed in the sense of a *taddhita* affix (*taddhitārtha*; 2.1.51 *taddhitārthottara-pada* . . .). The *taddhita* affix introduced by 5.1.57 *tad asya parimāṇam* is deleted by 5.1.28 *adhyardha* *pūrva*. . . .

2. A *vārtika* proposal is made to also allow lengthening when *gava* combines to follow. Thus, *aṣṭāgavam* *śakaṭam* ‘a cart pulled by eight bullocks’.

#### 6.3.127 चिते: कपि

*citeḥ kapi*

/ *citeḥ* 6/1 *kapi* 7/1/

(*pūrvasya dīrgho' ḡnah #111 saṃhitāyām #114*)

*citiśabdasya kapi parato dīrgho bhavati*

The final vowel of *citi* is replaced with its long counterpart when affix *kaP* follows, and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

*ekaciṭkah* ‘that which has one layer of bricks’

*dviciṭkah* ‘that which has two layers of bricks’

*triciṭkah* ‘that which has three layers of bricks’

1. This rule allows lengthening of *citi* when *kaP* follows. Thus, *ekā citir asya* = *ekaciṭkah*. Note that *pumvadbhāvā* ‘masculine transformation’ is accomplished by 6.3.34 *striyāḥ pumvadbhāṣita*. . . . Affix *kaP* is introduced by 5.4.154 *śeṣād vibhāṣā*.

### 6.3.128 विश्वस्य वसुराटोः

*viśvasya vasurāṭoh*

/ *viśvasya* 6/1 *vasurāṭoh* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*) /

(*uttarapade* #1 *pūrvasya dīrgho' ḡnah #111 saṃhitāyām #114*)

*viśvaśabdasya* ‘*vasu*, *rāṭ*’ *ity etayor uttarapadayor dīrgha ādeśo bhavati*

The final vowel of *viśva* is replaced with its long counterpart when *vasu* and *rāṭ* combine to follow.

EXAMPLES:

*viśvāvasuh* ‘one of the names of Viṣṇu’

*viśvārāṭ* ‘lord of the universe’

1. This rule allows *viśva* to receive lengthening when *vasu* and *rāṭ* combine to follow. Thus, consider *viśvārāṭ* where affix *KvIP* is introduced after *rājR* by 3.2.61 *satsūdvīṣa*. . . . Note that a specification with *rāṭ* is made to ensure lengthening only where we find the form *rāṭ* (*yatrāsyaitad rūpam tatraiva*). Recall that such a form is available where the term *pada* can be assigned. We find no lengthening in *viśvarājau* and *viśvarājāḥ* because of negation of *asarvanāmastiḥāne* in 1.4.17 *svādiṣv asarvanāmastiḥāne*.

### 6.3.129 नरे संज्ञायाम्

*nare saṃjñāyām*

/ *nare* 7/1 *saṃjñāyām* 7/1 /

(*uttarapade* #1 *pūrvasya dīrgho' nah #111 saṃhitāyām #144 viśvasya #129*)

*naraśabda uttarapade saṃjñāyām viśaye viśvasya dīrgho bhavati*

The final vowel of *viśva* is replaced with its long counterpart when *nara* combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

*viśvānaro nāma yasya vaiśvānariḥ putraḥ*

'Vaiśvānari (Agni) is the son of he whose name is Viśvānara'

1. This rule allows lengthening of the final *a* of *viśva* when *nara* is combined to follow *viśva* and the derivate denotes a name. Thus, *viśvānaro nāma yasya, tasya putraḥ = vaiśvānariḥ* 'a son of Viśvānara'. This lengthening will be blocked, for example, in *viśve narā yasya sa = viśvanarah* 'he whose all these men are'.

### 6.3.130 मित्रे चर्षे

*mitre carṣau*

/ *mitre* 7/1 *ca* φ *rṣau* 7/1/

(*uttarapade* #1 *pūrvasya dīrgho*’ *nah* #111 *samhitāyām* #114 *viśvasya* #129)

*mitre cottarapade rṣāv abhidheyे viśvasya dīrgho bhavati*

The final vowel of *viśva* is also replaced with its long counterpart when *mitra* combines to follow, and the derivate denotes a sage (*rṣi*).

EXAMPLES:

*viśvāmitro nāma rṣih* 'a sage named Viśvāmitra'

1. This rule allows lengthening of *viśva* when *mitra* combines to follow, and the derivate denotes a sage (*rṣi*). Thus, *viśvāmitrah* 'name of a sage'. This provision will be blocked where a sage is not denoted. Thus, *viśvamitro*' *yam mānavakah* 'this boy is a friend of all'.

### 6.3.131 मन्त्रे सोमाश्वेन्द्रियविश्वदेव्यस्य मतौ

*mantre somāśvendriyaviśvadevyasya matau*

/ *mantra* 7/1 *soma-aśva-indriya-viśvadevyasya* 6/1 (*sam. dv.*); *matau* 7/1/

(*pūrvasya dīrgho*’ *nah* #111 *samhitāyām* #114)

*mantravisaye* 'soma, aśva, indriya, viśvadevya' *ity eteśām matup prat�aye parato dīrgho bhavati*

The final vowel of *soma*, *aśva*, *indriya* and *viśvadevya* is, in the *mantra* usage, replaced with its long counterpart when affix *matUP* follows.

EXAMPLES:

*somāvatī* 'possessing soma'

*aśvāvatī* 'possessing horses'

*indriyāvatī* 'powerful'

*viśvadēvāvatī* 'dear to all gods'

1. This rule allows lengthening in *soma*, *aśva*, *indriya* and *viśvadevya*, when *matUP* follows and the usage belongs to the *mantra* literature of the Vedic. The examples are all derivates of the feminine affix *NīP* (4.1.6 *ugitas ca*).

### 6.3.132 ओषधेश्च विभक्तावप्रथमायाम्

*oṣadheś ca vibhaktāv aprathamāyām  
/ oṣadheḥ 6/1 ca φ vibhaktau 7/1 aprathamāyām 7/1 = na prathamāyām  
(nañ.) /*

*(pūrvasya dīrgho' nah #111 samhitāyām #114 mantra #131)*

*oṣadhiśabdasya vibhaktāv aprathamāyām̄ parato dīrgho bhavati*

The final vowel of *oṣadhi* is also, in the *mantra* literature, replaced with its long counterpart when a nominal terminating in an ending other than *prathamā* ‘first triplet (nominative)’ follows.

EXAMPLES:

*oṣadhibhir apīpatat*

*namāḥ pṛthivyai namaḥ oṣadhībhyaḥ* ‘obeisance to earth and vegetations’

1. This rule allows lengthening to *oṣadhi*, again in the *mantra* literature, when a nominal ending other than the nominative (*prathamā*) follows. Thus, *namāḥ oṣadhībhyaḥ* ‘(our) salutation to vegetations’. A counter example to the condition of *prathamā* will be *sthreyam astu oṣadhiḥ* ‘let this vegetation be here forever’.

### 6.3.133 ऋचि तुनुघमक्षुतङ्कुत्रोरुष्याणाम्

*r̥ci tunughamakṣutaṅkutroruṣyāñām*

*/ r̥ci' 7/1 tu-nu-gha-makṣu-tañ-kutra-uruṣyāñām 6/3 (itar. dv.) /*

*(dīrgho' nah #111 samhitāyām #114)*

*r̥ci viṣaye 'tu, nu, gha, makṣu, tañ, kutra, uruṣya' ity eteṣām dīrgho bhavati*

The final *aN* of *tu, nu, gha, makṣu, tañ, ku, tra* and *uruṣya* is replaced with its long counterpart when the usage is a Vedic hymn, and *samhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

*ā tū ná indra vṛtrahan* ‘come to us O, Indra, killer of Vṛtra’

*nū karane*

*uta vā ghā syālāt*

*mākṣū gómantamīmahe*

*bharatā jātaवेदasam* ‘make Agni happy’

*kūmanah* ‘wicked-minded’

*atrā gauḥ*

*uruṣyā nō* *gneḥ* ‘protect us O, Agni’

1. This rule allows lengthening of *tu, etc.*, in the context of *r̥cā* ‘Vedic hymn’. Note that *taṄ ‘ta with Ṃ as an *i*’* refers to the active (*parasmaipada*) replacement of second personal plural *tha* (3.4.101 *tasthasthamipāṁ tāṁtaṇtāmaḥ*). Recall that a replacement of *LOT* is treated as a replacement

of *LAṄ*, marked with *N̄* as an *it*, by extension (*atidesa*; 3.4.85 *lolo lanvat*). The *tra* of *atrā* has its source in affix *traL* (5.3.10 *saptamyās traL*). A replacement in *aṄ*, for *etad* of *etad + traL*, is accomplished by 5.3.5 *etado' n*. The word *uruṣyā*, paraphrased as *ātmana urum icchatī*, is a derivate of *uru + am + KyaC*, where augment *sUK* (*vt ad 7.1.51 aśvakṣrauṣa . . . : sarvapratipadikebhyo lālaśāyām sug vaktavyah*) is introduced to produce *uru + sUK + KyaC → urusya*. Given *urusya + (LOT→hi) = urusya + (hi→∅)*, where *hi* gets deleted by 6.4.105 *ato heh* and *s* of *urusya* gets replaced with *s*, our present rule orders lengthening.

Why can we not interpret the specification by *gha*, of this rule, as referring to affixes *taraP* and *tamaP* (1.1.22 *taraptamapau ghah*). A form ending in affixes *taraP* and *tamaP* which, in turn, may involve this lengthening is impossible (*asambhava*) to find, especially in this context of *r̄cā*.

### 6.3.134 इकः सुञ्जः

*ikah suñi*

/*ikah* 6/1 *suñi* 7/1/

(*uttarapade #1 dīrghah #111 saṃhitāyām #114 r̄ci #132*)

*igantasya suñi parato r̄ci viṣaye dīrgho bhavati*

The final vowel of a word which ends in *iK* is replaced with its long counterpart when, in a Vedic hymn, *suṄ* follows, and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

#### EXAMPLES:

*abhī su nāh sákhinām*

*ūrdhvā ū̄ su nā ūtaye*

1. This rule allows an *iK* which occurs before *suṄ* to be replaced with its long counterpart, provided the context is *r̄cā*. Note that *suT* is a particle, where its *s* is replaced with *s̄*. The *n* of the pronominal *nāh* is replaced with *n̄* by 8.4.26 *naś ca dhātustho*. . . .

### 6.3.135 द्वयचोऽतस्तिङः

*dvyaco' tas tiñah*

*dvyacah* 6/1 = *dvau acau yasmin* (*bv.*), *tasya; atah* 6/1 *tiñah* 6/1/

(*uttarapade #1 dīrghah #111 saṃhitāyām #114 r̄ci #132*)

*dvyacas tiñantas�āta rgviṣaye dīrgho bhavati*

The *a* of a *tiṄ* affix composed of two vowels is replaced with its long counterpart when, in a Vedic hymn, *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

#### EXAMPLES:

*vidmā hi tvā gopātīm śūra gonām* ‘O, brave Indra, we know you as the master of many cows’

*vidmā śārasyā pitarām*

1. This rule allows a long replacement for the short *a* of a *tiṄ* affix composed of two vowels. Of course, when the context is *rcā*. Thus, consider *vidmā*, a form of *LOT* ending in *mas* ‘first person plural active verbal ending’. *Kāśikā* offers *bharata* and *vakṣi* as counter-examples to conditions of *dvyacah* and *atah*, respectively.

### 6.3.136 निपातस्य च

*nipātasya ca*  
*/ nipātasya 6/1 ca ϕ/*  
*(uttarapade #1 dīrgho' ṇah #111 saṃhitāyām #144 rci #133)*  
*nipātasya ca ṛgviṣaye dīrgha ādeśo bhavati*

The final *aṄ* of a particle, in a Vedic hymn, is also replaced with its long counterpart when *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

*eva* té  
*acchā te*

1. A particle is also subjected to lengthening in a context of *rcā*. Thus, *eva* and *acchā* which are *nipātas* because of their membership in the *cādi* group (1.4.57 *cādayo' sattve*).

### 6.3.137 अन्येषामपि दृश्यते

*anyeśām api dr̥syate*  
*/ anyeśām 6/3 api ϕ dr̥syate (verbal pada) /*  
*(uttarapade #1 dīrgho' ṇah #111 saṃhitāyām #114)*  
*anyeśām api dīrgho dr̥syate*

A final *aṄ* is also seen replaced with its long counterpart, elsewhere.

EXAMPLES:

*keśākeśi* ‘a fight where one pulls the hair of another’  
*kacākaci* ‘ibidem’  
*jalāṣāt* ‘he who endures rain’  
*nārakah pūruṣah* ‘a sinful man’

1. This rule covers examples not enumerated thus far. Consider what the *Kāśikā* says: *yasya dīrghatvam na vihitam dr̥syate ca prayoge tad anena kartavyam* ‘that for which lengthening is not offered but is seen in the usage should be accomplished by this rule’. Thus, *keśākeśi* and *kacākaci*, etc., where the compounds are formed by 2.2.27 *tatra tenedam . . .*, and the *saṃsānta* affix is introduced by 5.4.127 *ic karma*. . . .

2. A *vārtika* proposal is also made to allow lengthening in *śvan* when *danta*, *damṣṭrā*, *karṇa*, *kunda*, *varāha*, *puccha* and *pada* follow.

## 6.3.138 चौ

*cau**/cau 7/1/*(uttarapade #1 *pūrvasya dīrgho' ṇah* #111 *samhitāyām* #114)*cau parataḥ pūrvapadasya dīrgho bhavati*The final *aN* of a preceding word is replaced with its long counterpart when *cU* combines to follow, and *samhitā* finds its scope.

## EXAMPLES:

*dadhīcāh* (*paśya*) ‘nominative plural of *dadhīc'**dadhīce* ‘dative singular . . .’*madhūcāh* (*paśya*) ‘nominative plural of *madhūc'**madhūce . . .* ‘dative singular . . .’

1. This rule allows lengthening when *cu* follows a sound denoted by *aN*. The word *cu* here refers to verbal root *añc* with its deleted nasal. Consider *dadhīca* where *añc* receives affix *KvIN* (3.2.59 *ṛtvigdadhṛk . . .*) and its nasal is deleted by 6.4.24 *aniditām hal . . .* The *a* of *ac + KvIN* is deleted by 6.4.138 *acah*. The word *dadhīcāh* is thus a derivate of *dadhi + c + Šas*, with long *ī* replacing the short of *dadhi*. Similar rules apply in deriving *madhūcāh*. Affix *KvIN*, as usual, gets deleted.

Note that a replacement denoted by the abbreviatory symbol *yaN* (*yanādeśa*; 6.1.77 *iko yan aci*) is applicable here on the basis of being internally conditioned (*antarāṅga*). This, however, does not apply at the strength of this express provision of long-vowel replacement (*dīrghādeśa*; *Kāś: antarāṅgo' pi hi yanādeśo dīrghavidiḥānasāmarthyān na pravarttate*).

## 6.3.139 सम्प्रसारणस्य

*samprasāraṇasya**/samprasāraṇasya 6/1/*(uttarapade #1 *pūrvasya dīrgho' ṇah* #111 *samhitāyām* #114)*samprasāraṇāntasya pūrvapadasyottarapade dīrgho bhavati*The final of a word which has gone through *samprasāraṇa* is replaced with its long counterpart when a constituent combines to follow.

## EXAMPLES:

*kāriṣagandhīputrah* ‘son of a female who smelled like dried cow-dung’*kāriṣagandhīpatih* ‘husband of . . .’*kaumudagandhīputrah* ‘son of a female who smelled like lily’*kaumudagandhīpatih* ‘husband of . . .’

1. Note that *uttarapade* is still carried. This rule offers a long replacement for the short final *aN* of a preceding constituent ending in a vowel termed

*samprasāraṇa*. Of course, when a constituent in combination follows. Thus, we get *kāriṣagandhiputraḥ* and *kāriṣagandhipatiḥ*, where the final *samprasāraṇa* vowel *i* of *kāriṣagandhi* is replaced with its long counterpart before *putra* and *pati*. Recall that this *samprasāraṇa* vowel, in fact, is the *samāsānta* affix *i* (5.4.137 *upamānāc ca*). Refer to the appendix of 6.1.13 *śyañah samprasāraṇam* for derivational details of these examples.

2. A question is raised as to why 6.3.61 *iko hrasvo . . .* cannot be applied on *kāriṣagandhi* of *kāriṣagandhiputraḥ*? Recall that this rule, in the opinion of Gālava, offers a short replacement for the final *i*. Our present rule will require a replacement in long. *Nyāsa* suggests that the *anuvṛtti* of *anyatarasyām* will be carried to 6.3.61 *iko hrasvo . . .* from 6.3.59 *ekahalādau . . .* This will then turn 6.3.61 *iko hrasvo . . .* into a *vyavasthita-vibhāṣā* ‘fixed option’. Consequently, *kāriṣagandhi* will escape its application. Haradatta (*PM ad Kāś*) finds *vipratiṣedha* in the application of rules 6.1.61 and 6.3.139. He claims that an independent scope of application of 6.3.61 can be seen in *grāmaṇi-putrah*. A similar independent scope of 6.3.139 can be found in contexts where shortening of 6.3.61 cannot apply. Thus, given that *dīrgha* ‘lengthening’ finds its scope even when *hrasva* does not find its scope, *dīrgha* of this rule blocks the application of *hrasva* on the basis of *paratva* (1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe . . .*). Why can *hrasva* not apply after the application of *dīrgha* in consonance with *punah prasangavijñāna*, a renewed context of application? This cannot be done since that which goes through *vipratiṣedha* once, and hence is blocked, remains blocked forever (*PŚ 41: sakṛd gatau vipratiṣedhe yad bādhitam tad bādhitam eva*).

## PĀDA FOUR

### 6.4.1 अंगस्य

*aṅgasya 6/1/  
adhikāro' yam ā saptamādhyāyaparisamāpteh; yad ita ūrdhvam anukramisyāmo' nīgasyety evam tad veditavyam  
Of that which is termed an *aṅga*. . . .*

#### EXAMPLES:

Refer to subsequent rules.

1. This is an *adhikāra* ‘governing rule’. It is carried over to all rules contained within its domain, valid through the end of the seventh chapter (*saptamādhyāya*).

2. Some claim that this *adhikāra* of *aṅgasya* is valid prior to rules introducing modification to *abhyāsa* (7.4.58 *atra lopo' bhāsasya*). This way, one need not specify *luk* in the wording of rule 7.4.82 *guṇo yanlukoh*. Why? Rule 1.1.62 *pratyayalope pratyayalakṣaṇam* can account for its purpose. If such an *adhikāra*

of *aṅgasya* is accepted as valid, even in the section dealing with modifications introduced to an *abhyāsa*, 1.1.63 *na lumatāṅgasya* will block operations relative to an *aṅga*. Of course, based on deletions accomplished via *LUK*, *ŚLU* and *LUP*. The *LUK* of 7.4.82 *guṇo yañlukoh* is stated so that *guṇa* is applied against the negation of 1.1.62 *na lumatāṅgasya*.

The author of the *Kāśikāvṛtti* finds problems in accepting this limited governing scope of *aṅgasya*. The author of the *vṛtti* considers *vraśc* + *LIT*→*vavraśca* where, given *va* + *vraśc* + *LIT*, 6.1.17 *lity abhyāsasyobhayesām* would apply to replace *r* with its *samprasāraṇa* counterpart *r̥*. This *samprasāraṇa* will become applicable again to *v* after the application of 7.4.66 *ur at* and 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣah*. The negation of this *samprasāraṇa* (6.1.37 *na samprasārane samprasāraṇam*) which is desired can then not apply. For, the *a* which results from the application of 7.4.66 *ur at* will not be a *samprasāraṇa* vowel. One cannot invoke *sthānivadbhāva* here because the *samprasāraṇa* condition of *paranimitta* ‘following condition’ can then not be satisfied (*PM* ad *Kāś*: *vṛttikāras tu manyate-yadi prāg abhyāsavikārebhyoṅgādhikārah vavraś ceti vr̥scater liṭi ‘lity abhyāsasyobhayesām’ iti rephasys samprasāraṇe uradatva halādišeṣe ca kṛte vakārasyāpi samprasāraṇam prāpnoti, tasya ‘na samprasāraṇe samprasāraṇam’ iti pratiṣedha iṣyate, sa na prāpnoti; uradatvasyāsamprasāraṇatvāt. na ca tasya sthānivatvam, aपaranimittatvāt*). It is to facilitate the derivation of *vavraśca* (and not of \**vraśca*) that *aṅgasya* is treated as valid up to the end of the seventh chapter (*adhyāya*).

If one accepts the extent of the domain of *aṅgasya* valid through the end of the seventh chapter, the result of 7.4.66 *ur at* will constitute the following condition. For, an *aṅga* will then expect its own affixal right condition (*PM*: *ā saptamādhyāyaparisamāpteh punar aṅgādhikāre saty uradatvam paranimittakam bhavati, aṅgena svanimittasya pratyayasyāpekṣepāt*). The idea that one need not specify *luk* in 7.4.82 *guṇo yañlukoh* is not acceptable. For, the applicational domain of that negation (cf. 1.1.63 *na lumatāṅgasya*) is not limited only to operations of the domain of *aṅgasya*. It is true that this negation applies to an *aṅga* which has gone through deletion of its affix via *LUK*. But it is also true that operations relative to an *aṅga*, such as this one, will apply whether they are limited to the domain of *aṅga* or not. (*PM*: *lumatā lupte pratyaye vastuto yad aṅgam tasya prāptam yat kāryam aṅgam anāṅgam vā tasya sarvasya pratiṣedhah*). It is therefore wise to accept the scope of *aṅgasya* valid through the end of the seventh chapter.

3. I shall now offer some illustrations where *aṅgasya* plays a role in proper interpretation and application of rules contained within its domain. For example, Pāṇini says 6..4.2 *halah* which, when read with 6.4.1. *aṅgasya*, yields the following interpretation:

‘a long replacement is introduced to the *aṅga*-final *samprasāraṇa* vowel which is denoted by *aN* and occurs after a consonant contained within the *aṅga*’

Consider *hve(Ñ) + (K)ta* → *hūtah*, where *v* goes through a replacement in *samprasārana* (6.1.15 *vacisvapiyajādinām* . . . ; 1.1.45 *ig yanah samprasāranam*) and the resultant vocalic sequence is replaced with a single vowel homogeneous with the preceding (*pūrvasavarna*; 6.1.108 *samprasārañāc ca*). Thus, *h(v→u)e(Ñ) + (K)ta* → *h(u+e→u) + ta* → *h(u→ū) + ta* → *hūta + sU* → *hūtah*. A long replacement for the short *u* is subsequently accomplished by 6.4.2 *halah*. Similar applications of *samprasārañā*, *pūrvarūpa* and long replacement (*dīrgha*) produce (*jyā + Kta*) + *sU* → *jīnah* where 8.2.44 *lvādibhyah* replaces the *t* of the *niṣṭhā* (1.1.26 *ktaktavatū niṣṭhā*) suffix with *n*.

Why do we need this specification by *aṅgasya* ‘of (part) of an *aṅga*’? Consider (*nir-veÑ + Kta*) → (*nir-(v→u) + e + ta*) → (*nir-(u+e→u) + ta*) → *niruta + sU* = *nirutam* and (*dur-u + ta*) + *sU* → *durutam*, where there is no long replacement since *nir* and *dur* are preverbs. They are not part of the *aṅga*, i.e., *veÑ* and *i*. The *samprasārañā* vowel also does not occur after a consonant which is part of the *aṅga*.

Now consider 6.4.3 *nāmi* which facilitates a long replacement for the final short of an *aṅga* when *nām* follows (*Kāś: nāmi dīrghah*). Thus, *agni + ām* → *agn(i→ī) + ām* → *agnī + nUT* + *ām* → *agnīnām*, when augment *nUT* is introduced by 7.1.54 *hrasvanadyāpo nut*.

Why do we have the condition of *aṅgasya*? Consider *krimiñā + am* and *pāmanā + am* where *krimiñā* and *pāmanā* are derivates of *krimiṇa + TāP* and *pāmana + TāP*. Note that *krimiṇa* and *pāmana* are derivates of affix *na* (5.2.100 *lopādipāmādo* . . . ) which, in turn, is introduced after *krimi + Jas* and *pāman + Jas* with the signification of *krimayah sānty asyām* ‘that in which there are worms’ and *pāmānah sānty asyām* ‘that which itches’. Since this is the domain of *aṅgasya* we do not get a long replacement for the final short of *krimi* and *pāma* before *nām*. For *pāmana* and *krimiṇa* are derivates of *na*. The forms *pāma* and *krimi* cannot be assigned the term *aṅga* before *nām*. The *nām* of *krimiñām* and *pāmanām* is gotten by combining *nā* and *am*. If there was no specification of the domain of *aṅga*, a long replacement could apply to the short final of *krimi* and *pāma* before *nām*. That is, long replacement can apply before any *nām*.

Now consider 7.1.9 *ato bhis ais* whereby *bhis* ‘instrumental plural’, which occurs after an *aṅga* ending in *a* (*aT*), is replaced with *ais*. Consider *brāhmaṇabhisā* and *odanabhissitā* where *aT* is not the final of an *aṅga* and *bhis* of *bhissā* and *bhissitā* is not an affix with reference to which the term *aṅga* could be assigned. Both *brāhmaṇa* and *odana* cannot be termed an *aṅga* before *bhissā* and *bhissitā*. The preceding two examples focus on *bhis* as part of a compound. Now consider *he brāhmaṇa bhissā tatva vartate* where *bhis* is part of a nominal stem, i.e., *bhissā* which, in turn, is not a compound constituent. We also find that *bhis* occurs after *brāhmaṇa* which ends in *a*. But *brāhmaṇa* is not an *aṅga*. For, *bhis* is not an affix here. Incidentally, *bhissā*

means ‘rice’ and *bhissitā* means ‘burned’. Haradatta (*PM*) cites the form as *bhissadā* and glosses it as *dadhi* ‘yogurt’.

4. One cannot here argue that *aṅgasya* is not needed. A long replacement which may becomes applicable can be blocked by invoking the *paribhāṣā* (15): *arthavad grahaṇe nānarthakasya* ‘a specification applicable to something meaningful does not allow inclusion of something non-meaningful’. That is, this *paribhāṣā* will not permit a non-meaningful *bhis* to condition lengthening in *brāhmaṇabhissā* and *odanabhissitā*. Why do we need *aṅgasya*? Commentators emphasize that the domain of *aṅgasya* is specified for purposes of other operations. It also controls long replacements, etc., of 6.4.3 *nāmi* (*Kāś: aṅgādhikāraḥ kṛto* ‘*nyārthah*, *nāmi* *dīrghatvād api vyavasthāpayatīti tadartham arthavadgrahaṇaparibhāṣā nāśrayitaryā bhavati*). We must need *aṅgasya*.

The genitive of *aṅgasya* denotes ‘relations is general’ (*sambandha-sāmānya*). It is interpreted in particular senses of *sthāna* ‘in place of’ and *avayava* ‘part of a whole’, as context of rules may demand (*Kāś: aṅgasyeti sambandhasāmānye esā ṣaṣṭhī yathāyogam viśeṣu avatiṣṭhate*). Thus, the genitive of *hanterah* (6.4.36 *hanter jah*) is interpreted as *sthāna-ṣaṣṭhī* ‘in place of’. The same in 6.4.89 *ud upadhāyāḥ . . .* is interpreted as denoting ‘part of a whole’ (*avayava-ṣaṣṭhī*). The genitive of *yuvoh* (7.1.1 *yuvor anākau*) is similarly interpreted as denoting a relationship characterized as ‘condition-conditioned’ (*nimitta-nimitti*).

Commentarors also offer another proposal. They state that the stem notion (*prātipadikārtha*) of *aṅga*, with no meaning of genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*), is carried to all rules. This stem notion keeps adjusting with the denotation of ‘ablative’ (*pañcamī*) or genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*), as may be desired by the context of individual rules. This facilitates proper interpretation of rules with desired meanings.

5. Commentators outline the following rules whose operational provisions must meet the condition of *aṅgasya* as a domain heading:

- (i) 6.4.16 *ajjhaganagamāṁ sani*, whereby an *aṅga* which ends in *a*, or is constituted by *han* and *gam*, receives a long replacement before a *saN* affix beginning with a consonant denoted by *jhal*. Consider (*vi + saN*) + *LAT*) → *vivīṣati*, where iteration (*dvitva*) and operations relative to *abhyāsa* are accomplished after the long replacement of this rule. Such a long replacement cannot be availed by *dadhi sanoti* where *i* of *dadhi* is not a part of the *aṅga*. That is, *san* of *sanoti* is not an affix.
- (ii) 6.4.68 *vā' nyasya samyogādeḥ*, whereby an *aṅga* which is not termed *ghu* but begins with a conjunct and ends in an *ā*, receives an optional replacement in *e* when an *ārdhadhātuka* replacement of *LṄ* marked with *K* or *N* follows. Consider *gleyat* or *glāyat* where *ai* of *glai* is replaced with *ā* (6.1.45 *ādeca upadeśe . . .*). The *e* (*etva*) of this rule produces *gl(ā→e)yāt→gleyat*. This replacement is not pos-

sible in deriving *nirvāyāt* where *r* of *nir* is not a part of the *aṅga*. That is, the root is not conjunct-initial.

- (iii) 7.1.35 *tuhyos tātaṁ . . .*, whereby *tu* and *hi* are replaced, optionally, with *tātAN* when the denotatum is benediction (āśiṣi). We thus get *jīvatād bhavān/jīvatu bhavān* ‘may you live long’; *jīvatāt tvam/jīva tvam*. This replacement in *tātAN* cannot apply on *jīva tu tvam* because *jīva* is not an *aṅga* with reference to *tu*, an indeclinable particle.
- (iv) 6.4.77 *aciśnudhātubhruvāṁ . . .*, whereby the final *i* and *u* of some specified *aṅga* is, respectively, replaced with *iyAN* and *uvAN* before a vowel initial affix. Thus, we get *niyau/ niyah* and *luvau/ luvhā*, where these bases are derived with *KvIP*, and *i* and *ū* of *nī* and *lū* are replaced with *iyAN* and *uvAN*, respectively.
- (v) 7.1.54 *hrasvanadyāpo nuṁ*, whereby augment *nUT* is introduced to *ām* which, in turn, occurs after an *aṅga* ending, either in a short vowel or in a *nadī* word, or else, in a feminine affix with *āP*. Thus we get *agnīnāṁ, kumārīnāṁ* and *mālānāṁ*. We cannot get *nUT* in *kumārī ām* ity āha ‘the girl said “ām” (yes)’, because *kumārī* cannot be identified as an *aṅga* before *ām*, a non-affixal indeclinable.
- (vi) 7.4.13 *ke' ḷah*, whereby a vowel denoted by *aN* is replaced with its short counterpart before affix *ka*. We thus get (*kumār(i→i) + ka*) + *TāP→kumārikā + sU→kumārikā*. We cannot get this replacement in *kumārī kasmai spr̥hayati* ‘who does the girl love’ and *kumāryāḥ kam sukham* ‘what happiness does this girl have’, where *ka*, of *kasmai* and *kam*, is not an affix before which *kumārī* can be termed an *aṅga*. Besides, both *kumārī* and *kumāryāḥ* are already fully derived words.
- (vii) 7.4.48 *apo bhi*, whereby the *aṅga*-final *p* of *ap* is replaced with *t* when an affix beginning with *bh* follows. Thus, we get *a(p→t→d) + bhi(s→r→h)* = *adbhiḥ* and *adbhyāḥ*. Now consider the counter-example, i.e., *(a(p→b) + bhāṛḥ))→abbhāraḥ*, where this replacement cannot apply since *ap* is not an *aṅga*.

#### 6.4.2 हलः:

*halah*

/halah 5/1/

(*dīrgho' ḷah* #6.3.111 *samprasāraṇasya* #6.3.139 *aṅgasya* #1)  
*aṅgāvayavādd halo yad uttarāṁ samprasāraṇam tadantasyāṅgasya dīrgho bhavati*

The final sound of an *aṅga*, which terminates in a *Samprasāraṇa* vowel denoted by *aN* and occurs after a consonant contained within the *aṅga*, is replaced with its long counterpart.

## EXAMPLES:

*hūtah* ‘called, summoned’  
*jīnah* ‘subdued, conquered’  
*samvītah* ‘properly covered’

1. This rule offers a long replacement to an *aṅga* which ends in a *samprasāraṇa* vowel occurring after a consonant contained within it.

This rule can be interpreted in three ways as follows:

- (i) *hala uttarasya samprasāraṇāntasya aṅgasya dīrgho bhavati* ‘a long replacement applies to the final sound of an *aṅga* which ends in a *samprasāraṇa* vowel and occurs after a consonant’;
- (ii) *aṅgāvayavādād hala uttarasya samprasāraṇāntasya dīrgho bhavati* ‘long replacement applies to a *samprasāraṇa* vowel which occurs after a consonant contained within the *aṅga*’;
- (iii) *aṅgāvayavādād halo yad uttaram samprasāraṇāntasya dīrgho bhavati* ‘a long replacement applies to an *aṅga* which ends in a *samprasāraṇa* vowel occurring after a consonant contained within the *aṅga*’

The *Kāśikāvṛtti* accepts the third interpretation.

If the first interpretation is accepted, long replacement will apply to the *u* of (*nir-ve(N)* + (*K*)*ta*) + *sU* → *nirutam* and (*dur-ve(N* + (*K*)*ta*) + *sU* → *durutam*. Note that the *u* of *nir-u* + *tam* is a *samprasāraṇa* replacement of *ve*, via (*v* → *u*) *e* → *ue* → *u*, a single replacement of the vocalic sequence *u* + *e*, similar to the first of the sequence (6.1.108 *samprasāraṇāc ca*). Of course, the *aṅga* occurs after a consonant, namely *r*, the final of the preverb *nir*. The *r* of *dur* similarly precedes the *aṅga*, i.e., *u*, in *durutam*. Recall that *u* itself is a vowel termed *samprasāraṇa*. The lengthening of *u* and *i*, in *nirutam* and *durutam*, is, however, not desired (*aniṣṭa*). Accepting the first interpretation will yield wrong forms \**nirūtam* and \**dūrūtam*. For, we find an *aṅga* which, here, ends in a *samprasāraṇa* vowel and occurs after a consonant. Notice that, in this interpretation, the consonant is not considered part of the *aṅga*.

Accepting the second interpretation will also yield undesired results, especially in deriving *viddhah* and *vicitah*. This interpretation will provide lengthening in *viddhah*/ *vicitah* and yield undesired forms: \**viddhah* and \**vicitah*. Incidentally, we get *viddhah* and *vicitah* from (*vyadh* + *Kta*) + *sU*) and (*vyac* + *Kta*) + *sU*), where 6.1.16 *grahijyāvayivyadhiṣṭivici* . . . requires *samprasāraṇa* of *y*. The *v* of *vyadh* and *vyac* is saved from going through *samprasāraṇa* as a result of the negation of 6.1.36 *na samprasāraṇe samprasāraṇam*. Notice also that we have the *samprasāraṇa* vowel *i* occurring after a consonant (*v*) contained within the *aṅga*. It is to remove problems relative to the acceptance of the first two interpretations that *Kāśikā* accepts the third interpretation. But this interpretation cannot be gotten with just one use of the word

*aṅga*. For, a single *aṅgasya* can either qualify *hal*, or be used for specifying operational locus (*kārya-pratipatti*). A single use of *aṅgasya* can be accepted only as a qualifier to *halah*. We also need another *aṅgasya* so that its genitive (*sāsthi*) can be interpreted as denoting *sthāna-sāsthi* ‘in place of’ and can serve as a qualified (*viśeṣya*) to *samprasāraṇam*. We can then get the sense of ‘an *aṅga* ending in a *samprasāraṇa*’, via applying *tadantavidhi* ‘interpreting a specification as also that which ends in that’ to the qualifier *samprasāraṇa*. The first *aṅgasya* will be treated as a qualifier to *halah* where its genitive will be interpreted as denoting a relationship characterized as ‘part of a whole’ (*avayavāvayavi-sambandha*). If, on the other hand, *aṅgasya* is not used as a qualifier to *halah*, a long replacement cannot be made available to an *aṅga* which may end in a *samprasāraṇa* vowel and be followed by a consonant. *Kāśikā*, therefore, uses the word *aṅga* twice, by way of repetition (*āvṛtti*) of *aṅgasya* already made available. Thus, we get two phrases in the *vṛtti*: *aṅgāvayavādd halah* and *tadantasyāṅgasya dīrghah*. How can a single *aṅgasya* be used twice? Like a single pot used for feeding many not eating concurrently (*yathaikam bhājanam asahabhujām anekeśām bhujikriyāyām*). Thus,

*āvarttamānam vastu ekam apy anekasya śeṣatām/  
bhajate bhājanam yadvan nrñām asahabhojane/ /  
‘as a single thing serves as a remainder, like a pot, when used in turn  
for many not eating concurrently’*

Consider the following *ślokavārttika* which summarizes many of the interpretational problems discussed:

*nanv ekam aṅgagrahaṇam prakṛtam tadd halo yadi/  
viśeṣaṇam syāt kāryitvam aṅgasyela na labhyate/ /  
tataś ca viddham ity ādāv api dīrghah prasajyate/  
atha nirdiṣyate kāryī nāhalaḥ syād viśeṣaṇam/ /  
tato nirutam ity ādāv api dīrghatvam āpatet/  
sakṛc chrutasya caikasya yujyate nobhayārthatā/ /*

‘if *aṅgasya*, as given, is interpreted as a qualifier to *halah*, we cannot have *aṅgasya* to specify operational locus. This, in turn, will cause lengthening in *viddhama*, etc. If, on the other hand, *aṅgasya* is used to specify operational locus, it cannot be used to qualify *halah*. This will occasion lengthening in *nirutam*, etc. For, a single utterance (here, *aṅgasya*) cannot be associated with dual meanings’

In summary, *aṅgasya* is to be read again via repetition: once for making it a qualifier to *halah* and once again for specifying the operational locus (*Kāś*: *aṅgagrahaṇam āvartayitavyam*; *halviśeṣaṇārthatam*, *aṅgakāryapratipat�arthaṁ ca*).

Note that *aṇah* (6.3.111), *dīrghah* (6.3.111) and *samprasāraṇasya* (6.3.139) are all carried over. But how could *aṇah* be carried here when its *anuvṛtti* is already canceled by the incompatible *ik* of 6.3.123 *ikah kāse*. No problem.

Carry *iK* as a qualifier to *aN*, thereby yielding the meaning: an *añ* which is denoted by an *iK* (*a ig iti*). But qualifying *aN* with *iK* will create problems in applying rule 6.3.138 *cau*, where *aN* alone is desired to be carried. Consequently, lengthening cannot be accomplished in *avācā* and *svarācā*. In that case, just carry *aN* from 6.3.138 *cau*. Or else, bring *iK* by *madūkapluti* ‘frog’s leap’ process of *anuvṛtti*. Incidentally, *aN* is required because lengthening can apply only to a vowel denoted by *aN*.

#### 6.4.3 नामि

*nāmi*

/ *nāmi* 7/1/

(*dirghah* #6.3.111 *aṅgasya* #1)

*nāmi parato' ṛgasya dirgho bhavati*

The final short vowel of an *aṅga* is replaced with its long counterpart when *nām* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*agninām* ‘genitive plural of *agni*’

*vāyūnām* ‘genitive plural of *vāyu*’

*kartṛṇām* ‘genitive plural of *kartṛ*’

1. Note that *nām* of *nāmi* is interpreted as the genitive plural nominal ending *ām*, used with augment *nUT* (*sanuṭka; Kāś*: ‘*nām*’ ity etat *ṣaṣṭhībahuvacanam āgatanuṭkam grhyate*). This rule thus allows lengthening of an *aṅga* when *nām* follows. The *aN* of 6.3.111 *dhralope pūrvasya dīrgho*’ *ṇ* is not carried here. That is, lengthening can also apply to *r*.

2. A specification with *nUT* is made so that (i) *ām* is interpreted as *nām* and (ii) introduction of augment *nUT* is accomplished before a replacement in long. For, 7.1.54 *hrasvanadyāpo nuṭ* will introduce *nUT* under the condition of *hrasva* ‘short’, etc. Consider *agni + ām*, where, unless *ām* is specified as *nām*, long replacement of this rule will become applicable simultaneously with the introduction of *nUT*. Note that *nUT* is subsequent in order (*parah*), but *dirgha* ‘long replacement’ is obligatory (*nitya*). That is, it will apply whether *nUT* applies or not. Once the long replacement has taken effect, *nUT* cannot be introduced. For, the condition of *nUT*, i.e., *hrasva*, will be removed by a replacement in long (*dirgha*). Why can we not introduce *nUT* accepting *bhūtāpūrvagati* ‘existence of a short (*hrasva*) vowel prior to the application of a long (*dirgha*)’. If *nUT* does not apply after a long replacement has applied, specifying *nUT* with *hrasvasya* in rule 7.1.54 *hrasvanadyāpo nuṭ* will becomes vacuous (*vyratha*). That is, it will not have any scope of application (*niravakāśa*). It is, therefore, suggested that *nUT* be introduced even after the application of *dirgha* ‘long’. How? By accepting

*bhūtaपūrvagati* ‘existence of *hrasva* prior to the application of *dīrgha*’. This way, *nUT* can be accomplished without making its provision vacuous.

But this method of applying *nUT* is not valid. The provision of *nUT* cannot become vacuous because its application is seen, for example, in *tisṛṇām*, etc., where *dīrgha* ‘long’ is not available. It is thus clear that applying *nUT* simply because its provision will otherwise become vacuous is not acceptable. Also recall that 6.4.7 *nopadhāyāś* negates a long replacement to the penultimate sound of an *aṅga* when the *aṅga* ends in *n* (*nānta*). That is, *nUT* must be introduced before a long replacement is accomplished. For, in the absence of *nUT*, there will be a long replacement in *carman + ām* → \**carmāṇām*. A long replacement before *ām*, used with *nUT* (*sanuṭka; nām*), will not allow a long replacement in *carman + ām* = *carmaṇām*. It is, therefore, recommended that *nUT* be introduced first:

*nāmidīrgha āmi cet syāt kṛte dīrgha na nuḍ bhavet/*  
*vacanād yatra tan nāsti nopadhāyāś ca carmaṇām//*

‘if the long replacement provision of *nāmi* is accomplished when *ām* follows, *nUT* cannot be introduced after the long replacement. It is not proper to argue that *nUT* can be introduced at the strength of Pāṇini’s own statement (*ārambha-sāmarthyā*). For, *nUT* is not in any danger of becoming vacuous. This provision is also made there by the lengthening of *nopadhāyāś ca*’

#### 6.4.4 न तिसृचतस्

*na tisṛcatasṛ*

/ *na* φ *tisṛ-catasṛ* (6/2 deleted cf. 7.1.39 *supāṁ suluk . . . ; itar. dv.*) /

(*dīrghah* #6.3.111 *aṅgasya* #1 *nāmi* #3)

‘*tisṛ, catasṛ*’ *ity etayor nāmi dīrgho na bhavati*

The final short vowel of an *aṅga*, namely *tisṛ* and *catasṛ*, is not replaced with its long counterpart when *nām* follows.

EXAMPLES:

*tisṛṇām* ‘genitive plural of *tisṛ*’

*catasṛṇām* ‘genitive plural of *catasṛ*’

1. This rule disallows a long replacement when *nām* follows *tisṛ* and *catasṛ*.

Note that *tri* and *catur* are replaced with *tisṛ* and *catasṛ* in the feminine (7.2.99 *tricaturo . . .*). Thus, we get (*tri* → *tisṛ*) + *nām* = *tisṛṇām*. A long replacement for *r̥*, made available by the preceding rule, is negated here.

2. This rule is accepted as a *jñāpaka* ‘indicator’ for negating the long replacement of 6.4.2 *nāmi*. That is, given *tisṛ + ām*, *nUT* and *r* as a replacement for *r̥* (7.2.100 *aci ra r̥tah*), both become applicable simultaneously. If a replacement in *r̥*, based on 7.2.100 *aci ra r̥tah* being subsequent in order, is accomplished first, *tisṛ + ām* will not qualify to receive *nUT*. Consequently,

the question of a replacement in long does not arise. Why make a negative provision when a positive provision does not exist. But since Pāṇini still offers this negation, it must have some purpose. The purpose is to indicate that *nUT* is introduced first. That is, based on its status as a prior exception (*purastāpavāda*) to replacement in *r* (*repha*). Rule 6.4.2 *nāmi* can introduce a long replacement once augment *nUT* is introduced. Our present rule, however, negates this provision of replacement in long. It is for this reason that we state: *numciratrjavadvbhāvebhyo nūd bhavati pūrvavipratisēdhena* ‘... *nUT* is accomplished by conflict of equal strength where a prior rule wins’.

#### 6.4.5 छन्दस्युभयथा

*chandas y ubhayathā*

/ *chandasī* 7/1 *ubhyathā* 1/1 /

(*dīrgħah* #6.3.111 *aṅgasya* #1 *nāmi* #3 *tisr-catasṛ* #5)

*chandasī viśaye* ‘*tisr-catasṛ*’ *ity etayor nāmi parata ubhayathā dr̥syate*

The short final vowel of an *aṅga*, namely *tisr* and *catasṛ*, is both replaced, or not replaced, with its long counterpart in the Vedic when *nām* follows.

EXAMPLES:

*tisrñām madhyadine* ‘... mid-day’

*tisrñām madhyadine* ‘ibidem’

*catasrñām madhyadine* ‘... mid-day’

*catasrñām madhyadine* ‘ibidem’

1. This rule states that both, a long replacement (*dīrgħa*), or its absence (*dīrgħabħāva*), is witnessed in the Vedic usage. Thus, *tisrñām* and *tisrñām*; *catasrñām* and *catasrñām*.

#### 6.4.6 नृ च

*nṛ ca*

/ *nṛ* 1/1 *ca* φ

(*dīrgħah* #6.3.111 *aṅgasya* #1 *nāmi* #3 *chandas y ubhayathā* #5)

‘*nṛ*’ *ity etasya nāmi pare ubhayathā bhavati*

The short final vowel of an *aṅga*, namely *nṛ*, is both replaced, or not replaced, with its long counterpart in the Vedic when *nām* follows.

EXAMPLES:

*tvam nṛñām nṛpate* ‘O you, the king of men’

*tvam nṛñām nṛpate* ‘ibidem’

1. This provision of a long replacement, or its optional absence, is made in the Vedic where *nṛ* occurs followed by *nām*. Some do not carry here the

*anuvṛtti* of *chandasī* from the preceding rule. Consequently, this dual provision also becomes applicable to the classical usage (*bhāṣāyām*).

#### 6.4.7 नोपधायाः:

*nopadhāyāḥ*  
 / *na* φ *upadhāyāḥ* 6/1/  
 (*dīrghāḥ* #6.3.111 *aṅgasya* #1 *nāmi* #3)  
*nāntasyāṅgasyopadhyāyā nāmi parato dīrgho bhavati*

The penultimate short vowel of an *aṅga* which ends in *n* is replaced with its long counterpart when *nām* follows.

EXAMPLES:

*pañcānām* ‘genitive plural of *pañcan* (five)’  
*saptānām* ‘... *saptan* (seven)’  
*navānām* ‘... *navan* (nine)’  
*daśānām* ‘... *daśan* (ten)’

1. Note that provisions made prior to this rule deal with an *aṅga* which ends in a vowel (*ajanta*). This rule begins making provisions relative to an *aṅga* which does not end in a vowel (*anajanta*). A specification with *nah*, in the genitive, is made to indicate the nasal sound (*varṇa*) *n*. The interpretation of this specification of *nah* as *nāntasya* ‘that which ends in -*n*’ is based, as usual, on *tadantavidhi* ‘treating that by means of which a specification is made as referring also that which ends in that’. A mention of *upadhā* is made so that long replacement could not apply to an initial vowel (*ādyacah*).

This rule thus allows a long replacement for the *upadhā* ‘penultimate’ of an *aṅga* which ends in *n* and is followed by *nām*. Thus, *pañcan* + *nām* → *pañc(a→ā)n+nām* → *pañcā(n→φ)+nām*, where 8.2.7 *nalopah prātipadikāntasya* causes *n*-deletion in *pañcān*. Other examples involve similar rule applications.

Consider *caturnām*, as a counter-example to the condition of *nah*, where we find *nUT*, though *catur* does not end in *n*. A long replacement must, in this context, occur before *nām*. That is why, *carman* + *ām* → *carmanām*, cannot get the *a* of *carman* replaced with *ā*. Refer also to my notes under 6.4.2 *nāmi* for further details.

#### 6.4.8 सर्वनामस्थाने चासम्बुद्धौ

*sarvanāmasthāne cāsambuddhau*  
 / *sarvanāmasthāne* 7/1 *ca* φ *asambuddhau* 7/1 = *na sambuddhau* (*nañ*.) /  
 (*dīrghāḥ* #6.3.111 *aṅgasya* #1 *nāmi* #3 *nopadhāyāḥ* #7)  
*sarvanāmasthāne ca parato' sambuddhau nopadhāyā dīrgho bhavati*  
 The next to the last vowel of an *aṅga* which ends in *n* is replaced with

its long counterpart when a *sarvanāmsthāna* affix other than *sambuddhi* follows.

EXAMPLES:

*rājā* ‘nominative singular of *rājan* (king)’  
*rājānau* ‘... dual ...’  
*rājānah* ‘... plural ...’  
*rājānam* ‘accusative singular of ...’  
*rājānau* ‘... dual of ...’  
*sāmāni tiṣṭhanti* ‘the impartial ones are sitting’  
*sāmāni paśya* ‘look at the impartial ones’

1. This rule allows a long replacement to the penultimate short of an *aṅga* which ends in *n*, provided a non-*sambuddhi* nominal ending termed *sarvanāmsthāna* follows. Recall that 1.1.42 *śi* *sarvanāmsthānam* and 1.1.43 *sud anapumsakasya* assign the term *sarvanāmsthāna* to a set of nominal endings. Thus, *rājā/rājānau/rājānah*; *rājānam/rājānau*. Additionally, *sāmāni tiṣṭhanti* and *sāmāni paśya* where *Jas* and *Śas*, which occur after *sāman*, are replaced with *Śi* (7.1.20 *jaśsasoḥ śih*).

2. Note that *ca* is used here to attract *nopadhāyāḥ* (*Kāś cakārah nopadhāyāḥ ity anukarṣaṇārthaḥ*). But this should not be accepted, since *nopadhāyāḥ* carries beyond this rule. Besides, what is attracted by means of *ca* cannot be carried subsequently (*cānukr̥ṣṭam noṭtaratr̥abhisambadhyate*). In that case, consider *ca* as used for clarity (*asandehārtham*). Besides, absence of *ca* may lead to doubts whether the intended right context is that of *sambuddhi* or non-*sambuddhi*. But this could hardly be the problem. Pāṇini should have then formulated the rule as *asambuddhau sar-anāmsthāne*. It is therefore suggested that *ca* could have been used for stylistic variation (*vaicitryārtham*).

3. Because of the negation of *sarvanāmsthāna*, we cannot get a long replacement in *sāmani*, a locative (*saptamī*) singular. Similar negation applies to *he rājan!* and *he takṣan!*, both vocative (*sambuddhi*) singular forms.

#### 6.4.9 वा षपूर्वस्य निगमे

*vā sapūrvasya nigame*

/vā φ sapūrvasya 6/1 = ṣah pūrvo yasmāt (bv.), tasya; nigame 7/1/

(dīrghaḥ #6.3.111 *aṅgasya* #1 *nāmi* #3 *nopadhāyāḥ* #7 *sarvanāmsthāne* *asambuddhau* #8)

*ṣapūrvasyāco nopadhāyā nigamaviṣaye sarvanāmsthāne parato' sambuddhau vā dīrgho bhavati*

The next to the last vowel of an *aṅga* which ends in *n*, in the Vedic, is optionally replaced with its long counterpart when it occurs after *ṣ*, and a *sarvanāmsthāna* affix other than *sambuddhi* follows.

## EXAMPLES:

sá tákṣāṇam tishtantamabratvīt

*sa takṣāṇam . . .*

r̥bhukṣāṇamindram

*r̥bhukṣāṇamindram*

1. This rule makes yet another optional proposal for a replacement in long in the vedic (*nigama*). That is, the penultimate vowel of an *aṅga* which ends in *n* is replaced with its long counterpart when the same occurs after *s*. Of course, when the *aṅga* is followed by a non-*sambuddhi* nominal ending termed *sarvanāmasthāna*. Thus, consider the optional accusative singular forms of *takṣan*: *takṣāṇam* and *takṣāṇam*.

Note that the base is *takṣin*, a derivate of *inI* (5.2.115 *ata inithanau*) introduced after *takṣan*. The *a* of *takṣa* is deleted (6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*) and *i* of *inI* is replaced with *a* (7.4.86 *ito' t sarvanāmasthāne*). We can now derive *takṣāṇam* from *takṣan + am* with the application of optional long replacement. Of course, the *n* will be also replaced with *ṇ* (*ṇatva*). We will get *takṣāṇam* if this optional long replacement is not accomplished. This same applies to *r̥bhukṣāṇam* and *r̥bhukṣanam*.

## 6.4.10 सान्तमहतः संयोगस्य

*sānta mahataḥ samyogasya*

/sānta (6/1 deleted) *mahataḥ* 6/1 *samyogasya* 6/1/

(dīrghaḥ #6.3.111 *aṅgasya* #1 *nāmi* #3 *nopadhāyāḥ* #7 *sarvanāmasthāne* *asambuddhau* #8)

*sakārāntasya samyogasya yo nakāraḥ mahataś ca tasyopadhāyā dīrgho bhavati sarvanāmasthāne parato' sambuddhau*

The next to the last vowel of a *samyoga* ‘conjunct’ ending in *s*, or the penultimate vowel of *n* of *mahat*, is replaced with its long counterpart when a *sarvanāmasthāna* affix other than *sambuddhi* follows.

## EXAMPLES:

*śreyān* ‘masculine nominative singular of *śreyas* (meritorious)’

*śreyāṁsau* ‘. . . dual . . .’

*śreyāṁsah* ‘. . . plural . . .’

*mahān* ‘nominative singular of *mahat* (great)’

*mahāntau* ‘. . . dual . . .’

*mahāntah* ‘. . . plural . . .’

*śreyāṁsi* ‘neuter nominative plural of *śreyas*’

*yaśāṁsi* ‘. . . of *yaśas* (fame)’

*payāṁsi* ‘. . . of *payas* (milk)’

1. This rule allows a long replacement for a penultimate short vowel which

occurs as part of a conjunct ending in *-s*, or as part of *mahat* close to its *n*, provided a non-*sambuddhi* nominal ending termed *sarvanāmasthāna* follows.

Note that the *a* of *sa* in *sānta* is used for articulation (*uccāraṇārthah*). The word *sānta*, used with a deleted genitive (*luptaśaṣṭhīka*), is interpreted as: *sah anto yasya* ‘that whose final is *-s*’. That is, it is used as a qualifier to *samyogasya*. The *n* (*nakāra*) is then qualified by *samyoga*, in turn, qualified with *sānta*. The word *mahat* is also used as a qualifier to *-n*. The word *sarvanāmasthāne* which is carried from the *anuvṛtti* is then used as an immediately preceding (*avyavahita-pūrva*) qualifier to *sānta*, *samyoga* and *mahat*. This is how *Kāśikā* phrases its *vṛtti* as: *sakārāntasya samyogasya nakārah mahataś ca* ‘the *n* of a conjunct ending in *-s*, and that of *mahat* as well . . .’. Note that *Kāśikā* uses *tasya* of *tasyopadhāyāḥ* to relate *n* to *upadhā*. What is this relationship? This question arises since *upadhā* is defined as ‘that which occurs next to the last sound segment of a given form’ (1.1.65 *alo’ ntyāt pūrva upadhā*). All genitive usages in the wording of this rule are relational (*sambandha-sāmānya*). The genitive of *upadhāyāḥ* denotes *sāmīpya* ‘proximity’. There is no way (*gatyabhāvāt*) one can get this meaning of *upadhā* within the context of an *aṅga* ending in a conjunct with *s* at the end. Since an *a* which occurs prior to the *n* of a conjunct ending in *-s* is spoken of as the *upadhā* of *n*, this relationship can be characterized as that of *sāmīpya* ‘proximity’. That is, an *upadhā* which is proximate to *-n*. Of course, a broader genitive denoting *tadavayatva* ‘part of that’ in relation to the genitive of *aṅgasya* will always be there.

Refer to derivational details of *payāṃsi* and *yaśāṃsi* under the appendix of 1.1.47 *mid aco’ ntyāt paraḥ*. Recall that *śreyān*, *śreyāṃsau* and *śreyāṃsaḥ* are nominative singular, dual and plural forms of *śreyas*, a derivate of *praśasya*, where *praśasya* is replaced with *śra* (5.3.60 *praśasyasya śrah*) before affix *īyasUN* (5.3.57 *dvivacanavibhajoyopapade*). Augment *nUM* is further introduced to *śreyas + sU*, etc. A deletion of *ti* (6.4.155 *teh*) is blocked because of 6.4.163 *prakṛtyaikāc*. The *-s* of the nominative singular gets deleted by 6.1.68 *halnyābbhyo*. . . Given *śreyans + (sU→ϕ)* = *śreyans*, the final *-s* will be deleted (8.2.23 *samyogāntasya lopah*), and the *a* before *n* will be replaced with its long counterpart. We will thus get *śrey(a→ā)n(s→ϕ)*) = *śreyān*. Similar rules apply in deriving other forms of *śreyas*. Note, however, that *mahat* is treated as *ugit* ‘marked with a sound denoted by *uK* as an *it* (7.1.70 *ugid acām . . .*), and *mahān*, etc., are derived by treating it as ending in affix *ŚatR* (cf. *vt: vartamāne pṛṣan . . . ad 7.3.109 jasi ca*).

#### 6.4.11 असून्तुच्चस्वसृन्मुनेष्ट्वष्ट्क्षत्रहोतृपोतृप्रशास्तुणाम्

*aptrntrcsvasrnaptneṣṭrvastṛksatrhotṛpotṛprāśāstṛnām*  
*/ ap-tṛn-tṛc-svasṛ-naptṛ-neṣṭṛ-vastṛ-ksatr̥-potṛ-praśāstṛnām* 6/3 (itar. dv.),  
*tesām/*  
*(dīrghaḥ #6.3.111 aṅgasya #1 upadhāyāḥ #7 sarvanāmasthāne asambuddhau*  
*#8)*

The next to the last vowel of an *aṅga*, namely *ap* ‘water’, or of an *aṅga* which ends in affixes *trN* and *trC*, or else, an *aṅga* which is constituted by *svasṛ* ‘sister’, *naptr* ‘grand (daughter’s) son’, *neṣṭr* ‘priest’, *tvaṣṭr* ‘artisan’, *kṣattr* ‘charioteer’, *hotr* ‘the priest who reads invocation’, *potr* ‘priest performing ritual purification’ and *praśāstr* ‘one who presides’, is replaced with its long counterpart when a *sarvanāmasthāna* affix other than one termed *sambuddhi* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*āpah* ‘water’

*kartārau kaṭān* ‘those two whose nature it is to make mats’

*kartārau kaṭasya* ‘(the two) mat-makers’

*svasā/svasārau/svasārah* ‘nominative singular, dual and plural forms of *svasṛ* ‘sister’’

*naptā/ naptārau/ naptārah* ‘nominative singular, dual and plural forms of *naptr* ‘daughter’s son’’

*neṣṭā/ neṣṭārau/ neṣṭārah* ‘nominative singular, dual and plural of *neṣṭr* ‘one of the chief officiating priests at the Soma sacrifice’’

*tvaṣṭā/ tvaṣṭārau/ tvaṣṭārah* ‘nominative singular, dual and plural forms of *tvaṣṭr* ‘fashioner of the universe’’

*kṣattrā/ kṣattrārau/ kṣattrārah* ‘nominative singular’ dual and plural of *kṣattr* ‘door-keeper, charioteer’’

*hotā/ hotārau/ hotārah* ‘nominative singular, dual and plural of *hotr* ‘presiding priest’’

*potā/ potārau/ potārah* ‘nominative singular, dual and plural of *potr* ‘purifying priest’’

*praśāstā/ praśāstārau/ praśāstārah* ‘nominative singular, dual and plural forms of *praśāstr* ‘administrative priest’’

1. This rule allows a long replacement for the short *upadhā* ‘penultimate sound’ of an *aṅga* constituted by (i) *ap*, (ii) a form which ends in affixes *trN* and *trC*, (iii) *svasṛ*, (iv) *naptr*, (v) *neṣṭr*, (vi) *tvaṣṭr*, (vii) *kṣattr*, (viii) *hotr*, (ix) *potr*, and (x) *praśāstr*. Of course, when a non-*sambuddhi* nominal ending termed *sarvanāmasthāna* follows.

Why are *naptr*, etc., specified here when they can easily be covered by the specification of forms ending in *trC* and *trN*? It is stated that their separate specification is made so that a long replacement could be accomplished by accepting them as derived without any reference to affixes and subsequent operations. If, however, one accepts them as derived with reference to bases, affixes and operations relative to *trC* and *trN*, a separate specification is made for restricting long replacement only with reference to these cited forms. That is, nominals such as *pitṛ* and *mātṛ* which are not separately specified cannot avail this long replacement. We will thus get *pitarau/pitarah*; and *mātarau/mātarah*, with no long replacement in the *upadhā*.

Here again, this long replacement is negated by the condition of *asambuddhau*. That is, we do not get it in *he svasah* ‘O sister’ and *he kartah* ‘O doer’, etc. Refer to derivational details of examples with *tṛC* under rule 1.1.2 *ād gūṇah*. Derivates of *tṛN* share identical forms with those of *tṛC*. They, however, differ in accent.

#### 6.4.12 इन्हन्पूषार्यमानं शौ

*inhanpūṣāryamnām̄ śau*

/in-han-pūṣan-aryamnām̄ 6/3 (itar. dv.) śau 7/1/

(dīrghāḥ #6.3.111 aṅgasya #1 upadhāyāḥ #7)

‘in-han-pūṣan-aryaman’ ity eteśām aṅgānām̄ śau parataḥ upadhāyā dīrgho bhavati

The next to the last vowel of an *aṅga*, namely one which ends in *in*, *han*, *pūṣan* and *aryaman*, is replaced with its long counterpart when affix *Śi* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*bahudāñdīni* ‘a place where there are many shaft-bearing ascetics’

*bahucchatrīṇī* ‘a place where there are many umbrella-bearing students’

*bahuvṛtrahāṇī* ‘a place where there are many killers of brāhmaṇas’

*bahubhrūṇahāṇī* ‘a place where there are many killers of fetuses’

*bahupūṣāṇī* ‘many who offer nourishment’

*bahvaryamāṇī* ‘many who offer hospitality’

1. This rule allows a long replacement for the *upadhā* of an *aṅga* which ends in *iN*, *han*, *pūṣan* and *aryaman*, provided *Śi* follows. Note that *iN* is an affix and it cannot constitute an *aṅga* by itself. It is therefore interpreted via *tadantavidhi*, i.e., an *aṅga* ending in *iN*. This is also in consonance with the *paribhāṣā* (17): *aninas mangrahanāny arthavatā cānarthakena ca tadantavidhim prayojayanti*. There are other forms which can also not constitute an *aṅga* before *Śi*. Thus, *han* which is a derivate of *KvIP*. Since this *KvIP* (3.2.87 *brahmabhrūṇa* . . .) gets introduced under the condition of an *upapada* ‘conjoined *pada*’, namely *brahman*, etc., we cannot find *han* alone to constitute an *aṅga*. The last two, i.e., *pūṣan* and *aryaman*, are both masculine. They themselves cannot constitute an *aṅga* before *Śi* since it is a replacement of *Jas* and *Śas* (7.1.20 *jaśśasoh śih*) introduced after a neuter (*napuṁsaka*) base. One needs to interpret them via *tadantavidhi* ‘treating x as that which ends in x’. The examples are all *bahuṛīhi* compounds formed with *bahu*. Refer to *kundāni*, under 1.1.42 *śi sarvanāmasthānam*, for derivational details. Rule 8.4.2 *atkuṛvān* . . . will replace the *n* of *han* with *n̄* (*natva*). This *natva* ‘replacing n with n̄’, in *bahuvṛtrahāṇī* compound is, however, accomplished by 8.4.12 *ekāj uttarapade* . . .

2. Note that a long-vowel replacement could also be accomplished be-

fore a following Śi by 6.4.8 *sarvanāmsthāne cāsambuddhau*. But since Pāṇini still formulates this rule, we understand that it serves a restrictive purpose (*niyamārtha*). That is, it restricts this long replacement of *iN*, etc., only when Śi follows. Thus, we do not get this replacement in derivates such as *chattrināu*, *vṛtrahaṇāu*, *pūṣanāu* and *aryamanāu*, etc. A proposal for split-interpretation of this rule is also made in the *Mahābhāṣya* as follows:

(i) *inhanpūṣāryamnām* and (ii) *śau*.

The first split-rule will have the *anuvṛtti* of *sarvanāmsthāne* and will, thus, restrict long replacement only before affixes termed *sarvanāmsthāna*. The second split rule will only include *inhanpūṣāryamnām*, and thus, will restrict the desired replacement only before Śi. This way, and especially in view of the second split-rule, the locative singular of *bhrūṇahani* cannot get a long replacement, thereby to yield \**bhrūṇah(a→ā)ni*.

#### 6.4.13 सौ च

*sau ca*

/sau 7/1 ca φ/

(*dīrgahā* #6.3.111 *aṅgasya* #1 *upadhāyāḥ* #7 *asambuddhau* #8  
*inhanpūṣāryamnām* #12)

*sāv asambuddhau parata inhanpūṣāryamnām upadhāyā dīrgho bhavati*

The next to the last vowel of an *aṅga*, namely one which ends in *in*, *han*, *pūṣan* and *aryaman*, is replaced with its long counterpart when a *sU*, not termed *sambuddhi*, follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*danḍī* ‘nominative singular of *danḍin*’

*vṛtrahā* ‘nominative singular of *vṛtrahan*’

*pūṣā* ‘nominative singular of *pūṣan*’

*aryamā* ‘nominative singular of *aryaman*’

1. The *upadhā* of *iN*, *han*, *pūṣan* and *aryaman* gets replaced with its long counterpart also when a non-*sambuddhi* ending, namely *sU*, follows. Note that the restrictive nature of the preceding rule will not permit a long replacement before *sU*. The *ca* is here used for attracting *inhanpūṣāryamnām*. Thus, consider *danḍī*, etc. This long replacement will be blocked in case of *he danḍin*, where the nominal ending is termed *sambuddhi*.

#### 6.4.14 अत्वसन्तस्य चाधातोः

*atvasantasya cādhātoḥ*

/atv-as-antasya 6/1 = atuś ca aś ca (itar. dv.); atvasau ante yasya sa (bv. with int. dv.), tasya; ca φ adhātoḥ 6/1 = na dhātuḥ (nañ.), tasya/

(*dirghah* #6.3.111 *aṅgasya* #1 *upadhāyāḥ* #7 *asambuddhau* #8 *sau* #13)  
 ‘*atu, as*’ *ity evam antasya adhātor upadhāyāḥ sāv asambuddhau parato dīrgho bhavati*

The next to the last vowel of an *aṅga*, namely one which ends in *atU* and *as* but is not a verbal root, is replaced with its long counterpart when the non-*sambuddhi* ending *sU* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*bhavān* ‘nominative singular of *bhavat* (you)’

*kṛtavān* ‘made’

*gomān* ‘rich in cows’

*yavamān* ‘rich in barley’

*supayāḥ* ‘possessing good milk’

*suyaśāḥ* ‘having good fame’

*suśrotāḥ* ‘good listener; he who has good ears’

1. This rule allows a long replacement also for the *upadhā* of a non-*dhātu* form which ends in *atU* and *as*, provided a *sU* which is not a *sambuddhi* follows. Thus, consider *bhavān*, *gomān*, *supayāḥ* and *suyaśāḥ*, etc.

Note that *atU* refers to forms ending in affixes *DavatUP*, *KtavatU* and *matUP*, etc. A specification with *as* is made to refer to forms which end in *as*, i.e., *supayas* and *suyaśas*, etc., where it is not necessary for *as* to be also meaningful (*Kāś: anarthako' pi asaśabdo gṛhyate*; also the *Paribhāṣā* of Vyādi: *aninasmaṅgrahaṇān arthavatā cānarthakena ca tadantavidhim prayojayanti*). The word *anta*, in this rule, is used so that a reference with *atvas* can also refer to forms which may end in a part of *atvas*, i.e., *at* and *as*. If such an interpretation is not accepted, we cannot include forms ending in affix *matUP*.

We derive *bhavān* from *bhavat + sU*, where *bhavat* ends in affix *DavatUP* (*Unādi I:63: bhāter ḍavatup*). Refer to the appendix of 1.1.5 *kniti ca* for derivational details of forms derived with *KtavatU*. Examples such as *gomān* and *yavamān* derive from (*go + matUP*) + *sU* and (*yava + matUP*) + *sU* where penultimate lengthening (*upadhā-dīrgha*) and introduction of *nUM* at the strength of *UK* as an *it* (7.1.70 *ugid acām . . .*) are important operations. Now consider *supayas + sU* → *supayāḥ*, *suyaśas + sU* → *suyaśāḥ* and *suśrotas + sU* → *suśrotāḥ* which illustrate derivates of affix *asUN*.

2. A proposal is also made here to apply long replacement prior to the introduction of augment *nUM* (*Kāś: atra kṛte dīrghē numāgamah karttavyah*). For, if the rule which introduces *nUM* is applied first on the basis of its status as subsequent (*para*) and obligatory (*nitya*), the necessary condition for long replacement, i.e., *upadhā*, will be removed (*Kāś: yadi hi paratvān nityatvāc ca num syāt, dirghasya nimittam tūpadhā vihanyeta*). Thus, given (*kṛ + Ktavat*) + *sU*, we get *kṛtavān* where long replacement of the second *a* of *tavat* is accomplished before *nUM* (7.1.70 *ugidacām . . .*) is introduced. A decision to apply

*nUM* prior to the long replacement will produce *kṛtavant* where long replacement cannot be accomplished, due mainly to *n* which now constitutes the *upadhā*.

3. The negative condition of *adhātoḥ* is imposed so that *pindam grasate* = *pindagraḥ*, etc., could be blocked from receiving a long replacement. The condition of *asambuddhau* is still valid. Thus, we do not get a long replacement in *he goman* and *he supayah*, etc.

#### 6.4.15 अनुनासिकस्य क्रिज्ञलोः किंडति

*anunāsikasya kvijjhahloḥ kniti*

/ *anunāsikasya* 6/1 *kvi-jhaloh* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*) *kniti* 7/1 = *kaś ca ṇaś ca;*  
*knau itau yasya* (*bv. with int. dv.*) /

(*dirghah* #6.3.111 *aṅgasya* #1 *upadhāyāḥ* #7)

*anunāsikāntasya aṅgasya upadhāyāḥ dirgho bhavati kvipratyaye parato jhalādau ca kniti*

The next to the last vowel of an *aṅga*, namely one which ends in a nasal (*anunāsika*), is replaced with its long counterpart when affix *KvI*, or an affix beginning with a consonant denoted by *jhaL* ‘non-nasal consonant’ (Ss. 8–14) and marked with *K* or *Ṅ* as an *it*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

*praśān* ‘tranquil’

*pratān* ‘languid’

*śāntah* ‘calm, quiet’

*śāntavān* ‘ibidem’

*śāṁśāntah* ‘extremely tranquil’

*tantāntah* ‘extremely languid’

1. This rule allows a long replacement for the penultimate (*upadhā*) short vowel of an *aṅga* which ends in affix *KvI*, or in an affix beginning with a sound denoted by *jhaL* and marked with *K* and *Ṅ* as an *it*, follows. A reference with *KvI* is here made to affixes *KvIN* and *KvIP* which go through total (*sarvāpahārī*) deletion (*lopa*). Also note in this connection that *kniti* is here relatable only to *jhalādau*. It cannot be relatable to affix *KvIP*. For, a qualifier-qualified relationship obtains only when removability of a qualifier is possible (*sambhava-vyabhicāra*). Thus, one can find an affix which may begin with a *jhaL* sound and which may also be marked with *K* and *Ṅ* as an *it*. The *K* as an *it* in *KvI* is absolutely not separable. The question of whether or not *Ṅ* is separable does not arise.

2. Note that *praśān* and *pratān* are derived from *praśān + sU* and *pratān + sU*, where affix *KvIP* (3.2.76 *kvip ca*) is introduced after verbal roots *śamU* and *tamU*, used with the preverb *pra*. Their final *m* is changed to *n* (8.2.64 *mo no dhātoḥ*) after deletion of *KvIP* and the long replacement of the *upadhā*.

Deriving *sāntah* and *sāntavān*, from *śam + Kta* and *śam + KtavatU* where both involve affixes termed *nīsthā*, is no problem. The word *sānti* is a derivate of affix *KtiN*, introduced after *śam*. Refer to derivational details of *pāpāthiti* under the appendix of 2.4.74 *yano' ci ca*. Examples such as *śaṁśāntah* and *tantāntah* derive from (*śam + yaṄ*) + *LAT* → *śaṁśam + (LAT→tas)* and (*tam + yaṄ*) + *LAT* → *taṁtam + (LAT→tas)*, where affix *yaṄ* goes through deletion (*yaṅluk*) and affix *LAT* is replaced with *tas*. The *anusvāra* results from the *nUK* of 7.4.85 *nugato' nunāśikasya*. A long replacement of their *abhyāsa* (6.1.4 *pūrvo' bhyāsaḥ*) syllable is not accomplished, mainly due to the introduction of *nUK*. The long replacement of this rule applies before *tas*, a replacement of *LAT*.

3. The condition of *anunāśikasya* ‘of a nasal’ is imposed so that *odanapāk* ‘cooking of rice’, *pakvah* ‘cooked, ripe’, and *pakvavān* ‘cooked’ could be excluded from receiving a long replacement for the *upadhā* of their roots. Obviously, *pac* does not end in a nasal, though the condition of *kvijjhaloḥ* is satisfied. Now consider examples which must be excluded because of not meeting this condition. Thus, *gamyate* and *ramyate*, where the roots ends in a nasal but the affixes do not satisfy the condition of *kvijjhaloḥ*. The condition of *kniti* is similarly not satisfied by the *tr̥C*-derivates *gantā* and *rantā*. That is why they cannot be allowed long replacement for the short of the *upadhā* of *gam* ‘to go’ and *ram* ‘to sport’.

#### 6.4.16 अञ्जनगामा सनि

*ajjhanagamāṁ sani*

/ *ajjhanagamāṁ* 6/3 = *ac ca hanaś ca gam ca* = *ajj-han-gamah* (itar. dv.),  
*tesāṁ; sani* 7/1/

(*dīrghah* #6.3.111 *aṅgasya* #1 *jhalī* #15)

*ajantānāṁ aṅgānāṁ hanigamyōś ca sani jhalādau pare dīrgho bhavati*

The final sound of an *aṅga* which ends in *aC* ‘vowel’, or one which is constituted by *han* ‘to kill’ and *gam*, is replaced with its long counterpart when a *saN* affix beginning with *jhaL* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*cicīṣati* ‘desires to heap’

*tusṭuṣati* ‘desires to pray’

*cikīṛṣati* ‘desires to make’

*jihīṛṣati* ‘desires to carry’

*jīghāṁṣati* ‘desires to kill’

*adhijīgāṁṣate* ‘desires to go’

1. This rule allows a long replacement for the short vowel of an *aṅga* which ends in a vowel, or one which is constituted by *han* and *gam*, provided a *saN* affix beginning with a consonant denoted by *jhaL* (Śs. 8–14) follows.

The *gam* in this rule refers to the replacement of verbal root *iṄ* ‘to study’ (2.4.48 *iṅaś ca*). This is in consonance with a *vārttika* proposal made under this rule (*vt. gamer iṅādeśasyeti vaktavyam*). Refer to derivational details of *tuṣṭusati*, etc., under the appendix of 1.2.9 *iko jhal*. The *Mahābhāṣya* offers *samjigāṃsate* ‘he wishes to go with’, a *saN*-derivate of *samgam*, as a counter-example with no long replacement. We get *samajigāṃsat* in the Vedic where *iṄ* does not get replaced with *gam* but a long replacement is accomplished in view of 6.3.137 *anyeśām api dṛṣyate*. A proposal is also made to formulate this rule simply as *hanagamāṁ sani* ‘long replacement of the final sound of an *aṅga* when *saN* follows’. An *aṅga* which ends in a consonant will not come under this lengthening proposal since we talk about long replacements only in the context of a vowel. It will apply to *gam* on the basis of its status as a replacement of *iṄ*, ending in a vowel. This proposed formulation will rule out any need for the word *acah* in the wording of this rule. It will also rule out any need for the *vārttika* just mentioned.

Derivational details of *adhijigāṃsate*, where *gam* is a replacement of *iṄ*, can be found under the appendix of 2.4.48 *iṅaś ca*. Deriving *jighāṃsati* from *han* should pose no problem. Note, however, that the *h* occurring after the *abhyāsa* is replaced with *gh* (7.3.55 *abhyāsāc ca*).

#### 6.4.17 तनोतेर्विभाषा

*tanoter vibhāṣā*

/ *tanoteḥ* 6/1 *vibhāṣā* 1/1 /

(*dirghaḥ* #6.3.111 *aṅgasya* #1 *upadhāyāḥ* #7 *jhalī* #15 *sani* #16)

*tanoter aṅgasya sani jhalādau vibhāṣā dirgho bhavati*

The next to the last vowel of an *aṅga*, namely *tanU*, is optionally replaced with its long counterpart when a *saN* affix beginning with a consonant denoted by *jhalL* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*titāṃsati* ‘desires to extend’

*titāṃsati* ‘ibidem’

1. This rule allows an optional long replacement to an *aṅga* constituted by verbal root *tan* when a *saN* affix beginning with *jhalL* follows. Follow derivational details of *saN*-derivates already discussed. Note, however, that an optional *iT* augment is also made available to *tan* (*vt. ad* 7.2.49 *sanvantardha* . . .). There is no long replacement when the option of augment *iT* is accepted. For, there will not be a following affix beginning with *jhalL*. The derivate with this option of augment *iT* will be *titanāṣati*. We will thus get three forms: *titāṃsati* and *titāṃsati*, with optional long replacement, and *titanāṣati*, with optional augment *iT* and no long replacement.

### 6.4.18 क्रमश्च क्रित्वा

*kramaś ca ktvi*

/ *kramah* 6/1 *ca* φ *ktvi* 7/1 /

(*dīrghah* #6.3.111 *aṅgasya* #1 *upadhāyāḥ* #7 *jhalī* #15 *sani* #16 *vibhāṣā* #17)

*krama upadhayā vibhāṣā dīrgho bhavati ktvā pratyaye jhalādau parataḥ*

The next to the last vowel of an *aṅga*, namely *kramU* ‘stride’, is optionally replaced with its long counterpart when affix *Ktvā*, with a sound denoted by *jhaL* at the beginning, follows.

EXAMPLES:

*krantvā* ‘after having stridden’

*krāntvā* ‘ibidem’

*kramitvā* ‘ibidem’

*prakramya* ‘ibidem’

1. This rule allows an optional long replacement for the penultimate *a* of *kram* when the same occurs as an *aṅga* before affix *Ktvā* beginning with a sound denoted by *jhaL*. Thus, we get *krantvā* and *krāntvā*.

Why do we have to still retain *jhalādi* as a qualifier to *Ktvā*? So that no long replacement could be allowed when *Ktvā* receives augment *iT* (7.2.56 *udito vā*). That is, with *iT* as an augment, it will become vowel-initial (*ajādi*). We will thus get *kramitvā*, and no \**krāmitvā*.

Now consider *prakramya* and *upakramya* where *Ktvā* is replaced with *LyaP*. It is stated that *LyaP*, even though externally conditioned (*bahirāṅga*), is applied first blocking an internally conditioned operation (*antarāṅga*) such as this long replacement. Once *LyaP* blocks this internally conditioned long replacement, *Ktvā* no longer remains *jhalādi* ‘beginning with a sound denoted by *jhaL*’. It now begins with *y* of *LyaP*, a sound not included within *jhaL*. How do we know that an externally conditioned *LyaP* blocks the internally conditioned long replacement? It has been indicated by *Paribhāṣā* (55), ad 2.4.36 *ado jagdhīr . . . : antaraṅgān vidhīn bahirāṅgo lyab bādhate* ‘a replacement in *LyaP*, even though externally conditioned, blocks internally conditioned operations.

### 6.4.19 छवोः शूडनुनासिके

*chvoḥ śūḍ anunāsike ca*

/ *chvoḥ* 6/2 = *cchaś ca vaś ca* (itar. dv.), *tayoh*; *śūṭh* 1/1 = *śaś ca ūṭh ca* (sam. dv.); *ca* φ /

(*aṅgasya* #1 *kvijhaloḥ kniti* #15)

‘*cch, va'* ity *etayoh sthāne yathāsaṃkhyam* ‘ś, ūṭh’ ity *etāv ādeśau bhavato'* *nunāsikādau pratyaye parata kvau jhalādau ca kniti*

The *ch* and *v* of an *aṅga* are replaced with *s̄* and *ūTH*, respectively, when an affix beginning with a nasal, or one constituted by *KvI*, or one beginning with a *jhaL* and marked with *K* or *N* as an *it*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

*praśnah* ‘query, question iteration’  
*viśnah* ‘ibidem’  
*syonah* ‘auspicious, pleasant’  
*śabdaprāt* ‘he who asks about words’  
*govit* ‘procuring cows’  
*akṣadyūḥ* ‘gambling with dice’  
*hiranyaśthyūḥ*  
*prṣṭah*  
*prṣṭavān*  
*dyūtaḥ*  
*dyūtavān*  
*dyūtvā*

1. This rule allows *cch* (*tUK + ch*) and *v* of an *aṅga* to be replaced with *s̄* and *ūTH*, respectively, when what follows is (i) an affix beginning with a nasal; (ii) an affix constituted by *KvI* (*KvIP*, etc.), or (iii) an affix which begins with a sound denoted by *jhaL* and is marked with *K* or *N* as an *it*. Thus, we get *pracch + naN* → *pra(cch→s̄) + na(N)* = *praśna*, where *cch* includes augment *tUK* (6.1.73 *che ca*). Affix *naN* is, of course, introduced by 3.3.90 *yajāyācayata*. . . . We similarly derive *viśna* from *vicch naN* → *vi(cch→ū) na* = *viśna*.

We also get *siv + na→si(v→ūTH) + na→si(v→ū) + na* = *s(i→y) + ū + ona→sy + (ū→o) + na* = *syona + sU* = *syonah*, with the *Unādi* affix *na* (III.9). Note that augment *ūTH* (6.4.132 *vāha ūḥ*) is here introduced prior to the *guna* of 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukā*. . . . We will get a wrong form *\*s(i→e)v + na→se(v→ū) + na* = *\*seūna* if *guna* is applied before *ūTH*. We can apply *sandhi* of *s(i→y)* before *ū* because this replacement in *yaN* (*yanādēśa*) will be treated as internally conditioned (*antaraṅga*) against the *guna*, an externally conditioned (*bahiranga*) operation. Recall here that an operation relative to an *aṅga* (*āṅga*) is more powerful than another which has *varṇa* ‘sound-segments’ as its focus (PŚ (56): *varṇād āṅgaṇ baliyo bhavati*). But this *paribhāṣā* cannot be invoked here since its applicational conditions are different. For example, *yaN* is conditioned by *ūTH*; *guna* is conditioned by suffixes termed *ārdhadhātuka*. Augment *ūTH* is thus internally conditioned, as against *guna* which is externally conditioned. A replacement in *yaN* is then accomplished first since it depends on *varṇa* ‘sound’ as its condition.

The word *śabdam prcchati* = *śabdaprāt* derives from *śabda + am + pracch + (KvIP→∅)*, where *saṃprasāraṇa* is blocked and *a* of *pracch* goes through a long replacement (vt. *kvibvaciprachyāyatstu* . . . ; cf. 3.2.178 *anyebhyo’ pi*

*dr̥ṣyate*). Our present rule then applies to produce *śabdaapr̥*(*a*→*ā*) *cch*→*śabdaaprā*(*cch*→*ś*) = *śabdaaprāś*. This ś is then replaced with s of 8.2.36 *vraśca-bhrasj*. . . . We finally get *śabdaaprā*(*s*→*d*→*t*) = *śabdaprt̥*, through *s*→*d* (*jaśtva*; 8.2.39 *jhalāṁ jaśo' nte*) and *d*→*t* (*cartva*; 8.4.56 *vāvasāne*).

#### 6.4.20 ज्वरत्वरन्तिव्यविमवामुपथायाश्च

*jvaratvarasrivyavimavām upadhāyāś ca*  
*/jvar-tvar-srivy-avi-mavām* 6/3 (*itar. dv.*), *teṣām*; *upadhāyāḥ* 6/1 *ca φ/*  
*(aṅgasya #1 kvijhaloḥ kñiti #15 cchvoh anunāsike śūṭh #19)*  
*'jvara, tvara, srivi, ava, mava' ity esāṁ aṅgānāṁ vakārasya upadhāyāś ca*  
*sthāne 'ūṭh' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati kvau parato' munāsike jhalādau ca kñiti*  
 The *v* and next to the last vowel of an *aṅga*, namely *jvarA* ‘to be feverish’,  
*tvarA* ‘to hasten’, *srivI* ‘to become dry’, *avI* ‘to help, protect’ and *mavA*  
 ‘to move, go’, is replaced with *ūṭH* when an affix beginning with a  
 nasal, or one constituted by *KvI*, or else, one beginning with a *jhal*  
 and marked with *K* or *N* as an *it*, follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*jūh/jūrau/jūrah* ‘nominative singular, dual and plural forms of *jūr* ‘fever’  
*jūrttiḥ* ‘fever’  
*tūh/tūrau/tūrah* ‘nominative singular, dual and plural forms of *tūr* ‘hasteful’  
*tūrttiḥ* ‘haste’  
*srūh/sruvau/sruvah* ‘nominative singular, dual and plural forms of *srū* ‘dryness’  
*srūtah* ‘dry’  
*ūh/uvaau/uvaḥ* ‘nominative singular, dual and plural forms of *ū* ‘protector’  
*ūtiḥ* ‘protection’  
*mūh/muvau/muvah* ‘nominative singular, dual and plural of *mū* ‘mover’  
*mūtah* ‘. . . has moved’

1. This rule offers *ūṭH* as a replacement for *v*, and the penultimate vowel as well, of an *aṅga*, namely *jvara*, *tvara*, *srivi*, *ava* and *mava*, when an affix beginning with a nasal, or one constituted by *KvI*, or beginning with a *jhal* marked with *K* or *N* as an *it*, follows. Thus, we get *jvar* + *KvIP*→*j* (*va*→*ūṭH*) + *KvIP*→*jū* + (*KvIP*→*φ*)→*jū* + *sU*→*jūḥ*, *jūrau* and *jūrah*. We similarly get *tūh*, *tūrau* and *tūrah*. Derivates of *srivI*, *avI* and *mavA* will have their *iv* and *av* replaced with *ū*. Note that *srivI* also has a different reading as *śrivI*.

#### 6.4.21 राल्लोपः

*rāl lopah*

/rāt 5/1 lopah 1/1/

(aṅgasya #1 kuijhaloh kniti #15 cchvoh anunāsike śūṭh #19)

rephād uttarayayoś chvor lopo bhavati kvaū parato jhalādau kniti ca parataḥ  
A *cch* and *v* which occurs after *r* in an *anga* is replaced with *LOPA* when  
affix *KvI*, or an affix beginning with a *jhaL*, and marked with *K* or *N* as  
an *it*, follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

mūḥ/ murau/ murah ‘nominative singular, dual and plural of *mur* ‘swoon’’

mūrttah ‘formed, manifest’

hūḥ/ hurau/ hurah ‘nominative singular, dual and plural of *hur* ‘crooked’’

hūrṇah ‘deceived’

hūrttiḥ ‘deception’

tūḥ/ turau/ turah ‘nominative singular, dual and plural of *tur* ‘harm’’

tūrṇah ‘... has harmed’

tūrttiḥ ‘harm’

dhūḥ/ dhurau/ dhurah ‘nominative singular, dual and plural of *dhur*  
‘yoke’’

dhūrṇah ‘... has yoked’

dhūrttiḥ ‘yoke’

1. This rule offers deletion via *LOPA* of *cch* and *v* when *KvI* and other specified affixes follow. Thus, *mur* (*ch*→∅) + (*K*) *v* (*iP*)→*mur* + (*v*→∅)→*m*(*ū*→*uTH*)*r*= *mūr* ‘swoon’. We similarly get *hūr* from *hurchā*. Deletion applies only to *ch* since we do not get augment *tUK* here (*Kāś*: rāllope satukkasya chasyābhāvāt kevalo ghyate). Deletion of *v* is witnessed in *tur* and *dhur* from *truvī* and *dhurvī*.

#### 6.4.22 असिद्धवदत्राभात्

asiddhavad atrābhāt

/asiddhavat φ = na siddhah; asiddhena tulyam vartate = asiddhavat; atra φ  
ābhāt 5/1/

asiddhavad ity ayam adhikāro yad ita ūrdhvam anukramisyāma ā adhyāya-  
parisamāptes tad asiddhavad ity evam veditavyam

Operations with identical conditions are, from here to the extent of  
the domain of 6.1.129 *bhasya*, treated as if suspended (*asiddhavat*).

#### EXAMPLES:

edhi ‘second singular imperative active of *as*’

śadhi ‘second singular imperative of *śās* ‘instruct’’

āgahi ‘second singular imperative of *ā-gam*’

jahi ‘second singular imperative of *han* ‘to kill’’

1. The use of *vatUP* in *asiddhavat* clearly marks this rule as extensional (*ātidesika*) in nature. It renders the status of something accomplished (*siddha*) as if it was not (*asiddha*). The domain of this rule extends to the end of the seventh book (*adhyāya*; *ā saptamādhyāyaparisamāpteh*).

The phrase *ā bhāt* ‘up to *bha*’ (6.4.29 *bhasya*) is used to specify the context (*viśaya*) of this extensional suspension (*ātidesika-asiddhatva*). Note that the word *atra* ‘here’ is generally used in the sense of *asmin* ‘in here’. This general meaning will then refer to operations (*kārya*) stated within this domain of *bha* (*ābhīya*). But since accepting an accomplished operations as if not accomplished does not make any sense, a relatively more finer specification is needed. The word *atra* restricts the scope of such operations to rules contained within the domain ending with the last rule of 6.4.129 *bhasya* (*ābhīya*). But we still need some clarification. What operations within this domain of rules will be treated as *asiddha*? It is explained that an operation of this domain will be treated as *asiddha* if another operation of this domain is to be performed and if both operations share the same condition of application (*saṁāna-nimitta*; *Kāś. atreti samānāśrayapratipat�artham*).

Consider the derivation of *śādhi* ‘second person singular imperative active’ of *śās* ‘to instruct’ for illustration. We get *śās* + (*LOT*→*siP*)→*śās* + *ŚaP* + *siP*→*śās* + (*ŚaP*→∅) + *si*(*P*→∅)→*śās* + (*si*→*hi*) = *śās* + *hi*, where *hi* replaces *si* (3.4.87 *ser hy apic ca*), itself a replacement of *LOT*, and *ŚaP* goes through deletion by *LUK* (2.4.72 *adiprabṛhti* . . .). A replacement in *śā* is then ordered for *śās* before *hi* (6.4.35 *śā hau*) to produce *śā* + *hi*. It is at this stage that 6.4.101 *hujhalyo her dhiḥ* becomes applicable. But there is a problem. This replacement in *dhi* must come in place of *hi* when *hi* occurs after a sound denoted by *jhaL*. Recall that *śā*, by way of replacing *śās*, has removed *jhaL*, i.e., *s*, which occurred before *hi*. Since these replacements, i.e., *śā* and *dhi*, both are accomplished by rules contained within this domain, a *śā*-replacement can be treated as *asiddha* in accomplishing a replacement in *dhi*. That is, our string will still be *śās* + *hi*, as far as the application of 6.4.101 *hu jhalyo her dhiḥ* is concerned. Thus, we get (*śā*←*śās* + (*hi*→*dhi*)) = *śā* + *dhi* = *śādhi*. A similar situation is also involved in deriving *edhi* from (*as* + *LOT*→*siP*)→*as* + *si*, where *a* of *as* is deleted by 6.4.111 *śnasor allopah* and *sa* + *hi* gets its *s* replaced with *e* (6.4.119 *dhvasor eddhāv* . . .) to produce *e* + *hi*. Rule 6.4.101 *hujhalyo her dhiḥ* now applies to replace *hi* with *dhi*, with the understanding that *e* (*etva*) as a replacement is *asiddha*. Thus we get (*e*←*s* + (*hi*→*dhi*)) = *edhi*.

Now consider the derivation of *āgahi* and *jahi*, both second person singular imperative active forms of *ā-gam* and *han*, where *si* has replaced *LOT*, and *ŚaP* has again been deleted. Additionally, the *m* of *gam* has been deleted (6.4.37 *anudāttopadeśa* . . .), and *han* has been replaced with *ja* (6.4.36 *hanter jah*). Rule 6.4.105 *ato heḥ* then becomes applicable to *āga* + *hi* and *ja* + *hi* to delete *hi*. Note that this deletion is required after an *anga* (1.4.13 *yasmāt*

*pratyayavidhi . . .*) which ends in *a*. This rule application will produce undesired (*aniṣṭa*) forms: \**āga* and *ja*. The desired forms, i.e., *āgahi* and *jahi*, could be derived only if deletion of *m* (after *ga*) and replacement in *ja* (of *han*) is treated as *asiddha*. This *asiddhatva* will make the *āṅga* end in a consonant. That is, *hi* could then not be deleted. This is how we can get the desired forms *āgahi* and *jahi*.

The *Mahābhāṣya* discusses the purpose of establishing this *asiddha* section as follows:

- (i) to facilitate application of a rule characterized as general (*utsarga-lakṣaṇa-bhāvārtham*) and
- (ii) to negate the application of a rule characterized with a replacement (*ādēśalakṣaṇa-pratīṣedhārtham*).

The word *utsarga* in the first purpose refers to a general rule in relation to a particular which displaces it. By inference, this *utsarga*, in the present context, refers to a substituendum (*sthānī*) which is replaced by its corresponding replacement (*ādēśa*). An illustration of the first can be found in the derivation of *sādhī* and *edhī* where a replacement in *dhi* after *jhal* is facilitated. The second is illustrated by derivational details of *āgahi* and *jahi* where deletion by *LUK* is negated on the basis of *asiddhatva*.

2. Note that *ā(N)* of *ā bhāt* ‘up to *bha*’ is used in the sense of *maryādā* ‘exclusive and inclusive (*abhividhi*) limits’. That is why, *ā bhāt* can receive two interpretations: (i) ‘up to and excluding rules of the domain of *bha*’ and (ii) ‘up to and including rules of the domain of *bha*’. The first interpretation will make *asiddhatva* applicable only where rules listed prior to the domain of *bha* are involved. The second interpretation will make *asiddhatva* applicable to rules listed through the end of the domain of *bha* (6.4.129 *bhasya*). The second interpretation is accepted here.

It is clear that *ā bhāt* is used here to exactly identify the scope and extent of rules governed by the extensional provision of *asiddhavat*. If *asiddhavat*, as an *adhikāra*, was left without any clear specification of its scope, it could have also covered rules such as 7.1.1 *yuvor anākau*. If *asiddhavat* was given as an *adhikāra* without any clear indication of what *atra* means, it would create problems. Thus, 6.4.23 *śnān nalopāḥ* will then be interpreted as: *śnād uttarasya nakārasya lopo bhavati sa ca asiddhavad bhavati* ‘a *n* which occurs after *śnā* goes through deletion. It is, additionally, treated as if not accomplished’. The word *atra*, in this interpretation, will refer to rules contained within the reach of *asiddhavat* as an *adhikāra* ‘governing rule’. But since the extent of the domain of *asiddhavat* will then not be clear, this interpretation of *atra* will not be acceptable. We will thus get another interpretation. That, because of proximity of context, could only be recognized as *n*-deletion (*nalopa*). Thus, *atra* will give the full meaning of rule 6.4.23 as: ‘a *n* which occurs after *śnā* goes through deletion; and that deletion is treated as *asiddha* when

deletion of *n* is to be accomplished'. This interpretation will limit *asiddhatva* to contexts of identical operations. The fact is otherwise. That is, *asiddhatva* could apply also to contexts where two different operations are involved. However, they must both share similar conditions (*nimitta*). A clear specification of domain thus becomes desired also for correct interpretation of *atra*.

This specification of domain is needed so that, given *abhāji* 'he broke' and *rāgah* 'affection, coloring', *asiddhatva* does not apply to contexts of penultimate (*upadhā*) *vrddhi* of 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ*. Thus, *bhañj* 'to break' and *rañj* 'to color' which go through deletion of their nasal by 6.4.33 *bhañjeś ca ciṇi* and 6.4.26 *rañjeś ca*, respectively, do not get their deleted nasal treated as *asiddha* in the context of application of 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ*. For, 7.2.116 is not contained within this section generally known as *ābhīya*.

3. Why is *atra* 'here' used in this rule So that *samprasāraṇa* of *vas* could not be treated as *asiddha* when deletion of *ā* (*āl-lopa*), replacement in *yaṄ* (*yaṄādeśa*) and replacement in *unAṄ* is to be accomplished. For, *ā-lopa*, etc., are accomplished when *vas* follows, and a form ending in *vas* goes through *samprasāraṇa* before a nominal endign (*vibhakti*). Thus, the conditions of these two operations both are identical. Consider the derivation of *papuṣah*, *cicyuṣah* and *luluvuṣah*, as in *papuṣah paśya*, etc., where we get *papā + us*, *cici + us* and *lulu + us*, after *LIT* is replaced with *KvasU* (3.2.107 *kvasuś ca*) and *vas* goes through *samprasāraṇa* (6.4.77 *vasoḥ samprasāraṇam*). Since the condition of *samprasāraṇa* is different from those of the deletion of *ā* (6.4.64 *āto lopa iti ca*) in *papā*, *yaṄ*-replacement for the final *i* (6.4.82 *er anekāco'* *samyogapūrvasya*) of *cici*, and *uvaṄ*-replacement for *u* (6.4.77 *aci śnudhātubhruvāṁ*) of *lulu*, *samprasāraṇa* cannot be treated as *asiddha* in accomplishing them.

Recall that an externally conditioned (*bahirāṅga*) operation is treated as *asiddha* when an internally conditioned operation is to be accomplished (PŚ (51)). But since the validity of this *paribhāṣā* is established based upon application of rule 6.4.132 *vāḥ ūṭh*, it also becomes part of this *ābhīya* section. That is, the question of a conflict between an externally conditioned operation and one conditioned internally does not arise since *asiddhatva* can still cover it. That is, *samprasāraṇa*, etc., whose *asiddhatva* we are talking about, will not allow any conflict between *antaraṅga* and *bahirāṅga*. Rule 6.3.131 *vasoḥ samprasāraṇam* is also *ābhīya*. Hence, there is no conflict after the same becomes *asiddha*.

4. A *vārtika* proposal is made here to consider *vUK* and *yUT* as *asiddha* when *uvAṄ* and *yaṄ* are to be accomplished as replacements. Consider *babbūva/babbūvatuh* and *babbūvuh*, where *vUK* is introduced (6.4.88 *bhuvo yug . . .*). This *vUK* is treated as *asiddha* in accomplishing a replacement in *uvAṄ*. That is, a replacement in *uvAṄ* is not accomplished. Refer to derivational details of *babbūva* (II:429–30) under the appendix of rule 1.2.6

*indhibhavatibhyām ca.* Now consider *upadidiye*/*upadidiyire*, where we get *upadidi* + *e(S)* in the third singular middle from *upadi(N)* + (*LIT* → *ta* → *e(S)*). Rule 6.4.63 *dīnō yud aci kñiti* now offers augment *yUT* to derive *upadidiye*. This *yUT* is treated as *siddha* with reference to the application of 6.4.82 *er anekāco samyogapūrvasya*. This is what the *vārttika* offers. More generally, an *ābhīya* like this remains *siddha* in applying another *ābhīya*.

#### 6.4.23 इनान्नलोपः:

*śnān nalopah*

/ *śnāt* 5/1 *nalopah* = *na(kāra) sya lopah* (*śāś tat.*) /

*śnād iti śnam ayam utsṛṣṭam akāro grhyate, tata uttarasya nakārasya lopo bhavati*

A *n* which occurs after *Śna* is deleted by means of *LOPA*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*anakti* IIIrd sing. pres. indicative active of *añjU* ‘to show, protect, move, anoint’

*bhanakti* ‘... of *bhañj* ‘to split, break’

*hinasti* ‘... of *hisI* ‘to kill, strike, harm’

1. Note that *śnāt* here specifies *ŚnaM* with no *M* (*Kāś*: *śnād iti*: *śnam ayam utsṛṣṭamakāro grhyate*). This rule offers deletion of *n* which may occur after *Śna(M)*. We interpret *Śna* as *ŚnaM* (3.1.78 *rudhādibhyāḥ śnam*) since no other interpretation is possible. Refer to *viruṇaddhi* and *bhinatti* under the appendices of 1.1.47 *mid aco' ntyāt parah* and 3.1.78 *rudhādibhyāḥ śnam*, respectively, for derivational details of our current examples. Recall that augment *nUM* is introduced to *hisI* to derive *hins* (7.1.58 *idito num . . .*). Deriving *anakti*, *bhanakti* and *hinasti* from *a + (S)na(M) + nja + ti*, *bha + na + nj + ti* and *hi + na + nUM + s + ti* involves deletion of *n* occurring after *ŚnaM*. Note that *ŚnaM* is marked with *M* as an *it*. Consequently, it is introduced after the last vowel (1.1.47 *mid aco' ntyāt parah*) of the verb root.

2. Why is *Śna* specified here with an accompanying *S*? Consider *yajñānām* and *yatnānām*, which derive from *yajña + n(UT) + ām* and *yatna + n(UT) + ām*. Augment *n(UT)* is here introduced before the genitive plural nominal ending *ām*. Rule 7.3.102 *supi ca*, based on being *para* ‘subsequent’, orders a long replacement for the final *a* of *yajña* and *yatna* to produce *yajñānām* and *yatnānām*. If *Śna* was specified as *na*, instead, the long *ā* of *yajñā* and *yatnā* could still be treated as its short counterpart via *sthānivadbhāva* ‘treating a replacement as what it replaced’. This would then allow deletion of *n* by this rule. Recall that *yajña* and *yatna* are derivates of affix *naN* (3.3.90 *yajayācayata . . .*), introduced after verbal roots *yaj* and *yat*.

A question is raised as to why this deletion cannot apply in cases of *viśnānām* ‘genitive plural’ of *viśna* ‘splendor’ and *praśnānām* ‘genitive plural’ of *praśna*

'question', where *n* is found directly after *śna*. It is stated that *śna* of *viśna* and *praśna* is a *śna* derived with application of rules (*lākṣanika*). The *Śna* of this rule is a specifically enumerated element (*pratipadokta*). That is why, *Śna* alone should be accepted. It is also in consonance with the *Paribhāṣā* (PS: 114): *lakṣaṇaṃ pratipadoktayoh pratipadoktasyaiva grahaṇam* 'a specifically enumerated form should be accepted against one which is derived by a rule application'. A summary of this discussion is presented by the following *ślokavārtika*:

*nān nasyāyam vidheyo nanu lubaniditām  
 nanditā cāpi siddhyed  
 himser na prāptir evam kniti sati tathā  
 nandāmāno na siddhyet//  
 knin nāc cec cātha yatnād bahuvacanavidhau  
 dusyati sthānivativād  
 viśnānām lakṣaṇokta pratipadavacanāt  
 siddha evety adoṣah//*

#### 6.4.24 अनिदितां हल उपधाया: किञ्चति

*aniditām hala upadhāyāḥ kniti  
 /aniditām 6/3 = ikāra it yasya (bv.) = iditah; na iditah = aniditah (nañ.),  
 teśām; halah 6/1 upadhāyāḥ 6/1 kniti 6/1 = knau itau yasya (bv.), tasmin/  
 (aṅgasya #1 nalopah #23)  
 aniditām aṅgānām halantānām upadhāyā nakārasya lopto bhavati kniti  
 pratyaye parataḥ.*

The penultimate *n* of an *aṅga* which ends in a consonant and does not contain *i* as an *it* is deleted by means of *LOPA* when an affix marked with *K* or *N* as an *it* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*sraṣṭah  
 dhvastah  
 sraṣyate  
 dhvasyate  
 sañīsraṣyate  
 danīdhvasyate*

1. This rule allows deletion of a *n* which is penultimate in an *aṅga* and occurs before an affix marked with *K* and *N* as an *it*. Of course, when the *aṅga* ends in a consonant and is not marked with *I* as an *it* (*anidit*). We thus get *sraṣṭah* and *dhvastah* from (*sraṇsU+Kta*) + *sU* and (*dhvansU+Kta*) + *sU*, where the *aṅga* ends in *s* and is marked with *U* as an *it*. The penultimate *n* of these forms goes through deletion. Now consider *sraṣyate* and *dhvasyate* where

we introduce *yaK* to the same *aṅga* (3.1.67 *sārvadhātuke yak*) under the condition of *sārvadhātuke*. The signification condition of this *yaK* must be *bhāva* ‘root-sense’ or *karman* ‘object’. Refer to derivational details of *pāpacyate*, etc., under the appendix of 3.1.22 *dhātor ekāco*. . . . Similar rules apply in deriving *sanīśrasyate* and *danīdhvasyate*, both with roots derived with *yaṄ* denoting *paunahpunya* ‘over and over again’. Note that augment *nīK* is here introduced to the *abhyāsa* (6.1.4 *pūrvo bhāsah*) by 7.4.84 *nigvañcusransudhvansu*. . . .

2. Why should we have the condition of *aniditām*? So that *nandyate* and *nānandyate* could not avail this deletion of a penultimate *n*. Recall that the root here is *TUṇadI* ‘to be prosperous, happy’ and it is because of its *I* as an *it* that we get *nUM* (7.1.58 *idito num dhātoḥ*). There is no deletion of *n* since the root has *I* as an *it*. Deriving *nānandyate* from *na + nand + yaṄ + te* involves long replacement for the short of the *abhyāsa* (7.4.83 *dīrgho’ kitāḥ*).

The condition of *halanta* ‘ending in a consonant’ is imposed so that *n*-deletion could not be accomplished in *nīyate* and *nēnīyate* where the root is *nīṄ* ‘to lead’. Note that *nēnīyate* is also a derivate of *yaṄ* where a *guṇa*-replacement (7.4.82 *guṇo yaṇlukoh*) of the *abhyāsa* yields *ne* at the beginning.

Why is this deletion intended for the penultimate *n*? Consider *nahyate* and *nānahyate* where *nah* ‘to tie’ does not have any penultimate *n*. Consequently, there is no deletion. The condition of *kñiti* similarly blocks this deletion in *sraṇitā* and *dhvansitā*, both derivates of *trC* with augment *iT*.

3. A *vārttika* proposal is made for deletion of *n* of *laghI* and *kapI* where 7.1.58 *idito num dhātoḥ* introduces *nUM*. This deletion is made available under the condition of *upatāpa* ‘affliction’ and *śariravikāra* ‘body-product’ (*vt: laṅgikampyor upatāpaśāṇīravikārayor upasamkhyānam kartavyam*). Since these roots are both marked with *I* as an *it*, *n*-deletion was not available. Consider *vigalitāḥ* and *vikapitāḥ* as examples. Note that *upatāpa* here does not refer to *roga* ‘disease’. For, *śariravikāra* then would not make any sense. It here means *kṛcchraprāptiḥ* ‘obtaining with difficulty’. Elsewhere, derivates will be *vilingitāḥ* ‘afflicted’ and *vikampitāḥ* ‘shaken’, with no deletion.

Another *vārttika* proposal is made for deletion of *n* of *rañjI* ‘to color’ when *Ni* follows and the derivate denotes *mṛgaramāṇa* ‘sporting of deer’. Thus, *rajayati mṛgāṇ* ‘he who has the deer sport’. Yet another *vārttika* proposal is made for *n*-deletion when affix *GHinUN* (3.2.142 *samprānurudhā . . .*) follows *rañjI*. Thus, *rāgin* from *rañjI + GHinUN*, where *n*-deletion, penultimate *vṛddhi* and *kutva* (*j→g*) apply. It can also be derived via *nipātana*. An additional *vārttika* proposal accounts for deriving *rajaka* from *rañjI + (SvuN→aka)*, *rajana* from *rañjI + (LyuT→ana)* and *rajas* from *rañjI + asUN*, through deletion of *n*.

#### 6.4.25 दंशसञ्चस्वज्ञां शपि

*daṁśasañjasvañjāṁ śapi*  
*/daṁśa-sañja-svañjām 6/3 (itar. dv.); śapi 7/1/*

(*aṅgasya #1 nalopah #23 upadhāyāḥ #24*)

‘*damśa, sañja, svañja*’ ity eteṣām *aṅgānāṁ śapi parata upadhāyā nakārasya lopo bhavati*

The penultimate *n* of an *aṅga*, namely *damśa*, *sañja*, and *svañja*, is deleted by means of *LOPA* when affix *ŚaP* follows.

EXAMPLES:

*daśati*

*sajati*

*pariśvajate*

1. This rule allows deletion of *n* of a penultimate *aṅga*, namely *damśA*, *sañjA* and *svañjA*, when *ŚaP* follows. Thus, *daśati*, *sajati* and *pariśvajate*. The *s* of *svañj* is replaced with *ś* by 8.3.65 *upasargāt sunoti*. . . .

#### 6.4.26 रञ्जेश्च

*rañjeś ca*

/ *rañjeh* 5/1 *ca* φ /

(*aṅgasya #1 nalopah #23 upadhāyāḥ #24 śapi #25*)

*rañjeś ca śapi parata upadhāyā nakārasya lopo bhavati*

The penultimate *n* of an *aṅga*, namely *rañjI* ‘to color’, is also deleted by means of *LOPA* when affix *ŚaP* follows.

EXAMPLES:

*rajati* ‘third singular present active of *rañjI*’

*rajataḥ* ‘third dual . . .’

*rajanti* ‘third plural . . .’

1. This rule allows deletion of the penultimate *n* of an *aṅga*, namely *rañjI*, when *ŚaP* follows. Thus, we get ‘*rajati*, *rajataḥ* and *rajanti*’. Why was this rule not formulated jointly with the preceding? So that *rañjeh* alone could be carried to subsequent rules (*Kāś: pṛthag yogakaraṇam uttarārtham*). A joint formulation would have also required the following rule to carry the *anuvṛtti* of *damś* and *svañj*.

#### 6.4.27 घञि च भावकरणयोः

*ghañi ca bhāvakaṇayayoḥ*

/ *ghañi* 7/1 *ca* φ *bhāva-karaṇayoh* 7/2 (iter. dv.), *tasmin/*

(*aṅgasya #1 nalopah #23 upadhāyāḥ #24 rañjeh #26*)

*bhāvakaṇavācīnī ghañi parato rañjer upadhāyā nakārasya lopo bhavati*

The penultimate *n* of an *aṅga*, namely *rañjI*, is also deleted by means of *LOPA* when affix *GHaÑ* with the signification of *bhāva* ‘root-sense’ and *karaṇa* ‘most instrumental means’ follows.

EXAMPLES:

*āścaryo rāgah* ‘wonderful color’

*vicitro rāgah* ‘strange color’

*rajyate' neneti rāgah* ‘that by means of which something is colored’

1. This rule allows deletion of the penultimate *n* of *rañj* also when affix *GHaÑ* follows with the denotatum of *bhāva* ‘root-sense’ and *karana* ‘means; instrument’. Thus, *rāgah* ‘coloring’ and *rāgah* ‘that by means of which one colors’, respectively. Now consider *raṅgah* ‘that in which they color’ where no deletion of *n* can be allowed. For, the derivate here denotes *adhikaraṇa* (3.3.121 *halaś ca*). The *j* of *rañj* is replaced with *g* through *kutva* (7.3.52 *cajoh ku . . .*).

#### 6.4.28 स्यदो जवे

*syado javē*

/ *syadah* 5/1 *javē* 7/1 /

(*aṅgasya* #1 *nalopah* #23 *upadhāyāḥ* #24 *ghaṇi* #27)

*javē*’ *bhidheye* ‘*syadah*’ *iti ghaṇi niपātyate*

The word *syada* is derived, via *niपātana*, when affix *GHaÑ* follows and the signification is *java* ‘speed’.

EXAMPLES:

*gosyadah* ‘charge of a bull’

*aśvasyadah* ‘horse-speed’

1. This rule takes recourse to *niपātana* for deriving *syada* with affix *GHaÑ*. Of course, under the meaning condition of ‘speed’. It is via *niपātana* that *vṛddhi* is blocked and the penultimate *n* is deleted. Thus, *syanda* + *GHaÑ* = *syanda*, as in *gosyandah* and *aśvasyandah*. Note that a *vṛddhi* characterized with *iK* (*iglakṣanā*; 1.1.3 *iko guṇavṛddhī*) can be negated by 1.1.4 *na dhātu-lopa* . . ., mostly because of deletion of *n*. The *vṛddhi* which is blocked here is related to *upadhā* (*upadhālakṣanā*; 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ*). Thus, *niपātana* must be used for blocking *vṛddhi*.

#### 6.4.29 अवोदैषोदमप्रशथिमश्रथः:

*avodaidhodmapraśrathahimaśrathāḥ*

/ *avoda-edha-odma-praśratha-himaśrathāḥ* 1/3 (itar. dv.) /

(*aṅgasya* #1 *nalopah* #23 *ghaṇi* #27)

‘*avoda, edha, odma, praśratha, himaśratha*’ ity ete *niपātyante*

The word *avoda*, *edha*, *odma*, *praśratha* and *himaśratha* are derived, via *niपātana*, when affix *GHaÑ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

*avodah* ‘soaking’  
*edhah* ‘glowing’  
*odmah* ‘flowing’  
*praśrathah* ‘abandoning, rejoicing’  
*himaśrathah* ‘melting of snow’

1. This rule derives *avoda*, *edha*, *odma*, *praśratha* and *himaśratha*, again via *nipātana*. Here again *GHaÑ* forms the right context of derivation. Consider *ava + und + GHaÑ* → *ava + u(n→φ) da + a→av(a+u→o) d + a = avoda*, through *n*-deletion and *guna* of *undI* ‘to wet, be damp’. This *guna* cannot be negated by 1.1.4 *na dhātulopa* . . . because it comes in place of the *a* of *ava* and the *u* of the verb. This same is also applicable to *edha*, a derivate of *indhI* ‘to kindle, glow’. Yet another derivate of *undI* is *odma*, derived with the *Uṇādi* affix *maN*, through *guṇa*. Derivates of *śranth* ‘to release, let go’, i.e., *praśratha* and *himaśratha*, also involve *n*-deletion. Their *vṛddhi* is again blocked via *nipātana*.

#### 6.4.30 नाञ्चे: पूजायाम्

*nāñceḥ pūjāyām*  
*/ na φ añceḥ 6/1 pūjāyām 7/1*  
*(aṅgasya #1 nalopah #23 upadhāyāḥ #24)*  
*añceḥ pūjāyām arthe nakārasya lopo na bhavati*  
 The penultimate *n* of an *aṅga*, namely *añcl*, is not deleted by means of *LOPA* when the derivate denotes *pūjā* ‘respect’.

EXAMPLES:

*añcitā asya guravah* ‘revered (by him is) his teacher’  
*añcitam iva śiro vahati* ‘he is respectful; he carries his head in reverence’

1. This rule blocks deletion of *n* when derivates denote *pūjā* ‘praise, respect’. Consider *añcita* ‘respected’, of *añcitā asya guravah*, from *añc + Kla* (3.2.188 *matibuddhi* . . .) with augment *iÑ* (7.2.35 *añceḥ pūjāyām*). This negation of *n*-deletion goes against the positive provision of 6.4.24 *aniditām hala upadhāyāḥ*.

*Kāśikā* orders *udaktam* ‘drawn, taken out’, of *udaktam udakam kūpāt* ‘water fetched from the water-well’ as a counter-example. Deletion of *n* applies here since *pūjā* ‘respect’ is not the derivational meaning. The *iT* in *udakta* is here negated by 7.2.15 *yasya vibhāṣā*.

#### 6.4.31 किंत्र स्कंदिस्यन्दोः

*ktvi skandisyandoh*  
*/ ktvi 7/1 skandi-syandoh 6/2 (itar. dv.) /*

(*aṅgasya #1 nalopah #23 upadhāyāḥ #24 na #30*)

*ktvā pratyaye parataḥ ‘skanda, syanda’ ity etayor nakāralopo na bhavati*

The penultimate *n* of an *aṅga*, namely *skanda* ‘to leap’ and *syanda* ‘to move (with speed)’, is not deleted by means of *LOPA* when affix *Ktvā* follows

EXAMPLES:

*skantvā* ‘having leaped over . . .’

*syantvā* ‘having moved over . . .’

*syanditvā* ‘ibidem’

1. Note that this negation of *n*-deletion of *skand* and *syand* is made against positive provisions of 6.4.24 *aniditāṁ hala*. . . . Since *syandU* is marked with *U* as an *it*, we also get optional *iT* (7.2.44 *svaratisūti* . . .). That is, we will get *syanditvā*, optionally with *syantvā*. Recall that *syanditvā* will automatically avail non-deletion of *n* at the strength of negation of *KiT*-status of *Ktvā* (1.2.18 *na ktvā set*). A specification with *ktvi* demands that *Ktvā* follows *syand* immediately. An optional introduction of augment *iT* after *syandU* will impair this condition. That is why, the negation of *n*-deletion in case of *syanditvā* is accomplished based on non-*KiT* status of 1.2.18 *na ktvā set*. This rule does not do anything in saving *n* from deletion, especially when *iT* is introduced. Besides, the positive provision of *n*-deletion (cf. 6.4.24 *aniditāṁ hala* . . .) applies only when an affix marked with *K* or *N* as an *it* follows. Verbal root *skandI* does not have any *iT* made available. It also does not have its *n* deleted by 6.4.24 *aniditāṁ hala* . . ., especially because it is marked with *I* as an *it*. Our present rule thus saves *n* of *skandI* from deletion, as it does in case of the non-*iT* option of *syandU*. The *d* of *skand* will go through a replacement in *t* (*cartva*; 8.4.54 *khari ca*). One of the two resultant *t* sounds will be deleted by 8.4.64 *jharo jhari savarne*. Thus, *skand + Ktvā → skan(d→t) + tvā → shan(t→∅) + tvā = skantvā*. This same applies to *syantvā*.

#### 6.4.32 जान्तनशां विभाषा

*jāntanaśāṁ vibhāṣā*

/ *jāntanaśāṁ 6/3 vibhāṣā 1/1/*

(*aṅgasya #1 nalopah #23 upadhāyāḥ #24 na #30 ktvi #31*)

*jāntānāṁ aṅgānāṁ naśeś ca ktvāpratyaye parato vibhāṣa nakāralopo na bhavati*

The penultimate *n* of an *aṅga*, namely one which ends in *j*, and also the *n* of *naś* ‘to perish’, is optionally not deleted by means of *LOPA* when affix *Ktvā* follows.

EXAMPLES:

*rāṅktvā* ‘having colored’

*raktvā* ‘ibidem’  
*bhanktvā* ‘having split, broken’  
*bhaktvā* ‘ibidem’  
*naṣtvā* ‘having destroyed’  
*namṣtvā* ‘ibidem’  
*naśtvā* ‘ibidem’

1. This rule negates deletion of *n*, optionally, when an *aṅga* ends in *n*, or else, is constituted by *naś*. Consider *raṅktvā* and *raktvā*; *bhanktvā* and *bhaktvā*, the two sets of forms of *rañj* ‘to color’ and *bhañj* ‘to break, shatter’. Note that *j→g* and *g→k* are accomplished by 8.2.30 *coh kuḥ* and 8.4.54 *khari ca*, respectively. The nasal of *rañj + tvā*, when not deleted, is replaced with *n* (8.4.54 *anusvārasya yayi parasavaraḥ*), via *ṇ* (*anusvāra*; 8.3.24 *naś cāpadāntasya . . .*). This optional deletion of *n* will yield two forms of *naś* ‘to disappear, be destroyed’: *naṣtvā* and *namṣtvā*. A third form, i.e., *naśtvā*, will be gotten with optional *iT̄*. Recall that the *n* which optionally goes through deletion here is the *n* of *nUM* (7.1.60 *naśjer naśor jhalī*). The *s* then goes through a replacement in *s* (8.2.36 *vraścabhrasj . . .*). The *t* of *Ktvā* must then go through a replacement in *t̄* (*stutva*; 8.4.4 *ṣṭunā ṣtuh*).

2. Note that a specification made with a sound automatically invokes *tadantavidhi* ‘a specification made with *x* also refers to that which ends in *x*’. That is, *j* alone should be enough to get the meaning of *jānta* ‘that which ends in *j*’. Why use *anta*? Commentators explain that *anta* is used for clarity (*vispaṣṭārtham*).

### 6.4.33 भञ्जेत्वा चिणि

*bhañjeś ca ciṇi*  
*/ bhañjeh 6/1 ca φ ciṇi 7/1/*  
*(arjasya #1 nalopah #23 upadhāyāḥ #24 vibhāṣā #32)*  
*bhañjeś ca ciṇi parato vibhāṣā nakāralopo bhavati*

The penultimate *n* of an *aṅga*, namely *bhañjI*, is optionally deleted by means of *LOPA* when affix *CiN* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*abhāji* ‘it was broken (into pieces)’  
*abhañji* ‘ibidem’

1. This rule offers optional deletion of *n* of *bhañjI* when *CiN* (3.1.66 *ciṇ bhāvakarmaṇoh*) follows. Recall that *CiN* is an affix not marked with *Kor N* as an *it*. Consequently, it could not condition *n*-deletion. This deletion can thus be characterized as an option which is not made available (*aprāpti*). Refer to derivational details of examples under 3.4.66 *ciṇ bhāvakarmaṇoh*. The penultimate *vṛddhi* of 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ* will apply in deriving *abhāji*.

A non-deletion of *n* will block this *vrddhi* to produce *abhañji*. Incidentally, the third singular middle verbal ending *ta* will be deleted by 6.4.104 *cin̄o luk*. Refer to *akāri* (III:724–25) under the appendix of 3.1.66 *cin̄ bhāvakarmanoḥ* for derivational details.

#### 6.4.34 शास इदङ्गलोः:

*śāsa id añhaloh*

*śāsah* 6/1 *it* 1/1 *añ-haloḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*) /

(*aṅgasya* #1 *upadhāyāḥ* #24)

*śāsa upadhāyā ikāra ādeśo bhavati ani parato halādau ca kniti*

The penultimate sound segment of an *aṅga*, namely *śās*, is replaced with *i* when *aṄ*, or an affix which begins with a consonant (*haL*) and is marked with *K* or *Ṅ* as an *it*, follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*anvaśīsat* ‘third singular active *LUN* form of *śās* ‘instruct’ used with the preverb *anu*’

*anvaśīsatāṁ* ‘third dual . . .’

*anvaśīśān* ‘third plural’

*śiṣṭah* ‘derivate of *Kta*; instructed; taught’

*śiṣṭavān* ‘derivate of *KtavatU*; ibidem’

*āvāṁ śiṣvah* ‘first dual active *LAṬ* form of *śās*’

*vayāṁ śiṣmah* ‘first plural . . .’

1. This rule allows the *upadhā* of an *aṅga* constituted by *śās* to be replaced with *i* when either *aṄ*, or a consonant-initial affix marked with *K* and *Ṅ* as an *it*, follows. Consider *anvaśīsat*, a third singular active derivate of *LUN* introduced after verbal root *śās* used with the preverb *anu*. At the stage when the string is: *anu + (aṄ + śās + CLi + ti)*, *aṄ* comes as a replacement of *CLI* (3.1.56 *śartisāstyartibhyaś ca*). The *s* of *śis*, after the penultimate *ā* is replaced with *i*, is replaced with *s* (8.3.60 *śāsivasaighasīnāṁ ca*). Refer to derivational details of *āsiṣat*, under the appendix of 3.1.56 *sartisāstyartibhyaś ca*, for deriving *anvaśīsat*, etc., where *śās* is used with the preverb *anu*. Derivational details of *niṣṭhā* (1.1.26 *ktaktavatū niṣṭhā*), i.e., *śiṣṭah* and *śiṣṭavān*, can be found under *mṛṣṭah* and *mṛṣṭavān* (appendix, vol. II under 1.1.5 *kniti ca*). Note that *śiṣvah* and *śiṣmah* are derives of *śās + (LAṬ→vas)* ‘first person dual active present’ and *śās + (LAṄ?→mas)* ‘first plural active present’, which both begin with a consonant. Additionally, 1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit* accepts them as marked with *n* as an *it*. All these examples involve a replacement in *i* for the penultimate (*upadhā*) sound of *śās*. Their *sis* is replaced with *s* (8.3.60 *śāsivasaighasīnāṁ ca*) after *ā* is replaced with *i* (*itva*).

2. Note that *śās* is here intended as referring to *śāsU*, used with the signification of *anuśiṣṭi* ‘instruction, command’. This is the root that allows *CLI* to

be replaced with *aṄ* (3.1.56 *sartisāstyarttibhyaś ca*). A specification with *sās* thus does not refer here to *sāsU* ‘to wish’. Consider *āśāste* and *āśāsyamānah* where *ā* is not replaced with *i*, even when a consonant-initial affix marked with *K* and *N* as *it follows*. *Nyāsa* states that a single root *sās* is here interpreted as one which is used with the preverb *anu* and allows active (*parasmaipada*) endings. This is in consonance with its association with *sr* (*sartī*) and *r* (*arti*) of 3.1.56 *sartisāstyarttibhyaś ca*, further qualified with the introduction of *aṄ* for *CLI*. Verbal root *sās*, when used with the preverb *āṄ*, denotes *icchā* ‘desire’ and allows only middle (*ātmanepada*) endings.

3. A *vārttika* proposal is made, however, to allow a replacement in *i* for the *ā* of *sāsU* ‘to wish’ when affix *KvIP* follows. Thus, consider *āśih*, *āśisau* and *āśisah*, the nominative singular, dual and plural forms of *āśis*. These examples can also be derived via *nipātana* (8.2.104 *kṣiyāśihpraiṣeṣu tīnākāṅkṣam*). That is, if *itva* is not accomplished under the *vārttika* proposal.

#### 6.4.35 शा हौ

*sā hau*

/sā 1/1 hau 7/1/

(*āṅgasya* #1 *sāsah* #34)

*sāsō hau parataḥ ‘śā’ ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*

An *āṅga*, namely *sās*, is replaced with *śā* when affix *hi* follows.

EXAMPLES:

*anuśādhi* ‘please instruct’

*praśādhi* ‘please instruct well’

1. This rule does not carry the *anuvṛtti* of *upadhāyāḥ* ‘in place of the penultimate’ and *kniti* ‘when an affix marked with *K* and *N* as an *it follows*’. The genitive (*sāsthī*) of *sāsah* is thus interpreted as meaning ‘in place of (*sthāne*)’. Dropping the *anuvṛtti* of *kniti* facilitates *i*-replacement, even when 3.4.84 *vā chandasi* extends, to *hi*, the status of being marked with *P* as an *it* (*pit*). The word *śādhi* is also seen as marked with *udātta* at the beginning. Refer to derivational details of *śādhi*, here used with *anu* and *pra*, under notes of 6.4.22 *asiddhavad atrā’ bhāt*.

#### 6.4.36 हन्तेर्जः

*hanter jaḥ*

/hanteḥ 6/1 jaḥ 1/1/

(*āṅgasya* #1 *hau* #35)

*hanter dhātor ‘ja’ ity ayam ādeśo bhavati hau parataḥ*

An *āṅga*, namely verbal root *han*, is replaced with *ja* when affix *hi* follows.

EXAMPLES:

*jahi śatrūn* ‘kill enemies’

1. This rule allows *han* to be replaced with *ja* when the same occurs before *hi*. Thus, *han* + (*LOT*→*siP*→*hi*)→(*han*→*ja*) + *hi*→*jahi*. Thus, we get *jahi śatrūn* ‘kill enemies’. Refer to derivational details of *jahi* under notes of 6.4.22 *asiddhavad atrā bhāt*.

#### 6.4.37 अनुदातोपदेशवनतितनोत्यादीनामनुनासिकलोपो झालि किणति

*anudāttopadeśavanatitanotyādīnām anunāsikalopo jhali kniti*  
*/ anudāttopadesa-vanati-tanoty-ādīnām 6/3 = anudāttas ca te upadeśas ca =*  
*anudāttopadesāḥ (karmadhāraya); tanotir ādir yeṣām (bv.); anudāttopadesāś*  
*ca vanatiś ca tanotyādayaś ca (itar. dv.), teṣām; anunāsika (6/1 deleted);*  
*lopaḥ 1/1 jhali 7/1 kniti 7/1/*  
*anudāttopadesānām aṅgānām vanates tanotyādīnām cānunāsikalopo bhavati*  
*kniti pratyaye parataḥ*

The nasal of an *aṅga*, namely that which is marked with *anudātta* in *upadeśa*, or one which ends in a nasal, or else, is constituted by *vanA* ‘to like’ and *tanU* ‘to extend’, etc., is deleted by means of *LOPA*, when an affix beginning with a *jhaL* and marked with *K* or *N̄* as an *it* follows.

EXAMPLES:

*yatvā* ‘having stopped, waited on’  
*yataḥ* ‘stopped’  
*yatavān* ‘ibidem’  
*yatiḥ* ‘stopping’  
*ratvā* ‘having sported’  
*rataḥ* ‘sported’  
*ratavān* ‘ibidem’  
*ratiḥ* ‘sporting’  
*vatiḥ* ‘liking’  
*tataḥ* ‘extended’  
*tatavān* ‘ibidem’  
*kṣataḥ* ‘wounded, wound’  
*kṣatavān* ‘wounded’

1. This rule specifies contexts under which the nasal of an *aṅga* will be subject to deletion via *LOPA*. Thus, we get *ya(m(U) + Ktvā→ya(m→∅) + (K)tvā = yatvā*. We similarly get *(yamU + (K)ta) + sU = yataḥ*, *(yamU + (K)tavat(U)) + sU = yatvān* and *yam(U) + (K)ti(N)) + sU = yatiḥ*. This deletion also facilitates similar forms of verbal roots *vanU* and *tanU*. Thus, *van(A) + (K)ti(N) = vati + sU = vatiḥ*. A form of *vanU* with affix *KtiC* does not go through deletion of its nasal because of negation of 6.4.39 *na ktici dīrghasya*.

Elsewhere, since we get augment *iT* before affixes beginning with a sound denoted by *jhaL* and marked with *K* and *N̄* as an *it*, this deletion does not apply. Forms of *tanU* are: *tan(U)* + *Kta*→*tata* + *sU* = *tataḥ* and *tatavān* with *KtavatU*. Verbal root *kṣaṇU* will similarly get *kṣataḥ*, and *kṣatavān*. We will similarly get *ṛtaḥ*; *ṛtavān* and *ghṛtaḥ*; *ghṛtavān* from verbal roots *mU* ‘to go, move’ and *ghṛmU* ‘to glow’, respectively. Verbal root *vanA* will yield *vataḥ* and *vatavān*. Note, however, that *n* of *san* will be offered a replacement in *ā* (*ātva*). Verbal roots *yam*, *ram*, *nam*, *gam*; and *han* and *man* are considered *anudāttopadeśa*. Their *m* and *n* is thus subject to deletion.

Now some examples of roots where a *jhaL*-initial affix marked with *N̄* follows. Consider *tanU + LUN̄*, where *LUN̄* gets replaced with third and second personal middle endings to yield: *aT + tan + ta* and *aT + tan + thās*. Note here that *ta* and *thās* (3.4.78 *tiptasjhi* . . .) are marked with *N̄* as an *it* on account of 1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit* (3.4.113 *tinisit sārvadhātukam*). Thus, we get *atataḥ* and *atathāḥ*.

2. Why do we have the condition of *anudāttopadeśa*, etc.? Consider *śāntah*, *śāntavān*; *tāntah*, *tāntavān*; and *dāntah*, *dāntavān* where we do not get this deletion. Note that only four roots which end in *m*, i.e., *yam*, *ram*, *nam* and *gam*, are considered *anudāttopadeśa*.

Why do we have the deletion of a nasal (*anunāsika*)? Consider *pakvah* ‘cooked, ripe’ and *pakvavān* ‘ibidem’ where we do not have any nasal. Why do we have the condition of an affix beginning with a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *jhal*? Consider *gam + yaK + te = gamyate* ‘. . . is gone to’ and *ram + yaK + te = ramyate* ‘. . . sports’ where, in the absence of a *jhaL*-initial suffix we do not get the deletion of *m*.

Why the condition of *kniti* ‘. . . marked with *K* and *N̄*? Consider (*yam + tṛC*) + *sU* = *yantā* where *tṛC* is not marked with *K* or *N̄*. Consequently, we do not get the deletion of *m*. We similarly get non-deletion of *m* in *yantavyam*, a derivative of *yam* with *tavyaT*.

Why do we have the condition of a nasal in *upadeśa*? So that deletion of the nasal of *yam*, *ram*, *nam*, *gam*, *han* and *man* could be accomplished. So that this deletion does not apply in case of *śamU* ‘to be tranquil’ of *śāntah* and *śāntavān* where *śamU* is not marked with *anudātta* in *upadeśa*. Incidentally, the penultimate lengthening in (*śamU + Kta*) + *sU*→*śāntah* is accomplished by 6.4.15 *anunāsikasya kuijhaloh*. Rule 7.2.15 *yasya vibhāṣā* blocks *iT* which was optionally made available (7.2.56 *udito vā*) against 7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasyed valādeḥ*.

#### 6.4.38 वा त्यपि

*vā lyapi*  
*/vā φ lyapi 7/1/*  
*(aṅgasya #1 anudāttopadeśavanatitanotyādīnām anunāsikalopah #37)*

*lyapi parato' nudāttopadeśa vanatitanotyādīnām anunāsikalopo vā bhavati*  
 The nasal of an *aṅga*, namely one which is marked with *anudātta* in *upadeśa*, or one which ends in a nasal, or else, is constituted by *vanA* ‘to like’ and *tanU* ‘to extend’, etc., is deleted by means of *LOPA*, only optionally, when affix *LyaP* follows.

EXAMPLES:

*prayatyā* ‘absolutive form of *pra-yam*’  
*prayamya* ‘ibidem’  
*praratya* ‘absolute form of *pra-ram*’  
*praramya* ‘ibidem’  
*praṇatyā* ‘absolutive form of *pra-nam*’  
*praṇamya* ‘ibidem’  
*āgatyā* ‘absolutive form of *ā-gam*’  
*āgamya* ‘ibidem’

1. This rule makes the earlier provision optional when affix *LyaP* follows. Note that this option is fixed (*vyavasthita-vibhāṣā*). That is, an *aṅga* which ends in *m* goes through its deletion optionally (*Kāś: makārāntānāñ vikalpo bhavati*). All others, i.e., those which end in *n*, go through deletion of their nasals obligatorily (*nitya*; *Kāś: anyatra nityam eva lopah*). Thus *pra-yam* + (*Ktvā*→*LyaP*) = *prayamya* and *pra-yam* + (*Ktvā*→*LyaP*)→*pra-ya*(*m*→∅) + *ya*→*pra-ya* + *tUK* + *ya* = *prayatyā* ‘after having restrained’. We similarly get *pra-(n→ñ)mya* = *praṇamya*, *praṇatyā*; *ā(Ṅ)-gamyā* = *āgamya*, *āgatyā*; *āhanya*, *āhatyā*, etc., where, after the deletion of *m* or *n*, augment *tUK* is introduced to the short vowel. Consequently, we get two forms: one with the nasal and the other with nasal-deletion and *tUK*. Refer to *prakṛtya* and *prahṛtya* (appendix II:394) for additional derivational details.

#### 6.4.39 न क्तिचि दीर्घश्च

*na ktici dīrghaś ca*  
*/ na φ ktici 7/1 dīrghah 1/1 ca φ /*  
*(angasya #1 anudāttopadeśavanatitanotyādīnām anunāsika lopah #37)*  
*ktici parato' nudāttopadeśādīnām anunāsikalopo dīrghaś ca na bhavati*  
 The nasal of an *aṅga* which is marked with *anudātta* in *upadeśa*, or ends in a nasal, or else, is constituted by *vanA* and *tanU*, etc., is optionally not deleted by means of *LOPA*, nor is a short vowel of the *aṅga* replaced with its long counterpart, when affix *KtiC* follows.

EXAMPLES:

*yantiḥ* ‘restraint’  
*vantiḥ* ‘liking’  
*tantīḥ* ‘extension’

1. This rule does not allow nasal-deletion and lengthening to an *aṅga* included within the specification of the earlier rule. That is, when affix *KtiC* (3.3.174 *kticktau ca sanjñāyām*) follows it. Consider *yantiḥ*, *vantiḥ* and *tantiḥ* where *m* and *n* of *yam*, *van* and *tan* are not deleted before *KtiC*. We also do not get a long replacement for their short *a*. The *m* and *n*, of course, go through a replacement homogeneous with what follows (8.4.58 *anuśvārasya yayi parasavarṇah*). The negation of a long replacement by this rule is aimed against the positive provision of rule 6.4.15 *anunāsikasya kvijhaloh kniti*).

#### 6.4.40 गमः क्तौ

*gamah kvau*  
*/gamah 6/1 kvau 7/1/*  
*(aṅgasya #1 anunāsikalopah #37)*  
*gamah kvau partato' nunāsikalopo bhavati*

The nasal of an *aṅga*, namely *gam*, is deleted by means of *LOPA* when affix *KvI* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*aṅgagat* 'those who go to the country of the Aṅgas'  
*kaliṅgagat* 'those who go to the country of the Kaliṅgas'  
*adhvagato harayah* 'the horses are gone on road'

1. A nasal also gets deleted when the *aṅga* is followed by affix *KvI*. This rule begins deletion where the following affix does not begin with a sound denoted by *jhaL* (*ajhalādyartha ārambhah*). Thus, *aṅgagat* = *aṅgān gacchanti* and *kaliṅgagat* = *kaliṅgān gacchanti* and *adhvagato harayah*. Notice that we also get augment *tUK* in these examples.

A *vārtika* proposal is made to also include verbal roots *gam*, etc., to facilitate deletion of their nasal (*vt: gamādīnām iti vaktavyam* 'nasal-deletion of *gam*, etc., should also be stated'). This will account for *sam-yam + KvIP = samyat* and *paryam + KvIP = parītat*, with *tUK*.

Yet another *vārtika* proposal is made for nasal-deletion of *gam*, etc., plus a replacement in *ū* for their *a* (*vt: ū ca gamādīnām iti vaktavyam*). Thus, we will get *agregūḥ* = *agre gacchanti* 'leader; he who goes ahead of everyone', etc.

#### 6.4.41 विद्वनोरनुनासिकस्यात्

*viḍvanor anunāsikasyāt*  
*/vidvanoḥ 7/2 (itar. dv.) anunāsikasya 6/1 āt 1/1/*  
*(aṅgasya #10)*  
*viṭi-vani ca pratyaye parato' nunāsikāntasyāṅgasyākāra ādeśo bhavati*  
The final sound segment of an *aṅga* which ends in a nasal (*anunāsika*) is replaced with *ā* when affixes *vIT* and *van* follow.

## EXAMPLES:

*abjāḥ* ‘born in water’; *gojāḥ* ‘born among cows’  
*ṛtajāḥ* ‘born with excellent values’  
*ádrījāḥ* ‘mountain-born’  
*kūpakhāḥ* ‘those who dig water-wells’  
*agregā unnetrñām* ‘leader’  
*gośā indro nṛṣā asītyatra* ‘bestower of cows . . .’  
*vijāvā* ‘born’  
*agrejāvā* ‘born earlier’

1. This rule offers a replacement in *ā* for the nasal of an *an̄ga* which ends in a nasal and is followed by affixes *vIT* and *van*. Refer to relevant derivational details under the appendix of rule 3.2.67 *janasanakhana* . . . (II:739–40). Thus we get *apsu jāyate* = *abjāḥ*; *goṣu jāyate* = *gojāḥ*, *rteṣu jāyate* = *ṛtātāḥ* and *adriṣu jāyate* = *adrijāḥ*, etc., where affix *vIT* goes through total deletion (*sarvāpahārī-lopa*) and the *n* of *jan* is replaced with *ā*. The example derivates are syntactically coordinated compounds (*upapada-samāsa*). Other examples follow similar patterns where this rule replaces *n* or *m* with *ā*. Thus, we get *kūpam khanati* = *kūpakhā* and *agre gacchati* = *agragā*, etc. The *s* of verbal root *san* is replaced with *s* (8.3.108 *sanoter anāḥ*) after this rule replaces its *n* with *ā* before affix *vIT*. Thus, we get *goṣu sāyate* = *gośā* and *nṛṣu sāyate* = *nṛṣā* of *gośā indro nṛṣā asi*. Derivates such as *vijāvā* and *agregāvā* derive parallel to *vijāyate* and *agre gacchati* with affix *vanIP* (3.2.75 *anyebhyo’ pi dṛṣyante*). Thus, *vi-jā(n→ā)* + *van* → *vijāvan* + *sU* → *vijāvā*.

2. Why was the word *anunāsika* used explicitly in this rule when the same could have been carried via *anuvṛtti*? So that the *anuvṛtti* of *anudāttopadeśa*, etc., could be blocked from applying to this rule. Note that *anunāsika* is associated with *anudāttopadeśa*, etc., in the earlier rule. Carrying one would have also required the *anuvṛtti* of others. This rule thus offers a replacement in *ā* only to an *anunāsika*.

Why was the replacement not given as *aT*? We could have gotten desired forms with the application of 6.1.101 *akah savarne dīrghāḥ*. Thus, *vi-jan* + *van* → *vija(n→ā)* + *van* → *vij(a+ā→ā)* + *van* = *vijāvan*. One should not worry that an application of 6.1.97 *guṇe* will block the derivation of desired forms. One cannot argue here that Pāṇini should have offered deletion of *anunāsika* to avoid conflicts between the two applications of 6.1.101 *akah savarne dīrghāḥ* and 6.1.97 *ato guṇe*. For, this would have created problems with the derivation of *ghu(n→ā)* + *van(IP)* = *ghu* + *ā* + *van* → *ghvāvan*, as in *ghvāvā*. Consequently, provision of a long replacement (*dīrgha-vidhāna*) alone is proper (*Nyāsa ad Kāś: hrasve hi sati ‘ghuṇa ghūraṇe’ ity asmād vanīpi vihite għvāvā iti na siddhyet. tato dīrghasyaiva vidhānan̄ yuktam*).

## 6.4.42 जनसनखनां सञ्चालोः:

*janasanakhanāṁ sañjhaloh*

/*jana-sana-khanām* 6/3 (*itar. dv.*) *sañ-jhaloh* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*)/

(*angasya* #1 *jhalī kniti* #37 āt #41)

'*jana, sana, khana'* ity eteśāṁ *anigānāṁ* *sani jhalādau kniti jhalādau ca pratyaye parata ākāra ādeśo bhavati*

The final sound segment of an *aṅga*, namely *janA* ‘to be born’, *sanA* ‘to gain, bestow’, and *khanA* ‘to dig’, is replaced with ā when a *saN* affix beginning with *jhaL*, or an affix beginning with *jhaL* and marked with *K* or *N̄* as an *it*, follows.

## EXAMPLES:

*jātah* ‘born’

*jātavān* ‘ibidem’

*jātiḥ* ‘birth’

*siṣāsati* ‘he wishes to gain, or bestow’

*sātah* ‘gained, bestowed’

*sātavān* ‘ibidem’

*sātiḥ* ‘gaining, bestowing’

*khātah* ‘dug’

*khātavān* ‘ibidem’

*khātiḥ* ‘digging’

1. This rule offers a long replacement to the final nasal of an *aṅga*, namely *jan*, *san* and *khan*, when an affix beginning with a sound denoted by *jhaL*, namely *saN*, or any other additionally marked with *K* and *N̄* as an *it*, follows. Thus, we get *jan + Kta*→*ja(n→ā) + ta = jāta + sU = jātah*, (*jan + KtavatU*) + *sU = jātavān* and (*jan + KtiN*) + *sU = jātiḥ*. Now consider *siṣāsati*, a third person singular present (*LAT*) indicative active form of the derived root *siṣāsa*, where affix *saNis* is introduced after verbal root *ṣanU*→*san*. Note that *san + saN*→*sasan* + *saN* will produce *sisan + saN* after doubling (*dvitva*; 6.1.1 *ekāco dve prathamasya*) and operations relative to *abhyāsa* (6.1.4 *pūrvo' bhyāsah*). We will get *sisa(n→ā) + saN*→*sis(a + ā→ā) + saN*→*si(s→ś)ā + sa = siṣāsa + LAT = siṣāsati*, through *n→ā*, *s→ś* (*satva*) and operations relative to *LAT*→*tiP*.

2. What will happen if *jhaL* is not brought here to qualify affix *saN*. This replacement in ā could be blocked from applying to desiderative derivates, for example, of *jan*, *san* and *khan*, *jijaniṣati*, *sisaniṣati* and *cikhaniṣati*, where 7.2.49 *sanīvantardhabhrasja*... offers an optional introduction of augment *iT*. These forms do not avail this replacement in ā because, subsequent to the introduction of *iT*, the condition of a following *jhaL*-initial affix (*jhalādi-pratyaya*) cannot be met. Thus, *sisan + iT + saN*→*sisanisa + LAT*→*sisanisati*.

3. Note that affix *saNis* is used here only on account of verbal root *san*. For, this verb alone could get an optional augment *iT*. One can get a *jhaL*-initial

affix, i.e., *saN*, after verbal root *san* only when the option of *iT* is not accepted. This, in turn, will facilitate the *aṅga*-final *n* with *ā*. Why can we not delete the *n* of verbal root *san* before affix *saN* by the application of 6.4.37 *anudāttopadeśa*...? A conflict of equal strength (*vipratiṣedha*) arises since enumeration of *tanoti*, etc., by 6.4.37 also includes verbal root *san*. That is why, operations relative to *tan*, particularly of rules such as 3.1.79 *tanādikṛñbhyah uḥ* and 2.4.79 *tanādibhyas tathāsōḥ*, apply to *san*. In fact, this establishes the independent scope of verbal root *san*. Here, in case of replacement in *ā*, we get both *n*-deletion and *ātva* applicable. We get *ā* on the basis of *paratva* ‘subsequent order of enumeration’.

Since *pūrva* ‘prior’ and *para* ‘subsequent’ rules both are *asiddha* ‘suspended’ in this section of *ābhīya*, one cannot invoke *vipratiṣedha* ‘conflict of equal strength’ here. But Pāṇini anticipates *vipratiṣedha* also in this section of *ābhīya* rules. It is to indicate this that he includes *hali* in the wording of rule 6.4.66 *ghumāsthāgāpājahātisāṁ hali*. This enables the replacement in *i* (*itva*) to apply only when a consonant-initial (*halādi*) affix follows. That is, it does not apply in *godāḥ* ‘cow-giver’ and *kambaladah* ‘blanket-giver’ where a vowel-initial affix, namely *Ka*, follows. If Pāṇini had not anticipated *vipratiṣedha* as operative in this section of *ābhīya*, he did not have to include *hali* in the wording of 6.4.66 *ghumāsthā*.... For, *ā*-deletion of 6.4.64 *āto lopa iti ca* would then have been blocked by *i*-replacement (*itva*) of 6.4.66 *ghumāsthā*... on the basis of *paratva*. This is why *godāḥ* and *kambaladah* go through deletion of *ā* (of *dā*), as per 6.4.64 *āto lopa iti ca*.

#### 6.4.43 ये विभाषा

*ye vibhāṣā*

/ *ye 7/1 vibhāṣā 1/1/*

(*aṅgasya* #1 *kniti* #37 *āt* #41 *janasanakhanām* #42)

*yakārādau kniti pratyaye parato janasanakhanām ākāra ādeśo bhavati*

The final sound segment of an *aṅga*, namely *jan*, *san*, and *khan*, is optionally replaced with *ā* when an affix beginning with *y* and marked with *K* or *N* as an *it* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*jāyate/janyate* ‘... comes into existence; optional *LAT*-derivates of *jan* with *yaK* denoting *bhāva*’

*jājāyate/jañjanyate* ‘optional *LAT*-derivates of *jaN* ending in affix *yaṄ*’

*sāyate/sanyate* ‘optional *LAT*-derivates of *saN* with *yaK* denoting *bhāva* or *karman*’

*sāsāyate/saṁsanyate* ‘optional *LAT*-derivates of *san* ending in affix *yaṄ*’

*khāyate/khanyate* ‘optional *LAT*-derivates of *khan* with *yaK* denoting *karman*’

*cākhāyate/cañkhanyate* ‘optional *LAT*-derivates of *khan* with affix *yaṄ*’

1. This rule makes an optional replacement in *ā* for the final nasal of *jan*, *san* and *khan* when a *y*-initial affix marked with *K* or *N̄* as an *it* follows. Consider (*jan + yaK + (LAT→te)*) with optional forms: *janyate* (with no replacement in *ā*) and *jāyate*. We similarly get *jājāyate* and *jañjanyate*, from (*jan + yaN̄ + (LAT→ta→te)*), where, in *jājāyate*, we get a replacement in *ā* (*jaja(n→ā)*). Doubling and operations relative to *abhyāsa*, especially lengthening of the *abhyāsa* (*j(a→ā)jā...; 7.4.83 dīrgho' kitah*), finally produce *jājāyate*. When the option of *ā* is not accepted, the *abhyāsa* is introduced with augment *nUM* (7.4.85 *nugato' nunāśikasya*). Thus, *ja + nUM + jan = janjan*. An application of *anusvāra*, followed by *parasavarna* ‘replacement homogeneous with what follows’, will produce: *ja(n→m→ñ)jan = jañjan + ya + te = jañjanyate*. We will similarly get *sāyate* and *sanyate*, with *yaK* and *LAT→te*, where *LAT* may denote *bhāva* ‘root-sence’ or *harman* ‘object’. The long replacement of the *abhyāsa* will again be accomplished by 7.4.83 *dīrgho' kitah*. This same also applies to *sāsāyate* which is an optional derivate of *san + yaN̄*, used with *LAT→ta→te*. We will get *samsanyate*, with *nUM* and *anusvāra*, when the option of replacing *n* with *ā* is not accepted. Derivates such as *khāyate*/*khanyate*; *cākhāyate*/*cañkhanyate* follow similar derivational patterns where *ā*-replacement, homogeneous long replacement (*savarna-dīrgha*); doubling, operations relative to *abhyāsa*, long vowel replacement for the short of an *abhyāsa*, *nUM* and *parasavarna* apply as may be the case. Note here that *jā* replaces *jan*, obligatorily, when *SyaN* is introduced (1.3.57 *jñājanor jā*).

#### 6.4.44 तनोतेर्यकि

*tanoter yaki*  
*/tanoteḥ 6/1 yaki 7/1/*

(*aṅgasya #1 āt #41 vibhāṣā #43*)

*tanoter yaki parato vibhāṣā ḍakārādeśo bhavati*

The final sound segment of an *aṅga*, namely *tan* ‘to extend’, is replaced with *ā* when affix *yaK* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*tāyate* ‘*LAT*-derivate of *tan* with *yaK* denoting object’  
*tanyate* ‘ibidem’

1. This rule offers *ā* to replace the final *n* of *tan* when *yaK* follows. Thus, we get *tāyate* and *tanyate*. A derivate with *yaN̄*, as against *yaK*, will thus not involve this replacement in *ā*. We will, therefore, get: *tantanyate*.

#### 6.4.45 सनः क्तिचि लोपश्चान्यतरस्याम्

*sanah ktici lopāś cānyatarasyām*  
*/ sanah 6/1 ktici 7/1 lopah #1 ca φ anyatarasyām 7/1*  
*(aṅgasya #1 āt #41)*

*sanoter aṅgasya ktici prayaye parata ākāra ādeśo bhavati lopāś cānyatarasyām*  
 The final sound segment of an *aṅga*, namely *san* ‘to gain, donate’ is replaced with *ā*, or is optionally deleted by means of *LOPA*, when affix *KtiC* follows.

EXAMPLES:

*sātiḥ* ‘gain’

*santiḥ* ‘ibidem’

*satih* ‘ibidem’

1. This rule offers an optional *ā*, against an optional deletion of *n* of *san*, when affix *KtiC* follows. Thus, since both *ā* and deletion are optional, we get three forms: *sātiḥ* (with *ā*), *satih* (with *n*-deletion) and *santiḥ* (with no *ā* and *n*-deletion).

2. Since we have an express mention of *KtiC* in this rule, one may be confused about the *anuvṛtti* of *vibhāṣā*. For, *vibhāṣā* is used under the condition of an affix which began with *y*. This rule introduces a new condition of *ktici*. So that there is no confusion about the *anuvṛtti* of *vibhāṣā*, especially because of the use of *KtiC*, this rule uses *anyatarasyām* ‘optionally’ (*Kāś: anyatarasyām grahaṇam vispaṣṭārtham*).

#### 6.4.46 आर्धधातुके

*ārdhadhātuke*

/ *ārdhadhātuke* 7/1/

‘*ārdhadhātuke*’ *ity adhikārah*; ‘*na lyapi*’ *iti prāg etasmād yad ita ūrdhvam anukramiṣyāmaḥ* ‘*ārdhadhātuke*’ *ity evaṁ tad veditavyam*

When an affix termed *ārdhadhātuka* (3.4.114 *ārdhadhātukam śeṣah*) follows . . .

EXAMPLES:

*cikīrṣitā* ‘he who wishes to do (with affix *tṛC*)’

*bebhiditā* ‘he who wishes to repeatedly break (*yaṄ + tṛC*)’

*kāraṇā* ‘instigation; (*kāri + (yuC→ana) + TāP*)’

*hāraṇā* ‘to have carried away; (*hāri + (yuC→ana) + TāP*)’

*yānti* ‘they go’

*dīyate* ‘. . . is given’

*sneyāt* ‘third singular active *L1Ṅ*-derivate of *snā* ‘to bathe’’

*kāriṣīṣṭā* ‘third singular middle *L1Ṅ*-derivate of *kṛṄ*’

*hāriṣīṣṭā* ‘third singular middle *L1Ṅ*-derivate of *hṛṄ*’

1. This is an *adhikāra* ‘governing rule’. The word *ārdhadhātuke* is thus to be read with all rules enumerated prior to 6.4.69 *na lyapi*. Consider the following rules:

(i) 6.4.48 *ato lopah* ‘the final *a* of an *aṅga* goes through deletion by *LOPA* when an affix termed *ārdhadhātuka* follows’

We thus get (*cikṛṣa* + *trC*) + *sU* = *cikṛṣitā* and (*jihṛṣa* + *trC*) + *sU* = *jihṛṣitā*, where verbal root *cikṛṣa* is derived with *saN* (appendix, II:435). The *a* of *cikṛṣa* is deleted by 6.4.48 *ato lopah* under the express condition of *ārdhadhātuke*. Note that, given *bh*(*ū*→*o*→*av*) + *ŚaP* + *ti* = *bhava* + *ti*, we cannot delete the final *a* of *bhava* because *tiP* is not an *ārdhadhātuka* affix. It is termed *sārvadhātuka*, instead.

This counter-example to the condition of *ārdhadhātuke* is, however, questioned. It is argued that we do not need this counter-example to show how deletion of *ŚaP* is not accomplished. We already have 2.4.72 *adiprabṛhtibhyah śapah* as an indicator that, elsewhere, deletion of *ŚaP* is not accomplished. But 2.4.72 *adiprabṛhtibhyah śapah* is not intended to do this. It is formulated to negate operations characteristic of affixes when those affixes get deleted (*Kāś: adiprabṛhtibhyah śapo lugvacanam pratyayalopalaṃṣaṇapratiseḍhārtham syād ity etan na jñāpakam śapo lopābhāvasya*).

(ii) 6.4.49 *yasya halah* ‘the *ya* which occurs after a consonant goes through deletion, via *LOPA*, when an affix termed *ārdhadhātuka* follows’

Consider *bebbiditā*, *bebbiditum* and *bebbiditavyam* where the root derives as *bhid* + *ya*→*bebbidya*, through doubling and operations relative to *abhyāsa*. We subsequently derive *bebbidya* + *trC* = *bebbiditṛ*, *bebbidya* + *tumUN*→*bebbiditum* and *bebbidya* + *taryaT*→*bebbiditavya*, with augment *iT* and deletion of *ya*. Note that *trC*, *tumUN* and *taryaT* are all termed *ārdhadhātuka* (3.4.114 *ārdhadhātukam śeṣah*). Now consider *bebbidya* + (*LA*→*ta*→*te*)→*bebbidya* + *ŚaP* + *te* = *bebbidyate*, where, since *te* is not an *ārdhadhātuka*, we do not get *ya*-deletion.

Note that 6.4.47 *yasya halah* applies to delete *ya*, a sequence of *y* and *a*. Some argue here that *halah* of 6.4.49 *yasya halah* is specified with *pañcamī* ‘ablative’. Consequently, 1.1.54 *ādeḥ parasya* facilitates only the deletion of *y*. The *a* of *ya* is then deleted by 6.4.48 *ato lopah*.

(iii) 6.4.51 *ner aniti* ‘*Ni* goes through deletion via *LOPA*, when an *ārdhadhātuka* affix with no augment *iT* as its initial follows’

Consider *kāri* + (*yu(C)*→*ana*)→*kār(i*→*ϕ*) + *a(n*→*η*)*a* = *kāraṇa* + *TāP* = *kāraṇā* and (*hāri* + *yuC*) + *TāP* = *hāraṇā* where deletion of the causal suffix *NiC* is accomplished under the condition of the *ārdhadhātuka* affix *yuC* (3.3.107 *nyāsaśrantho yuc*). Why the condition of *ārdhadhātuke*? Consider *kāri* + *ŚaP* + (*LA*→*tiP*) = *kārayati* and *hārayati*, where deletion of *NiC* must be blocked because *tiP* is not an *ārdhadhātuka* affix.

(iv) 6.4.64 *āto lopa iṭi ca* ‘an *aṅga*-final *ā* goes through deletion via *LOPA* when an *iT* or a vowel-initial affix marked with *K* or *N* as an *it* follows’

Consider *yayatuh* and *yayuh*, the third personal dual and plural perfect (*LIT*) forms of *yā* and *vā*, which derive from *ya + yā + atus* and *va + vā + atus* through doubling and operations relative to *abhyāsa*. Note that *ā* of *yayā* and *vavā* goes through deletion via *LOPA* before the *ārdhadhātuka* affixes *atus* and *us* (3.4.82 *parasmaipadānām* . . .). This *ā*-deletion cannot be accomplished in *yā + (ŚaP→LUK) + (jhi→anti)* = *yānti* and *vānti* because *ti* is an affix termed *sārvadhātuka* (3.4.113 *tiñśit sārvadhātukam*).

(v) 6.4.66 *ghumāsthāgāpājahātisām hali* ‘a replacement in *ī* (*ītva*) applies to an *aṅga* which is either termed a *ghu* (1.1.20 *dādhāghv adāp*), or is constituted by *mā, sthā, gā, pā, jahāti* and *sā*, provided a consonant-initial affix marked with *K* or *N* as an *it* follows’

Consider *d(ā→ī) + yaK + (LAT→ta→te)* = *dīyate* and *dhīyate* where *yaK* is an affix termed *ārdhadhātuka*. Why the condition of *ārdhadhātuke*? Consider *adātām* and *adhātām*, third personal active immediate past (*LUN*) dual forms of *dā* and *dhā*, where, given *aT + dā + (sIC→ϕ) + (LUN→tas→tām)* and *aT + dhā + (sIC→ϕ) + LUN→tas→tām*, we do not get *ī* since, after the deletion of *sIC* (2.4.77 *gātisthāghupābhūbhyaḥ sicāḥ* . . .), what follows the *aṅga* is an affix termed *sārvadhātuka*.

(vi) 6.4.68 *vā' nyasya samyogādeḥ* ‘a non-*ghu* verbal root which begins with a conjunct and ends in *ā* receives a replacement in *e* (*etva*), optionally, when a *LiN*-replacement termed *ārdhadhātuka* follows’

Consider *snā + yāsUT + (LiN→ti)→sn(ā→e) + yās + t(i→ϕ)* = *sne + yā(s→ϕ) + t* = *sneyāt* where augment *yāsUT* is treated as part of the affix (PŚ 12): *yadāgamā guṇibhūtās tadgrahaṇena gṛhyante*). The term *ārdhadhātuka*, in this case, is assigned by 3.4.116 *lināśīsi*. We thus get *sneyāt* and *snāyāt* where *s* of *yāsUT* gets deleted by 8.2.29 *skoh samyogādyor ante ca*. One can also consider *snāyāt* as a counter-example where, since it is not a benedictive (*āśih*) form of *LiN*, the affix cannot be termed *ārdhadhātuka*. This replacement in *e* thus does not apply in case of a non-benedictive derivate of *LiN*.

(vii) 6.4.62 *syasīcīyutāśiṣu bhāvakarmanor upadeśe* . . . ‘operations similar to *CiN* (*cīvadbhāva*), an *iT* in addition, apply optionally to an *aṅga* which, in *upadeśa*, ends in a vowel, or else, is constituted by *han, grah* and *dṛś*, provided affixes *sya, sIC, sīyUT* and *tās* follow with the scope of *bhāva* ‘root-sense’ or *karman* ‘object’

Consider *kṛ+ (LiN→ta)* and *hṛ+ (LiN→ta)* which produce *kṛ+ sīyUT + sUT + iT + ta→kāriśīṣṭa* and *hṛ + sīyUT + sUT + iT + ta)→hāriśīṣṭa* with the application of *cīvadbhāva*. These forms in-

volve *vṛddhi* of *r* with a following *r* (*rapara*), deletion of *y* (*yalopa*), replacements in *s* (*satva*) and *t* (*stutva*). Now consider *kriyēt* and *hriyēt*, the two benedictive forms of *kṛ* and *hṛ*, where, in the absence of a following *ārdhadhātuka* affix, *cīnvadbhāva* cannot be applied. An application of *cīnvadbhāva*, based upon the *aṅga* ending in a vowel on account of *yaK*, would end in *ā* through *vṛddhi*. Given *kriyā + īy + ta*, *guṇa* and *yUK* would both become applicable. Augment *yUK* (7.3.33 *āto yuk cīnkṛtoḥ*), since operations relative to an *aṅga* are more powerful, would have blocked *guṇa*. This would have yielded a wrong form. Thus, the condition of *ārdhadhātuke* becomes necessary.

A *ślokavārtika* of the *Mahābhāṣya* enumerates seven purposes served by the condition of *ārdhadhātuke*. (i) *a-lopa* ‘deletion of *a*’, (ii) *ya-lopa* ‘deletion of *ya*’, (iii) *ni-lopa* ‘deletion of *Ni*’, (iv) *ā-lopa* ‘deletion of *ā*’, (v) *itva* ‘replacement in *i*’, (vi) *etva* ‘replacement in *e*’ and (vii) *cīnvadbhāva*, when *śiyUT* follows:

*āto lopo yalopāś ca ḷilopāś ca prayojanam/  
āllopa itvam evam ca cīnvadbhāvāś ca śiyuti//*

#### 6.4.47 भ्रस्जो रोपधयो रमन्यतरस्याम्

*bhrasjo ropadhayo ram anyatarasyām*  
*/bhrasjāḥ 6/1 ropadhayoh 6/2 = rephaś ca upadhā ca = ropadhe (itar. dv.),*  
*tayoh; ram 1/1 anyatarasyām 7/1/*

*bhrasjo rephasyopadhāyāś ca ram anyatarasyām bhavati*

Augment *rAM* is optionally introduced in place of the sequence of *r*, plus next to the last sound segment of an *aṅga* namely *bhrasj* ‘to roast’, when an affix termed *ārdhadhātuka* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*braṣṭā* ‘nominative singular of *bhrasj* + *trC*’

*bharṣṭā* ‘ibidem’

*bhraṣṭum* ‘... for roasting; (*bhrasj* + *tumUN*)’

*bharṣṭum* ‘ibidem’

*bhraṣṭavyam* ‘ought to roast; *bhrasj* + *tavyaT*’

*bharṣṭavyam* ‘ibidem’

1. This rule introduces augment *rAM* after the last vowel (1.1.47 *mid aco’ ntyāt parah*) of *bh-* *sj*, in place of its *r* (*repha*) and penultimate *s* (*upadhā*). Note that *rAM*, since it is marked with *M* as an *it* (*mit*), is to be introduced after the *a* of *bhrasj*. But this will create problems since the *r* of *bhrasj* will still be there. There are two operations involved here: (i) deletion of *repha* (*r*) and deletion of *upadhā* (*s*); and (ii) introduction of *rAM*. These two opera-

tions can both not be applied concurrently. It is therefore recommended that deletion of *r* and *s* be applied first. Introduction of *rAM* then follows. Thus, *bh(r)a(s)j + tṛC→bha(rAM)j + tṛC→bhṛṣṭā*, through applications of *śatva* (*j→s*; 8.2.36 *vraś ca bhrasj...*) and *śtutva* (*t→t̄*; 8.4.41 *śtunā śtuh*). We will get *bhṛṣṭā* if the option of *rAM* is not accepted. The *s* of *bhrasj* will then be deleted by 8.2.29 *skoh samyogādyoḥ*. Operations such as *śatva* and *śtutva* will still apply. They will also apply in deriving the *tavyaT* forms *bharṣṭavyam* (with *rAM*) and *bhraṣṭavyam*. The *s* of (*bhrasj + (LYUT→ana)*) $\rightarrow$ *bhrasj + ana* will be replaced with *d* (8.4.52 *jhalāṁ jaś jhasi*). This *d* will be further replaced with *j* through *ścutva* (8.4.41 *stoś cunā ścuḥ*). Thus, (*bhra(s→d→j)j + ana*) + *SU* $\rightarrow$ *bhrajjanam*. A form with *rAM* will be *bharjanam*.

2. Note that the condition of *upadeśe* is still valid. Thus, we do not get *rAM* in deriving *baribhṛtyate*, third singular middle intensive (*yaN*) of *bhrasj*, where 7.4.90 *nīg rdupadhasya ca* introduces augment *nīK*.

#### 6.4.48 अतो लोपः:

*ato lopah*  
*/ atah 6/1 lopah 1/1*  
*(āṅgasya #1 ārdhadhātuke #46)*  
*akārāntasya ārdhadhātuke lopo bhavati*

The final sound segment of an *aṅga* which ends in *a* is deleted by means of *LOPA* when an affix termed *ārdhadhātuka* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*cikīrṣitā* ‘... wishes to do; *tṛC*-derivate of *cikīrṣa*’  
*cikīrṣitum* ‘*tumUN*-derivate of *cikīrṣa*’  
*cikīrṣitavyam* ‘*tavyaT*-derivate of *cikīrṣa*’  
*dhinutah* ‘third dual active *LAT*-derivate of *dhivI* ‘to please’’  
*kṛṇutah* ‘third dual active *LAT*-derivate of *kṛvI* ‘to harm, to do’’

1. This rule offers deletion of the final *a* (1.1.52 *alo*’ *ntyasya*) of an *aṅga* which ends in *a*. Refer to derivational details of *cikīrṣitā*, etc., under 6.4.46 *ārdhadhātuke*. The third personal dual present (*LAT*) indicative active forms of *dhivI* and *kṛvI*, i.e., *dhinutah* and *kṛṇutah*, involve the introduction of augment *nUM* (7.1.58 *idito num dhātōḥ*). Affix *u*, with concurrent replacement of *v* with *a*, is introduced in consonance with 3.1.8 *dhinvikṛṇvyor a ca*. Thus, *dhiv + (LAT→tas)* *dhi + nUM + u + (v→a) + tas* $\rightarrow$ *dhin + u + a + tas* and *kṛṇ + u + a + tas*. This *a* is, however, deleted by our present rule. An application of *s→rU→h* (*rutva-visarga*) finally produces *dhinutah* and *kṛṇutah*. Refer to the appendix (III:726) for derivational details of the singular forms *dhinoti* and *kṛṇoti*. Since they can be derived with *guṇa* of *u* and single replacement in *o* (6.1.97 *ato guṇe*, *dhin + (u→o) + a + ti→dhin + (o + a→o) + ti*), this rule does not offer them as examples.

2. Why deletion of *a*? Consider *cetā* and *stotā* (appendix, II: 328–29) where, since there is no *a*, this deletion does not apply. Why this deletion applies only to a short *a* (*aT*; *taparakarana*)? Consider *yātā* and *vātā* where the long *ā* does not go through deletion. Why the condition of *ārdhadhātuke*? Consider *vrksatvam* and *vrksatā* where no deletion of short *a* can be accomplished. For, the *āṅga* is followed by affixes which fall outside the scope of *ārdhadhātuke*.

3. A *vārtika* proposal is made to apply *a*-deletion prior to the application of *vrddhi* and long-replacement (*dīrgha*). Consider *cikīṣa* + (*NvuL* → *aka*) where deletion of *a* and *vrddhi* (7.2.115 *aco* ‘*nīti*’) both become applicable. Deletion of *a* blocks *vrddhi* on the basis of *pūrvavipratisedha* ‘conflict between rules of equal strength where the rule which precedes in order wins’. Once this deletion applies condition of the application of *vrddhi* is removed. This same happens in case of *jihīrsakah* (appendix, II: 406–7). A similar conflict between this deletion of *a* and long replacement is witnessed in deriving *cikīṣa* + *yaK* + (*ta* → *te*) → *cikīṣyate* and *jihīrsa* + *yaK* + *te* = *jihīrsyate*. The long replacement of 7.4.25 *akṛtsāvadhātukayor dīrghah* is blocked by deletion of *a*. Here again the condition of *dīrgha* is removed by deletion of *a*.

#### 6.4.49 यस्य हलः:

*yasya halah*

/ *yasya* 6/1 *halah* 5/1 /

(*āṅgasya* #1 *ārdhadhātuke* #46 *lopah* #48)

*hala uttarasya yaśabdasyārdhadhātuke lopoh bhavati*

A *ya* which occurs after a consonant in an *āṅga* is deleted by means of *LOPA* when an affix termed *ārdhadhātuka* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*bebhiditā* ‘nominative singular of *bhid* ‘to split’ ending in affix *trC*’

*bebhiditum* ‘derivate of *bhid* ending in *tumUN*’

*bebhiditavyam* ‘derivate of *bhid* + *tavyaT*’

1. This rule offers deletion of *ya* (cf. *yasya*) when an *ārdhadhātuka* affix follows. Of course, when *ya* occurs after a consonant. Refer to my notes under 6.4.46 *ārdhadhātuke* for illustrations. Note, however, that a sequence of *y* followed by *a* becomes the focus of this deletion. This rule does not accomplish deletion of a final *a* in consonance with 1.1.52 *alo* ‘*nyasya*'. Rule 6.4.48 *ato lopah* is already to do that. I have already indicated that some do not accept deletion of *ya*. They would rather delete *y* with this rule in consonance with the ablative (*pañcamī*; 1.1.54 *ādeh parasya*) of *halah*. They will of course resort to deletion of *a* by 6.4.48 *ato lopah*.

2. Why is this specification made with the sequence *ya*? Consider *īryy* + *iT* + *trC* → *īryitā* and *mavy* + *iT* + *trC* → *mavyitā* where, because of *ya* alone, this rule does not apply. Why the condition of *halah* ‘occurring after a conso-

nant? Consider *loluya* + *iT* + *trC* and *popūya* + *iT* + *trC* where *loluya* and *popūya* are roots derived with *yaṄ*. This rule cannot apply here to delete *ya* because *ya* does not occur after a consonant. Consequently, *a*-deletion alone applies.

#### 6.4.50 क्यस्य विभाषा

*kyasya vibhāṣā*

/ *kyasya vibhāṣā* 1/1 /

(*ārdhadhātuke* #46 *lopah* #48 *halah* #49)

*kyasya hala uttarasya vibhāṣā lopo bhavati ārdhadhātuke*

A *Kya* which occurs after a consonant in an *aīga* is optionally deleted by means of *LOPA* when an affix termed *ārdhadhātuka* follows.

EXAMPLES:

*samidhitā* ‘*trC*-derivate of *sam-idh* + *KyaṄ*’

*samidhyitā* ‘ibidem’

*dṛṣaditā* ‘*trC*-derivate of *dṛṣad* + *KyaṄ*’

*dṛṣadyitā* ‘ibidem’

1. This rule offers optional deletion to *ya* of *Kya*. All other conditions remain the same. Note that *Kya* here refers to affixes *KyaC* (3.1.8 *supa ātmanah kyac*) and *KyaṄ* (3.1.11 *karttuḥ kyaṄ salopas ca*) both. Consider *samidh* + *KyaṄ* + *iT* + *trC* → *samidh* + (*ya* →  $\emptyset$ ) + *iT* + *trC* = *samidhitr* + *sU* → *samidhitā*. We similarly get *dṛṣad* + *ya* + *iT* + *KyaṄ* + *trC* → *dṛṣaditṛ* + *sU* = *dṛṣaditā*. Forms with no optional deletion of *ya* will be: *samidhyitā* and *dṛṣadyitā*. This rule is necessary so that both forms could be accounted for. Our previous rule offers deletion obligatorily (*nitya*).

#### 6.4.51 णेरनिटि

/ *ner aniṭi*

/ *neḥ* 6/1 *aniṭi* 7/1 = *na iṭ yasya* = *aniṭ* (bv.), *tamsin* /

(*aṅgasya* #1 *ārdhadhātuke* #46 *lopah* #48)

*aniḍādāv* *ārdhadhātuke* *ner lopo bhavati*

Affix *Ni* of an *aīga* is deleted by means of *LOPA* when an *ārdhadhātuka* affix, not conjoined with *iT* at its beginning, follows.

EXAMPLES:

*atatakṣat* ‘third singular active causal *LUN* of *takṣ*’

*ararakṣat* ‘third singular active causal *LUN* of *rakṣ*’

*ātiṭat* ‘third singular causal active *LUN* of *aṭ*’

*āśisat* ‘third singular active causal *LUN* of *āś*’

*kāraṇā* ‘derivate of (*kṛ* + *NiC* + *yuC*) + *TāP*’

*hāraṇā* ‘derivate of (*hṛ* + *NiC* + *yuC*) + *TāP*

*kārakah* ‘doer’

*hārakah* ‘he who carries’

*kāryate* ‘that which is fetched’

*hāryate* ‘that which is carried’

*jñāpsati* ‘wishes to know’

1. This rule offers deletion of *NiC* as an exception to *iyan*, *yaN*, *guna*, *vṛddhi* and *dīrgha* ‘long replacement’ (*Kāś*: *iyan*<sub>1</sub>*yānguṇavṛddhidīrghāṇām apavādah*). Since their application will render this deletion of *Ni* without any scope of application (*anavakāśa*), it is accepted as an exception (*apavāda*) to them (*PM ad Kāś*: *iyanādibhiḥ sarvasya viṣayasyāvaṣṭabdhavād anavakāśo' yam vijñāyate*).

Consider *ata + takṣ + i + a + ti = atatakṣat* ‘he planed the wood’ and *ara + rakṣ + i + a + ti = ararakṣat* ‘he protected’, where *iyan* and deletion both become applicable to *i* of *NiC*. This deletion blocks *iyan*, by way of being an exception. It also blocks the application of *yaN* (6.4.82 *er anekāco . . .*) in *āti + ti + ati = ātiṭat* and *āsi + si + a + ti = āsiṣat*. An applicable of *guna* is blocked in favor of this deletion, also when *kāraṇā* and *hāraṇā* are derived from (*kāri + yuC→ana*) + *TāP* and (*hāri + (yuC→ana)* + *TāP*, respectively. Derivates such as *kāraka←kāri + NvuL* and *hāraka←hāri + NvuL* illustrate how *vṛddhi* is blocked by deletion. A blocking of *dīrgha* ‘long replacement’ (7.4.25 *akṛtsārvadhātukayor . . .*) by deletion is illustrated by *kāri + ya + ta→kāryate* and *hāri + yaK + ta→hāryate*. A long replacement (6.4.16 *ajjhānagamām . . .*) is again blocked by deletion in deriving *jñāpsati*.

Refer to derivational details of these examples in the appendix. Note also that (*kāri + iT + tṛC*) *sU→kārayitā* ‘he who will have it done’ (*hāri + iT + tṛC*) *sU→hārayitā* ‘he who wil have it carried’ do not involve deletion of *NiC*. They must go through *guna* and *ay* of *i* since *iT* precedes *tṛC*.

#### 6.4.52 निष्ठायां सेटि

*niṣṭhāyām seti*

/ *niṣṭhāyām* 7/1 *seti* 7/1 = *iṭā saha = set* (bv.), *tasmin/*  
(*aṅgasya #1 lopah #48 neh #51*)

*niṣṭhāyām seti parato ṣer lopo bhavati*

Affix *Ni* of an *āṅga* is deleted by means of *LOPA* when an affix termed *niṣṭhā* conjoined with *iT* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*kāritam* ‘that which was arranged to be done’

*hāritam* ‘that which was arranged to be carried’

*gaṇitam* ‘that which was counted’

*lakṣitam* ‘that which was marked’

1. This rule allows deletion of *Ni* when a *niṣṭhā* (1.1.26 *ktvaktavatU niṣṭhā*)

suffix augmented with *iT* follows. Thus, we get *kāri* + *iT* + *Kta*→*kārita* and *hāri* + *iT* + *Kta*→*hārita*, *gāni* + *Kta*→*gānita* and *lakṣi* + *Kta*→*lakṣita*.

2. Kāśikā offers *samjñapitah paśuh* as a counter-example for the condition of *seti*. That is, *samjñapita* does not go through deletion of *NiC* since its *Kta* is not augmented with *iT*. Actually, an *iT* is optionally introduced after *jñap* (7.2.49 *sanīvantardhabhrasj*...). But this optional *iT* is negated before a *niṣṭhā* suffix (7.2.15 *yasya vibhāṣā*). If *iT* is negated based on the followig *niṣṭhā* then why can *anīti* of the earlier rule not accomplish *Ni*-deletion? This is not possible since our present rule expressly mentions *niṣṭhāyām seti*. If this deletion could be made possible by the earlier rule then why state this rule. Note that the *Mahābhāṣya* refutes this *sūtra*. I choose not to discuss this any further.

Questions have also been raised against adding the word *seti* to this rule. Many consider it unnecessary. Some state that *seti* is added to determine operational timing (*kālāvadhāraṇa*). That is, deletion of *Ni* must follow introduction of *iT*.

#### 6.4.53 जनिता मन्त्रे

*janitā mantrē*

/janitā 1/1 mantrē 7/1/

(*aṅgasya* #48 *lopaḥ* #48 *neh* #51)

*janiteti mantraviṣaye idādau nilopo nipātyate*

The word *janitā*, in the *mantra*, is derived with deletion of *Ni* via *nipātana*.

EXAMPLES:

*yo nāḥ pītā jánitā* ‘he who is our father the progenitor’

1. This rule derives *janitā*, via *nipātana*, when the usages is *mantra*. Thus, given (*jan* + *NiC*) = (*jān* + *i* + *iT* + *tr*) + *sU*, we get *janitā* in the *mantra* and *janayitā* in the classical usage. Recall that 6.4.51 *ner anīti* allows *Ni*-deletion only when an *ārdhadhātuka* not augmented with *iT* follows. This *nipātana* allows deletion even when an *ārdhadhātuka* augmented by *iT* follows. The *vṛddhi* vowel ā of *jāni* goes through shortening on the basis of *mit* (*Dhātupātha*: *janījṛsknasurañjo*’ *mantāś ca*). The shortening is accomplished on the basis of its listing in the *mitādi* (*mit*) group (6.4.92 *mitām hrasvah*).

#### 6.4.54 शमिता यज्ञे

*śamitā yajñe*

/śamitā 1/1 yajñe 7/1/

(*aṅgasya* #1 *lopaḥ* #48 *neh* #51)

*yajñakarmaṇi śamiteti idādau tr̥ci nilopo nipātyate*

The word *śamitā*, in ritual sacrifices (*yajñakarmaṇi*), is derived with deletion of *Ni* via *nipātana*.

EXAMPLES:

*śṛtam havih* = *śamitah* ‘vocative singular of *śam* + *NiC* + *iT* + *tṛC*

1. This rule offers *śamitā*, again via *nipātana*, when the context is sacrificial offering (*yajñakarma*). Our example *śamitah* is an address (*sambuddhi*) form in the singular. Thus, (*śam* + *NiC* + *iT* + *tṛC*) *sU* produces *śamitah*. The *sU* is deleted by 6.1.68 *halnyabbhyo*. . . . The *r* of *tṛC* goes through *guṇa* (*rto* . . .) and its resultant *r* goes through replacement in *visarga*. This all is accomplished after deletion of *NiC*.

#### 6.4.55 अयामन्ताल्वायेलिव्यषु

*ayāmantālvaayyetnviṣṇuṣu*

/ *ay* 1/1 *ām-anta-ālu-āyya-itnu-iṣṇuṣu* 7/3 (itar. dv.) /

(*aṅgasya* #1 *ārdhadhātuke* #46 *neh* #51)

‘*ām, anta, ālu, āyya, itnu, iṣṇu*’ *ity eteṣu parato ner ay ādeśo bhavati*

The *Ni* of an *aṅga* is replaced with *ay* when *ām, anta, ālu, āyya, itnu* and *iṣṇu* combine to follow.

EXAMPLES:

*kārayāñcakāra* ‘. . . had it made’

*hārayāñcakāra* ‘. . . had it carried’

*maṇdayantah* ‘ornamentation’

*sprhayāluḥ* ‘desirous, compassionate’

*gr̥hayāluḥ* ‘householder’

*sprhayāyyah* ‘desirous’

*gr̥hayāyyah* ‘householder’

*stanayitnuḥ* ‘thunder’

*poṣayiṣnavah* ‘desirous of nourishing’

*pārayiṣnavah* ‘desirous of going across’

1. This rule is an exception to *Ni*-deletion of 6.4.51 *ner aniti*. It allows *ay* to replace *Ni* when *ām, anta, ālu, āyya, itnu* and *iṣṇu* follow. Refer to derivational details of examples in the appendix (III: 717–18).

2. Why was this rule not formulated as *na*, to simply negate the deletion of *Ni*? This provision of non-deletion would have eventually resulted into a replacement in *ay*, via *guṇa* of *Ni*. This would also have proved more economical. Commentators note that a replacement in *ay* is intended more for subsequent rules (*Kāś*: ‘*na*’ *iti vaktavye ayādeśavacanam uttarārtham*).

#### 6.4.56 ल्यपि लघुपूर्वत्

*lyapi laghupūrvat*

/ *lyapi* 7/1 *laghupūrvat* 5/1 = *laghuh pūrvo yasmāt* (bv.), *tasmāt* /

(*aṅgasya* #1 *ārdhadhātuke* #46 *neh* #51 *ay* #55)

*lyapi parato laghupūrvād varṇād uttarasya ḡer ay ādeśo bhavati*

A *Ni*, when occurring after a sound segment preceded by a vowel termed *laghu* 'short', is replaced with *ay*, provided an affix termed *ārdhadhātuka*, namely *LyaP*, follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*praṇamayya* 'having caused to bow down'

*pratamayya* 'having caused to fall down'

*pradamayya* 'having caused to restrain'

*praśamayya* 'having caused to quest down'

*sandamayya (gataḥ)* 'having constrained he went'

1. This rule allows *ay* to replace *Ni*, when *LyaP* follows *Ni*, and what precedes *Ni* is preceded by a vowel termed *laghu*. Thus, Consider *pra + nam + NiC + LyaP → pranamayya*, etc., where a *laghu* vowel, i.e., *a*, precedes *m* occurring before *NiC*. The *LyaP*, of course, is a replacement of *Ktvā*, used after a verbal root signifying prior action (*pūrvakāla*; 7.1.37 *samāse' nañpūrve . . .*). Recall that *praśāmi → praśami*, etc., entail shortening of 6.4.92 *mitāṁ hrasvah*. Note also that *prabebhidayya*, etc., are derivates of *LyaP* introduced after a *NiC*-derivate of *bhid*, etc., ending in *yaṄ*, used with the preverb *pra*. Thus, *pra + bhid + yaṄ → pra + bhi + bhid + yaṄ → pra + bi + bhid + yaṄ → (pra + be + bhid + yaṄ) + NiC*. The *ya* of *yaṄ*, however, gets deleted by 6.4.49 *yasya halah*. This same also applies to other examples. The *curādi* verbal root *gāṇa* is enumerated as ending in *a*. This *a* goes through deletion as a result of being an *it*. The *vṛddhi* in *pragāṇayya* is blocked via *sthānivadbhāva*.

2. Note that shortening (*hrasva*) of *praṇāmi*, etc., is accomplished by 6.4.92 *mitāṁ hrasvah*. This rule accomplishes a replacement in *ay*. These two operations both are contained within the domain of 6.4.22 *asiddhavad atrābhāt*. Why can we not accept *hrasva*, which enables *m* to be preceded by the *laghu* vowel *a*, as *asiddha*? Commentators state that such operations, i.e., *hrasva* 'shortening', *yalopa* 'deletion of *ya*', *āllopa* 'deletion of *ā*' cannot be accepted as *asiddha* since they do not share similar operational loci (*samānāśraya*) with, for example, this replacement in *ay*. That is, *hrasva*, etc., are conditioned by *Ni* and *ay* in place of *Ni* is conditioned by *LyaP*. Thus, shortening, etc., do not become a *asiddha* 'suspended'.

3. The condition of *laghupūrvāt* is imposed so that we do get *ay* as a replacement of *Ni* of *prapātya gataḥ*. Notice that *t* of *prapāti* is not preceded by a *laghu* vowel.

#### 6.4.57 विभाषणः:

*vibhāṣā" pah*

/ *vibhāṣā* 1/1 *āpah* 5/1 /

(*angasya #1 ārdhadhātuke #46 neh #51 ay #55 lyapi #56*)

*āpā uttarasya ner lyapi parato vibhāṣā' yādeśo bhavati*

A replacement in *ay* comes optionally in place of affix *Ni* when *Ni* occurs after *āp* and affix *LyaP* follows.

EXAMPLES:

*prāpayya gataḥ* ‘having caused to obtain he went’

*prāpya gataḥ* ‘having obtained he went’

1. This rule offers optional *ay* as a replacement for *Ni*, when *Ni* occurs after *āp* and is followed by *LyaP*. Note that *āp* refers here to *āpL* ‘to attain’ (*cur-ādi*) and *āpL* ‘to pervade’ (*sv-ādi*), both.

#### 6.4.58 युप्लुवोदीर्घश्छन्दसि

*yupluvor dirghaś chandasī*

/yu-pluvoh 6/2 (itar. dv.) dirghah 1/1 chandasī 7/1/

(aṅgasya #1 lyapi #56)

‘yu, plu’ ity etayor lyapi paratas chandasī viṣaye dirgho bhavati

The final sound segment of an *aṅga*, namely verbal roots *yū* ‘to mix’ and *plu* ‘to float’, is replaced with its long counterpart when affix *LyaP* follows.

EXAMPLES:

*dāntyánupūrvam viyūyā*

*yatrā yo dakṣiṇā pariplūya*

1. Note that this rule covers Vedic derivates. Elsewhere, we will get *samyutya* and *āplutya* with no long replacements. Note that augment *tUK* (6.1.71 *hrasvasya piti* . . .) will be introduced in the absence of this long replacement.

#### 6.4.59 क्षियः

*kṣiyah*

/kṣiyah 6/1/

(aṅgasya #1 lyapi #56 dirghah #58)

*kṣiyāś ca dirgho bhavati lyapi parataḥ*

The final vowel of an *aṅga*, namely *kṣi*, is replaced with its long counterpart when affix *LyaP* follows.

EXAMPLES:

*prakṣīya*

1. This rule does not carry the *anuvṛtti* of *chandasī*.

#### 6.4.60 निष्ठायामण्यदर्थे

*nīṣṭhāyām anyadarthe*

/ niṣṭhāyām 7/1 anyadarthe 7/1 = nyato' rthah = nyadarthah (śaṣ. tat.); na nyadarthah (nañ. tat.) /

(aṅgasya #1 dīrghah #58 kṣiyah #59)

nyataḥ kṛtyasyārthaḥ = bhāvavakarmanī, tābhyaṁ anyatra ya niṣṭhā tasyām kṣiyo dīrgho bhavati

The final short vowel of an *aṅga*, namely *kṣi* ‘to decay’, is replaced with its long counterpart when a *niṣṭhā* suffix denoting something other than the sense of *NyaT* follows.

EXAMPLES:

ākṣīṇah ‘decayed, having resided’

prakṣīṇah ‘ibidem’

parikṣīṇah ‘ibidem’

1. This rule offers a long replacement for the short *i* of *kṣi* when a *niṣṭhā* suffix with the signification of something other than *NyaT* follows. Recall that *NyaT* is an affix termed *kṛtya*, used with the signification of *bhāva* ‘root-sense’ and *karman* ‘object’ (3.4.70 *tayor eva* . . .). Obviously, this replacement in long applies when a *niṣṭhā* suffix follows with the signification of *kartṛ* ‘agent’ and *adhikarana* ‘locus’. Thus, *praksīna* and *pariksīna* where *Kta* is introduced after the intransitive (*akarmaka*; 3.4.72 *gatyarthākarmaka* . . .) verbal root *kṣi*, used with the preverb *pari*. This *Kta* denotes an agent. Recall that this long replacement also causes the application of 8.2.46 *kṣiyo dīrghāt* whereby the *t* of *Kta* is replaced with *n*. This *n* is subsequently replaced with *ṇ*.

#### 6.4.61 वाऽऽ क्रोशदैन्ययोः:

vā” krośadainyayoh

/ vā ākrośa-danyayoh 7/2 (itar. dv.), tayoh/

(aṅgasya #1 dīrghah #58 kṣiyah #59 niṣṭhāyām anyadarthe #60)

ākrośe gamyamāne dainye ca kṣiyo niṣṭhāyām anyadarthe vā dīrgho bhavati

The final short vowel of an *aṅga*, namely *kṣi*, is replaced with its long counterpart when a *niṣṭhā* affix denoting the sense of something other than *NyaT* follows and the derivate denotes *ākrośa* ‘anger, reproach’ and *danya* ‘pity’.

EXAMPLES:

kṣitāyuḥ edhi ‘may you have a very short life-span’

kṣīṇāyuḥ ‘ibidem’

kṣitakah ‘emaciated’

kṣīṇakah ‘ibidem’

kṣito’ yam tapasvī ‘this ascetic is emaciated’

kṣīṇo’ yam tapasvī ‘ibidem’

1. This rule makes the long replacement optional when a *niṣṭhā* suffix not used with the signification of *NyaT* follows, and derivates denote ākrośa ‘anger’ and *dainya* ‘pity’. The *Kta* or *kṣi + Kta* is used with the denotatum of *kartr* ‘agent’. Notice how this long replacement, when blocked, also blocks *n*-replacement of *t*. The question of a subsequent replacement of *n* with *n̄* does not arise.

This optional replacement is not available to *kṣitam* of *kṣitam asya sarvam* ‘whatever is his is wasted’, or *kṣitam asya tapasvināḥ* ‘this ascetic’s (all) is wasted’, because *Kta* of *kṣita* is used with the signification of *karman* ‘object’.

#### 6.4.62 स्यसिसीयुटासिशु भावकर्मणोरुपदेशे ४ ज्ञनग्रहदृशां वा चिणवदिट् च

*syasicsīyut-tāsišu bhāvakarmanorupadeśe' jjhanagrahadṛśāṁ vā ciṇvad it ca / sya-sic-siyut-tāsišu 7/1 (itar. dv.); bhāvakarmanoh 7/2 (itar. dv.); upadeśe 7/1 ajj-hana-graha-dṛśām 6/3 (itar. dv.), teṣām; vā φ ciṇvat φ it 1/1 ca φ/ (aṅgasya #1)*

‘*sya, sic, siyut, tāsi*’ *ity eteṣu bhāvakarmavīṣayesu parata upadeśe*’ *jantānām aṅgānām* ‘*han, grah, drs*’ *ity eteṣām ca ciṇvat kāryām bhavati*

An *aṅga*, namely *han* ‘to kill’, *grah* ‘to seize, hold’ and *drś* ‘to see’, and also that which ends in a vowel in *upadeśa* ‘initial citation’, is optionally treated like an *aṅga* occurring before affix *CiN*, when *sya, sic, siyUT* and *tāsi*, with the signification of *bhāva* ‘root-sense’ or *karman* ‘object’ with a concurrently introduced augment *iT* follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*cāyisyate* ‘third singular middle *LRT* form of *ciN* ‘to heap’

*cesyate* ‘ibidem’

*acāyisyata* ‘third singular middle *LRN* . . .’

*acesyata* ‘ibidem’

*ghāniṣyate* ‘third singular middle *LRT* form of *han* ‘to kill’’

*hanīṣyate* ‘ibidem’

*aghāniṣyata* ‘. . . *LRN* . . .’

*ahaniṣyata* ‘ibidem’

*grāhiṣyate* ‘. . . *LRT* form of *grah* ‘to seize, hold’’

*grahiṣyate* ‘ibidem’

*agrāhiṣyata* ‘. . . *LRN* form of *grah*’

*agrahīṣyata* ‘ibidem’

*darśiṣyate* ‘third singular middle *LRT* form of *dṛś* ‘to see’’

*drakṣyate* ‘ibidem’

*adarśiṣyata* ‘. . . *LRN* form of *dṛś*’

*adrakṣyata* ‘ibidem’

*avāyiṣatām* ‘third dual middle *LUN* form of *ci* ‘to heap’’

*acesatām* ‘ibidem’

*adāyiṣatām* ‘. . . *LUN* form of *dā* ‘to give’’

*adiśātām* ‘ibidem’  
*aśāmiśātām* ‘... *LUN* form of causal *śami* ‘be tired, quiet’’  
*aśamīśātām* ‘ibidem’  
*aśamayiśātām* ‘ibidem’  
*aghāniśātām* ‘... *LUN* form of *han* ‘to kill’’  
*avadhiśātām* ‘ibidem’  
*ahasātām* ‘ibidem’  
*agrāhiśātām* ‘... *LUN* form of *grah* ‘to seize, hold’’  
*agrahiśātām* ‘ibidem’  
*adarśiśātām* ‘... *LUN* form of *dṛś* ‘to see’’  
*adrksātām* ‘ibidem’  
*cāyiśīṣṭa* ‘third singular middle benedictive *LIN* form of *ci* ‘to heap’’  
*ceśīṣṭa* ‘ibidem’  
*dāyiśīṣṭa* ‘... benedictive of *dā* ‘to give’’  
*dāsiśīṣṭa* ‘ibidem’  
*śāmiśīṣṭa* ‘... of *śami*’  
*śamīśīṣṭa* ‘ibidem’  
*śamayiśīṣṭa* ‘ibidem’  
*ghāniśīṣṭa* ‘of *han*’  
*vadhiśīṣṭa* ‘ibidem’  
*grāhiśīṣṭa* ‘... of *grah*’  
*grahīśīṣṭa* ‘ibidem’  
*darsiśīṣṭa* ‘... of *dṛś*’  
*drkśīṣṭa* ‘ibidem’  
*cāyitā* ‘third singular *LUT* form of *ci*’  
*cetā* ‘ibidem’  
*dāyitā* ‘... of *dā* ‘to give’’  
*dātā* ‘ibidem’  
*śāmitā* ‘... of causal *śami*’  
*śamitā* ‘ibidem’  
*śamayitā* ‘ibidem’  
*ghānitā* ‘... of *han*’  
*hantā* ‘ibidem’  
*grahitā* ‘... of *grah*’  
*grahitā* ‘ibidem’  
*darsiṭā* ‘... of *dṛś*’  
*darṣṭā* ‘ibidem’  
*draṣṭā* ‘ibidem’

1. This rule offers operations similar to *CiN*, optionally, along with the introduction of augment *iT*, to verbal roots which end in a vowel in *upadeśa*, or to roots *han*, *grah* and *dṛś*, provided *sya*, *sIC*, *siyUT* and *tās* follow with the signification of *bhāva* and *karman*. Most of the cited examples are derivates of *LRT* and *LRN* where augment *aT* is introduced with derivates of *LRN*.

Additionally, there is no replacement in *e* (*etva*) for *ti* (1.1.64 *aco' ntyādi ti*). These and derivates of *LIN* and *LUN* follow operational provisions made for *sIC*, etc., with *cinvadbhāva* where applicable. Derivates of *LUT* should present no difficulty.

Note that *cinvat* ends in *vatUP*. Consequently, provisions of this rule are extensional (*atidiṣṭa*). There are two ways in which *cinvat* can be interpreted to facilitate operations:

- (i) operations which *CiN* conditions and (ii) operations which may or may not be conditioned by *CiN*, but which generally obtain when *CiN* follows.

Commentators state that this second interpretation is generally accepted. Refer to my notes under rule 3.1.87 *karmavat karmaṇā tulyakriyāḥ* for further details. Note that, in addition to operations listed there, *cinvadbhāva* always brings augment *iT*. This *iT*, because of being contained within the section known as *ābhīya*, becomes suspended (*asiddha*).

This rule anticipates *cinvadbhāva* ‘operations similar to when *CiN* follows’. That is, operations relative to an *anga* (*anga-kārya*) should be performed before *sya*, *sIC*, *sīyUT* and *tāsI*, in a manner similar to when *CiN* follows. There are basically four operations which are performed before *sya*, *sIC*, etc., under this extensional provision of *cinvadbhāva*:

- (i) A *vṛddhi* conditioned by affixes marked with *N* as an *it* (*ṇin-nimittaka*; 7.2.115 *aco' ṣṇiti* and 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ*);
- (ii) Introduction of augment *yUK* (7.3.33 *āto yuk cinkṛtōḥ*) to roots which end in *ā*;
- (iii) Replacement in *gh* for the *h* of verbal root *han* (7.3.54 *ho hanter ḷṇinnesu*) as conditioned by *N* as an *it* in *CiN*;
- (iv) An optional long replacement for the short penultimate of an *anga* marked with *M* as an *it* (*mit*; 6.4.93 *cīṇ namulo dīrgho' nyatarasyām*).

The *Mahābhāṣya* summarizes *cinvadbhāva* as follows:

*cinvad vṛddhir yuk ca hanteś ca ghatvam  
dīrghaś cokto yo mitāṁ vā ciṇīti/  
iṭ cā' siddhas tena me lupyate ḷṇir  
nityāś cāyam valnimitto vighātī//*

‘*cinvadbhāva* is stated to offer operations similar to *vṛddhi*, augment *yUK*, *gh*-replacement (for *h* of *han*) and optional replacement for those which are marked with *M*; since an *iT* which is concurrently introduced with *cinvadbhāva* is treated as *asiddha* (6.4.22 *asiddhavad atrābhāt*), rule 6.4.51 *ṇer aniti* applies to delete *NiC*. The *iT* of *cinvadbhāva* is considered obligatory (*nitya*); the *iT* which is conditioned by an affix beginning with a sound denoted by *val* (*valādi-lakṣaṇa*) is considered non-obligatory (*anitya*)’

Note that an operation is called *nitya* if it obtains irrespective of whether or not a competing operation obtains (*kṛtākṛta-prasanga*). Introduction of *iT*, via *cinvadbhāva*, is considered obligatory (*nitya*). Introduction of *iT* characterized with a following affix beginning with consonants denoted by *val* is considered *anitya*. There are two things which must be remembered in connection with *cinvadbhāva* and the obligatory-non-obligatory nature of augment *iT*. Firstly, this provision of *cinvadbhāva* and introduction of augment *iT* is generally accepted as *sanniyogasiṣṭha* ‘concurrently introduced’. That is, if one is removed the other must also be removed (*sanniyogaśiṣṭānām saha vā pravṛttih saha vā nivṛtih*). Secondly, rule 6.4.62 *syasicsyut* . . . is optional. It is within this stipulation that *iT* of *cinvadbhāva* is considered obligatory against the non-obligatory *iT* characterized with an affix beginning with a consonant denoted by *val*. The *Mahābhāṣya* (ad 6.4.62: *yāvān in nāma sa sarva ārdhadhātukasyaiva bhavati*) clearly specifies the locus of two operations in *cinvadbhāva*. That is, *cinvadbhāva* is to apply on what is termed an *aṅga*; augment *iT* is introduced to *sya-sic-siyut*, etc. Now consider an illustration. We get two forms, *bhāvitā* and *bhavitā*, which both derive from *bhū + (LUT→ta)*. We get *bhāvitā* via optional *cinvadbhāva* which yields *bhū + iT + tās + ta = bh(ū→au) + itās + ta*. Obviously, we have the concurrent introduction of *iT* to *tās* and *vṛddhi* of the final vowel of *bhū*, the *aṅga*. The *au* and *ta* are then replaced with *āv* (6.1.78 *eco' yauāyāvah*) and *Dā* (2.4.85 *lūṭah prathamasya . . .*), respectively. We thus get *bh(ū→au→āv) + itās + (Dā) = bhāv + itās + ā*. An application of *ti*-deletion finally yields *bhāv + itā(sā→∅) = bhāvitā*. If the option of *cinvadbhāva* is not accepted we will get *bhavitā*. Augment *iT* is then introduced by 7.3.35 *ārdhadhātukasyed valādeḥ*. Of course, an application of *vṛddhi* and subsequent replacement in *āy*, relative to *cinvadbhāva*, cannot be availed here.

Now consider *bhāvitā* and *bhāvayitā*, the two causal derivates of *bhū + NiC→bhāvi*. Given *bhāvi + (LAT→ta)*, we can get the introduction of *iT + tās*. That is, with the understanding that *bhāvi* ends in a vowel (*ajanta*), i.e., which is *upadeśika* ‘given as part of first citation (*upadeśa*)’. The word *upadeśa* is here interpreted as ‘that which ends in (a vowel) in *upadeśa*’. The straightforward interpretation of ‘a root which ends in a vowel in *upadeśa*’ will create problems. The causal vowel *i* of affix *NiC* (3.1.26 *hetumati ca*) in *bhāvi* is what is accepted as *upadeśika* here. Our form *bhāvitā* receives *iT*, via *cinvadbhāva*. This *iT* is considered *asiddha* ‘suspended’ in view of 6.4.51 *ner anīti*. These two operations both are contained in the *ābhīya* section with similar operational locus. Hence, deletion of *Ni* by 6.4.51 *ner anīti* is accomplished. This gives us (*bhāvi→∅*) + *tās + ta*. We finally get *bhāvitā* with replacement in *Dā* and *Ti*-deletion. In the absence of not accepting *cinvadbhāva* we will bring *iT* from 7.3.35 *ārdhadhātukasyed valādeḥ*. This *iT* cannot be accepted as *asiddha* since it is not contained within the *ābhīya* section. We thus do not get the deletion of *NiC*. We will thus get the application of *guṇa*

(7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdha . . .*) and replacement in *ay* on: *bhāv(i→e→ay) + iT + tās + ta→bhāvay + itā(s + ta→ϕ)* = *bhāvayitā*. Refer to further derivational details in the appendix.

#### 6.4.63 दीडो युडचि किडति

*dīnō yud aci kniti*  
*/dīnah 5/1 yuT 1/1 aci 7/1 kniti 7/1/*  
*(aṅgasya #1 ārādhadhātuke #46)*

*dīnō yud ḍagamo bhavati ajādau kniti pratyaye parataḥ*

Augment *yUT* is introduced to an *aṅga*, namely *dīn*, when a vowel-initial affix marked with *K* or *N* as an *it* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*upadidiye* ‘third singular middle *LIT*-derivate’

*upadidiyāte* ‘third dual middle . . .’

*upadidiyire* ‘third plural middle . . .’

1. Note that *yUT*, an augment marked with *T* as an *it*, should be introduced at the beginning of *dīN* (cf. 1.1.46 *ādyantau takitau*). But such an introduction is possible only when *dīnah* is interpreted as ending in the genitive (1.1.49 *saṣṭhī sthāneyogā*). It is to facilitate the introduction of *yUT* to the following affix beginning with a vowel that *dīnah* is here interpreted as ending in the ablative (*pañcamī*; 1.1.67 *tasmād ity uttarasya*). A genitive interpretation is blocked in favor of the ablative (*ubhayanirdeśe pañcaminirdeśo bañyah* (*pari*: 71)). Thus, consider the third personal middle forms of *LIT* introduced after *dī* used with the preverb *upa*. Recall that the *ta*, *ātām* and *jha* which replace *LIT* are further replaced with *eś*, *āte* and *ireC*, respectively. We get *upadidiye*, *upadidiyāte* and *upadidiyire* through iteration (*abhyāsa/dvitva*), shortening (*hrasva*) and *yUT* (3.4.81 *litās tajhator . . .*), introduced before *eś*, etc.

Note that augment *yUT*, and a replacement in *yaN* of 6.4.82 *er anekācaḥ*, are both contained within this *ābhīya* domain of rules. Commentators state that this *yUT* cannot be treated as suspended (*asiddha*) when considering the application of *yaN*. For, that will produce wrong forms such as \**upadidiyire*, etc. Besides, this express provision of *yUT* will then become meaningless (*vyaṛtha*). Thus, *yUT* cannot be treated as if suspended (*asiddhavat*) when 6.4.82 *er anekācaḥ . . .* applies to cause a replacement in *yaN* (*Kāś*: ‘*dīnah*’ *iti pañcaminirdeśād ajāder yud ḍagamo bhavati. vidhānasāmarthyac ca ‘er anekācaḥ . . .’ iti yañādeśe kartavye tasyāsiddhatvam na bhavati*). That is, this application of *yaN* is blocked.

#### 6.4.64 आतो लोप इटि च

*āto lopa iti ca*

/ ātah 6/1 lopah 1/1 iti 7/1 ca φ/  
(aṅgasya #1 ārdhadhātuke #46 aci kñiti #63)

idya jādāv ārdhadhātuke kñiti cākārāntasyāṅgasya lopo bhavati

The final vowel of an *aṅga* ending in ā is deleted by means of *LOPA* when an *ārdhadhātuka* affix beginning with augment *iT*, or one which begins with a vowel and is marked with *K* or *N̄* as an *it*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

*papitha* ‘second person singular active *LIT* of *pā* ‘to drink’

*papatuh* ‘third person dual active *LIT* of *pā*’

*papuh* ‘third person plural . . .’

*tasthita* ‘second person singular active *LIT* of *sthā* ‘to stand’’

*tasthatuh* ‘third person dual . . .’

*tasthuh* ‘third person plural . . .’

*godaḥ* ‘giver of cow’

*kambaladah* ‘giver of blanket’

*pradā* ‘gift, giving generously’

*pradhā* ‘oblations, placing with great care’

1. This rule allows deletion of the final ā of an *aṅga* when an *ārdhadhātuka* affix either augmented with *iT*, or beginning with a vowel and marked with *K* and *N̄* as an *it*, follows. A specification with *iT* is made separately to also allow this deletion before an *ārdhadhātuka* affix not marked with *K* and *N̄* as an *it*. Now consider the second person active singular *LIT* forms of *pā* and *sthā*. Recall that *siP* is further replaced here with *thaL* (3.4.82 *parasmait-padānām* . . .). We get *papā + i + tha* and *tasthā + i + tha*, after iteration, operations relative to *abhyāsa* and introduction of argument *iT* (7.2.63 *rto bhāradvājasya*). The ā-deletion of this rule thus produces *papitha* and *tasthita*. Refer to derivational details of *papatuh* and *papuh* in the appendix of 1.1.59 *dvir vacane’ ci*. Rule 3.2.3 *āto’ nūpasarge kah* introduces affix *Ka* in deriving *goda* and *kambalada*. Affix *aN̄* is similarly introduced by 3.3.106 *ātaś copasarge* in deriving *pradā* and *pradhā*. These are both derivates of *TāP*, introduced after deletion of ā.

2. Kāśikā offers *yānti* ‘they go’ and *vātni* ‘. . . move’ as counter-examples to the condition of *ārdhadhātuke*. Recall that *ti* is an affix termed *sārvadhātuka*. Similar counter-examples are offered in *vyatyare* and *vyatyale*, the first person singular derivates of *LAṄ* signifying reciprocal action (*karmavyatihāra*). Since there is no *ārdhadhātuka* affix to follow, the ā (of *rā* and *lā*) and *i* (of affix *i*) receive a single replacement in *guṇa*. This ā-deletion can also not be possible in *glāyate* and *dāsiya* where the condition of *ajādi* ‘vowel-initial’ cannot be met.

#### 6.4.65 इद्यति

*id yati*

/it 1/1 yati 7/1/

(aṅgasya #1 ātaḥ #64)

īkāra ādeśo bhavati īkārāntasyāṅgasya

The final ā of an aṅga is replaced with ī when affix yaT follows.

EXAMPLES:

*deyam* ‘... to be given’

*dheyam* ‘... to be placed’

*heyam* ‘... to be discarded’

*steyam* ‘theft; stealing’

1. This rule offers iT as a replacement for the aṅga-final ā when affix yaT follows. Note that *deyam*, etc., are derivates of *yaT*. Refer to derivational details of *geyam* in the appendix (III: 729) of 3.1.97 *aco yat*.

#### 6.4.66 घुमास्थागापाजहातिसां हलि

*ghumāsthāgāpājahātisāṁ hali*

/ghu-mā-sthā-gā-pā-jahāti-sāṁ 6/3 (itar. dv.) *hali* 7/1/

(aṅgasya #1 ārdhadhātuke #46 kniti #63 it #65)

*ghu-saṁjñakānāṁ aṅgānāṁ* ‘mā, sthā, gā, pā, jahāti, sā’ ity etesāṁ halādau  
kniti pratyaye parata īkārādeśo bhavati

The final sound segment of an aṅga, namely one which is termed *ghu*, or one which is constituted by *mā* ‘to measure’, *sthā* ‘to stand’, *gā(gai)* ‘to sing’, *pā* ‘to drink’, *hā* ‘to abandon’ and *sā (so)* ‘to destroy’, is replaced with ī, when an ārdhadhātuka affix beginning with a consonant, and marked with *K* or *N̄* as an *it*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

*diyate* ‘third singular passive LAT of dā ‘to give’ with affix yaK denoting *karman* ‘object’

*dediyate* ‘... with verbal root dā ending in yaN̄’

*dhīyate* ‘third singular passive LAT of dhā ‘to place’

*dedhīyate* ‘... with verbal root dhā ending in yaN̄’

*mīyate* ‘it is measured (with yaK denoting object)’

*memīyate* ‘... with verbal root mā ending in yaN̄’

*sthīyate* ‘third singular LAT of sthā with yaK’

*teṣṭhīyate* ‘... with verbal root sthā ending in yaN̄’

*gīyate* ‘third singular LAT with yaK denoting object’

*jegīyate* ‘... with verbal root gā ending in yaN̄’

*adhyagīṣṭa* ‘third singular middle LUN-derivate of adhi-i ‘to study diligently’’

*adhyagīṣṭātāṁ* ‘third dual middle LUN...’

*adhyagīṣṭātā* ‘third plural middle ...’

*pīyate* ‘third singular middle LAT of *pā* ‘to drink’ where *yaK* denotes object’

*pepiyate* ‘. . . with verbal root *pā* ending in *yaK*’

*hiyate* ‘. . . verbal root *hā* with *yaK*; ‘. . . is abandoned’’

*jehiyate* ‘. . . with verbal root *hā* ending in *yaN̄*’

*avasīyate* ‘. . . is destroyed; *ava-so* + (LAT→te) with *yaK*’

*avasesīyate* ‘. . . with verbal root *so* ending in *yaN̄*’

1. This rule allows *i* as a replacement for an *aṅga*-final *ā*, provided the *aṅga* is either termed *ghu* (1.1.20 *dādhāghv adāp*), or is constituted by *mā* (*meN̄*, *sthā*, *gā*, *pā*, *hā* (of *jahāti*)) and *sā*. Additionally, the following suffix must begin with a consonant and must be marked with *K* or *N̄* as an *it*. Thus, consider *dīyate* and *dhīyate* where *ta* replaces *LAT* with the denotatum of *karman*, and *yaK* (3.1.67 *sārvadhātuke yak*) is introduced. Verbal roots *dā* and *dhā* are termed *ghu* and their *ā* is replaced with *i*, under the condition of *yaK*. Note that *yaK* is marked with *K* and begins with a consonant (*halādi*). The consonant initial affix in *dedīyate* is *yaN̄* (3.1.22 *dhātor ekāco . . .*). Thus, *dā* + *yaK*→*dī* + *yaK*, etc. Refer to full derivational details of similar forms under the appendix of 3.1.22 *dhātor ekāco . . .* Similar rules apply in deriving *miyate*, *memiyate*, *pīyate*, *pepiyate*, etc. Derivational details of *adhyagīṣṭa*, etc., can be found under the appendix of 1.2.1 *gāṅkuṭādibhyo . . .* Operations relative to *dvitva* ‘iteration’ and *abhyāsa*, particularly retention of *khaR* (7.4.61 *śarpūrvāḥ khayah*) in *teṣṭhiya* and replacement with *jaŚ* in *gigīya*→*jegīya*, should pose no problem. Refer to many example derivates under 1.2.1 *gāṅkuṭādi . . .*, etc., and also rules dealing with *dvitva* (6.1.1 *ekāco dve . . .*) and *abhyāsa* (6.1.4 *pūrvo*‘ *bhyāsaḥ*). Note that verbal root *so* gets its *ś* replaced with *s* (6.1.64 *dhātvādeḥ . . .*). It further receives *ā* as a replacement for *o* (6.1.45 *ādeca . . .*).

Note that *mā* refers to three verbal roots: *mā*, *meN̄* and *māN̄*. A similar reference with *gā* is made to *gāN̄*, *gai* and *gā*. Verbal roots *pā* ‘to drink’ and *Ohāk* ‘to abandon’ alone are referred to by *pā* and *hā*.

2. *Kāśikā* illustrates the conditions of *hali* and *kniti* with *dadatuh/daduh* and *dātā/dhātā*, respectively. Affixes *atus* and *us* do not allow *ā* of *dā* to be replaced with *i* since they begin with a vowel. Affix *ṭṛC* of *dātā* and *dhātā* is marked with *C*, as against the required *K* and *N̄*.

Note that *hali* of this rule also serves as an indicator (*jñāpaka*). That is, its use indicates that *vipratisedha* applies in this section of *ābhīya* rules. Thus, this rule finds its independent scope in deriving *dīyate* and *dhīyate* with *i* as a replacement. Rule 6.4.64 *āto lopa . . .* finds its scope in *yayau* and *yayuh* to delete *ā* of *yā*. These two rules both find their scope in *dadatuh* and *daduh*. If *hali* was not used here, *i*-replacement could have blocked *ā*-deletion on the basis of *paratva* (1.4.2 *vipratisedhe . . .*). One can argue here that the question of *vipratisedha* arises only when both rules are not *asiddha*. Both these rules, because of their inclusion in this section, are *asiddha*. Thus, the ques-

tion of *vipratisedha* does not arise. But since Pāṇini uses *hali* with the express purpose of only allowing *i* before a consonant-initial affix, *hali* has been used to block deletion on the basis of *vipratisedha* ‘conflict of equal strength’. That is, *vipratisedha* obtains in this section of *ābhīya* rules. For, if one does not accept *vipratisedha*, *ītva* will not find its scope. That is, a specification with *hali* to block *vipratisedha* will not be needed.

#### 6.4.67 एर्लिङ्डि

*er lini*

/eh 6/1 lini 7/1/

(*angasya* #1 *ārdhadhātuke* #46 *kniiti* #63 *ghumāsthāgāpājahātisām* #66)  
*ghumāsthāgāpājahātisām angānām lini parata ekārādeśo bhavati*

The final sound segment of an *anga*, namely one which is termed *ghu*, or one which is constituted by *mā*, *sthā*, *gā*, *pā*, *hā* and *sā*, is replaced with *e*, when a *LIN* affix termed *ārdhadhātuka* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*deyāt* ‘third singular active *LIN* (benedictive)

derivate of *dā* ‘to give’

*meyāt* ‘... of *māN* ‘to measure’

*dheyāt* ‘... of *dhā* ‘to place’

*stheyāt* ‘... of *sthā* ‘to stand’

*geyāt* ‘... of *gai* ‘to sing’

*peyāt* ‘... of *pā* ‘to drink’

*avaseyāt* ‘... of *so* used with *ava*’

*dāsiṣṭa* ‘third singular middle *LIN* (benedictive)

derivate of *dā* ‘to give’

*dhāsiṣṭa* ‘third singular middle *LIN* (benedictive) derivate of *dhā* ‘to place’’

1. This rule allows a replacement in *e* for the final *ā* of *ghu* and *mā*, etc., when an *ārdhadhātuka* replacement of *LIN* marked with *K* and *N* as an *it* follows. Recall that 3.4.116 *lināśiṣi* assigns the term *ārdhadhātuka* to a *tiṄ* which replaces *LIN*. Rule 3.4.104 *kid* *āśiṣi* extends *kit*-status to augment *yāsUT* which, in turn, is introduced to an active (*parasmaipada*) replacement of *LIN*. Example derivates are all given for verbal roots which are active (*parasmaipada*). Examples for a following affix marked with *N* are impossible (*asambhava*) to find.

#### 6.4.68 वाऽन्यस्य संयोगादेः

*vā'* *nyasya samyogādeḥ*

/vā φ *anyasya* 6/1 *samyogādeḥ* 6/1 = *samyogasya ādir yah* (bv.), *tasya/*

(*aṅgasya* #1 *ārdhadhātuke* #46 *ātaḥ* #64 *er liṇi* #67)  
*ghvādibhyo'* *nyasya samyogāder ākārāntasya vā ekārādeśo bhavati liṇi parataḥ*  
 The final sound segment of an *aṅga* which is not specified here with *ghu*, etc., and which begins with a conjunct and ends in *ā*, is optionally replaced with *e* when a *LIṄ* affix termed *ārdhadhātuka* and marked with *K* or *N* as an *it* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*gleyat* 'third singular active *LIṄ* (benedictive) derivate of *glai* 'to be glum'

*glāyat* 'ibidem'

*mleyat* 'third singular active benedictive (*LIṄ*) derivate of *mlai* 'to fade away, be sad'

*mlāyat* 'ibidem'

1. This rule offers *e* as an optional replacement for roots which begin with a conjunct (*samyogādi*) and end in *ā*, but which are not covered by the specification of *ghu*, etc. The condition of a *LIṄ*-replacement termed *ārdhadhātuka* is still valid. The condition of *kñiti* is also valid. Thus, we get *gleyat*/*glāyat*, *mleyat*/*mlāyat*, etc. Recall that *ai* of *glai* and *mlai* is replaced with *ā* (6.145 *ādeca upadeśe . . .*). The exclusion of *ghu*, etc., is made in view of the obligatory (*nitya*) application of the preceding rule.

#### 6.4.69 न ल्यपि

*na lyapi*

/ *na* φ *lyapi* 7/1/

(*aṅgasya* #1 *ghumāsthāgāpājahātisām* #66)

*lyapi pratyaye parato ghumāsthāgāpājahātisām yad uktam tan na bhavati*  
 That which is stated for an *aṅga* termed *ghu*, or one constituted by *mā*, *sthā*, *gā*, *pā*, *hā* and *sā*, does not become operative when *LyaP* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*pradāya* 'after having given'

*pradhāya* 'after having placed'

*pramāya* 'after having measured'

*prasthāya* 'after having started'

*pragāya* 'after having praised'

*prapāya* 'after having drunk'

*prahāya* 'after having abandoned'

*avasāya* 'after having destroyed'

1. The *i*-replacement of 6.4.66 *ghumāsthā . . .* is here negated when *LyaP* follows. The question of negating a replacement in *e* does not arise since

that requires *LIN*. Recall that *LyaP* is a replacement of *Ktvā* (7.1.37 *samāse' nañ . . .*), treated as marked with *K* via *sthānivadbhāva*.

#### 6.4.70 पयतेरिदन्यतरस्याम्

*mayater id anyatarasyām*  
*/ matayēḥ 6/1 it 1/1 anyatarasyām 7/1/*  
*(aṅgasya #1 lyapi #69)*

*mayater aṅgasya ikārādeśo bhavati lyapi parato' nyatarasyām*

The final sound segment of an *aṅga*, namely *meN*, is replaced optionally with *i* when affix *LyaP* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*apamitya* ‘having exchanged after . . .’  
*apamāya* ‘ibidem’

1. Note that *mayateḥ* here specifies verbal root *meN* ‘to exchange, barter’ as an *aṅga*. This rule offers *i* as an optional replacement for the *ā* of *m(e→ā = mā)*. Of course, when *LyaP* follows. The *Ktvā* which subsequently gets replaced by *LyaP* is introduced in example derives by 3.4.19 *udicāṁ māno*. . . . A replacement in *i* also brings augment *tUK* (6.1.71 *hrasvasya pitikṛiti* . . .). Thus, *apamitya* and *apamāya*.

#### 6.4.71 लुङ्लाङ्लृङ्लक्ष्वदुदात्तः

*luñlañlṛṅksv ad udāttah*  
*/ luñ-lañ-lṛṅksu 7/3 (itar. dv.) aṭ 1/1 udāttah 1/1)*  
*(aṅgasya #1)*

‘*luñ, lañ, lṛñ*’ *ity eteṣu parato' nīgasyād āgamo bhavati udāttas ca sa bhavati*  
 Augment *aT*, concurrently marked *udātta*, is introduced to an *aṅga* when affixes *LUN*, *LAN* and *LRN* follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*akārṣit* ‘he made’  
*ahārṣit* ‘he carried, fetched’  
*akarot* ‘he did’  
*aharat* ‘he carried, fetched’  
*akariyat* ‘he had done’  
*ahariyat* ‘he had carried, fetched’

1. This rule introduces the *udātta* augment *aT* to an *aṅga* when *LUN*, *LAN* and *LRN* follow. Refer to derivational details of *akārṣit* and *ahārṣit* under the appendix of rule 1.1.1 *vṛddhir ādaic*. Derivational details of *akariyat* and *ahariyat* can be found under 1.4.13 *yasmāt pratyayavidhis* . . . (II: 511). Refer to the appendix of 3.2.111 *anadyatane lañ* for derivational details of

*akarot*. This same also applies to *aharat* where *ŚaP* is introduced before *tiP* as *vikarana*.

#### 6.4.72 आडजादीनाम्

*ād ajādīnām*

/ āt 1/1 *ajādīnām* 6/3 = *ac ādir yeśām* (bv.), *teśām/*  
(*aṅgasya* #1 *lunlaṇlṛikṣu udāttah* #71)

*ād āgamō bhavat� ajādīnām lunlaṇlṛikṣu paratah; udāttāś ca sa bhavati*  
Augment *āT*, with concurrent marking of *udāttā*, is introduced to an *aṅga* which begins with a vowel (*aC*) when affixes *LUN*, *LAṄ* and *LRṄ* follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*aikṣiṣṭa* 'third singular middle *LUN*-derivate of *ikṣ* 'to see, perceive'

*aihiṣṭa* '... of *ih* 'to desire, strive'

*aubjūl*

*aumbhūt*

*aikṣata* 'third singular middle *LAṄ* form of *ikṣ*'

*aihata* '... of *ih*'

*aubjata* 'third singular active *LAṄ* form of *ubj* 'to subdue, be straight'

*aumbhata* '... of *umbh* 'to confine, fill'

*aikṣiṣyata* 'third singular middle *LRṄ* form of *ikṣ*'

*aihiṣyata* '... of *ih*'

*aubjisyata* '... *ubj*'

*aumbhīṣyata* '... of *umbh*'

1. This rule introduces an *udāttā* augment *āT* to an *aṅga* which begins with a vowel. The right condition of *LUN*, etc., is still valid. Refer to my notes under 6.1.90 *ātaś ca* for derivational details of many of these examples.

Note that *aijyata*, *aupyata* and *auhyata* are derives of *LAṄ* introduced after *yaj*, *vap* and *vah*. Given *yaj + (LAṄ→ta)*, etc., we get *yaj + yaK + ta*, etc., with the introduction of *yaK* (3.1.67 *sārvadhātuke yak*). Recall that augment *āT* is accepted an *anitya* 'non-obligatory' as compared with *lādeśa* 'replacements of *LA*', *vikarana* and *samprasāraṇa*. Thus, *ta* replaces *LAṄ* before *āT* on the basis of being internally conditioned (*antarāṅga*). The *vikarana*, i.e., *yaK*, is obligatory (*nitya*; *Paribh.*(44): *śabdāntarasya prāpnuvan vidhir anitya bhavati*). Consequently, it applies before *āT*. That is, *āT* is introduced to an *aṅga* qualified with the introduction of *vikarana*. This renders *āT* as non-obligatory. A conflict is also witnessed between the application of *samprasāraṇa* and introduction of *āT*. Since *samprasāraṇa* is *nitya*, as compared with the introduction of *āT*, *samprasāraṇa* applies first. This is how (*yaj + ya + ta*, etc., produce *ij + ya + ta*, etc., which, after the introduction of *āT*, produce *aijyata*, etc., through *vrddhi* (6.1.90 *ātaś ca*)). Refer to the appendix for further derivational details.

## 6.4.73 छन्दस्यपि दृश्यते

*chandasy api dr̥syate*  
*/ chandasī 7/1 api φ dr̥syate (verbal pada) /*  
*(aṅgasya #1 udāttah #71 āṭ #72)*  
*chandasī viśaye āḍ āgamo dr̥syate*

Augment āT, concurrently marked with *udātta*, is also seen in the Vedic.

## EXAMPLES:

*surucō vēna āvah*  
*ānak* ‘third singular active LUN form of naś ‘to perish’  
*āyunak* ‘third singular active LUN of yuj ‘to yoke’

1. This rule informs that āT is also found elsewhere in the Vedic usage. That is, āT is also seen in contexts where an *aṅga* does not begin with a vowel (*Kāś: anajādīnām api dr̥syate*).

Note that āvah is a derivate of LUN→tiP, where i of vr goes through *guna* and *CLI*, before LUN, is deleted (2.4.80 *mantre . . .*). Augment āT is then introduced to produce āvar + ti which, after the deletion of ti and r→h, yields āvah. Deriving ānak, from (n→n) aś + LUN→naś + CLI + ti→āT + naś + ti, will involve *kutva* (8.2.63 naśer vā). Thus, āna(s→k) = ānak. Similar rules apply in deriving āyunak from yuj + LUN. Recall, however, that the *vikarana* is ŠnaM (3.1.78 *rudhādibhyah śnam*). The j of yuj goes through *kutva* (8.2.30 coh kuh) followed by *cartva* (8.4.56 vā' vasāne).

## 6.4.74 न माण्योगे

*na māṇyoge*  
*/ na φ māṇ-yoge 7/1 = māṇo yogah (śāś. tat.), tasmin/*  
*(aṅgasya #1 luṇlaṇlṛṇkṣu ad udāttah #71 āṭ #72)*  
*māṇyoge luṇlaṇlṛṇkṣu yad uktam tan na bhavati*  
 Augments aT and āT which are stated when affixes LUN, LAṄ and LRṄ follow an *aṅga* do not become operative in connection with māN ‘not’.

## EXAMPLES:

*mā bhavān kārṣit* ‘do not do (it)’  
*mā bhavān hārṣit* ‘do not fetch (it)’  
*mā sma karot* ‘he did not do’  
*mā sma harat* ‘he did not carry’  
*mā bhavān ihiṣṭa* ‘do not try’  
*mā bhavān ikṣiṣṭa* ‘do not see’  
*mā sma bhavān ihata* ‘you did not strive’  
*mā sma bhavān ikṣata* ‘you did not understand’

1. This rule does not allow augments  $a\bar{T}$  and  $\bar{a}\bar{T}$  when  $LUN$ ,  $LAN$  and  $LRN$  follow and the root is used in conjunction with  $māN$ . Thus,  $mā bhavān kārṣit$  and  $mā bhavān hārṣit$ , where 3.3.175  $māni luṇ$  introduces  $LUN$ . Affix  $LUN$  is similarly introduced after  $kṛ$  and  $hṛ$  in  $mā sma karot$  and  $mā sma harat$ . Other examples of  $LUN$  and  $LAN$  are  $ihīṣṭa/ikṣīṣṭa$ ; and  $ihata/ikṣata$ , respectively. These derivates all follow patterns of  $LUN$  and  $LAN$ , except for introduction of  $a\bar{T}$ .

#### 6.4.75 बहुलं छन्दस्यमाङ्गयोगेऽपि

*bahulam chandasī amānyoge' pi*

/ bahulam 1/1 chandasī 7/1 amāñ-yoge = na mānyoge (nañ. with int. sas. tat.); api φ/

(āṅgasya #1 luṇlañlñkṣv ad udāttah #71 āt #72 na mānyoge #74)

chandasī viśaye mānyoge' pi bahulam adāṭau bhavataḥ

Augments  $a\bar{T}$  and  $\bar{a}\bar{T}$  are introduced variously in the Vedic even when there is, or is not, any connection with  $māN$ .

EXAMPLES:

*janiṣṭhaः ugrāḥ* 'has been born . . .'

*kāmāmūnayīḥ* ' . . . has decreased'

*mā vah kṣetre parabijānyavāpsuh mā bhitthāḥ*

' . . . bijāny avāpsuh ' . . . procured'

*mā āvah*

1. Note that *amānyoge' api* makes the *bāhulaka* provision rather wide. That is, in the Vedic, we find  $a\bar{T}$  and  $\bar{a}\bar{T}$  variously when  $māN$  is used in conjunction. They are also, variously, not found when  $māN$  does not occur in conjunction. Consider *janiṣṭhāḥ* where  $māN$  does not occur but no augment is introduced. Thus, *jan + iT + sIC + (LUN → thāḥ) = janiṣṭhāḥ*, through  $s \rightarrow s$  (*śatva*),  $t \rightarrow t$  (*śtutva*) and  $s \rightarrow r \rightarrow h$ . Refer to the appendix of 3.1.51 *nonayati . . .* for derivational details of *ūnayīḥ* and *ardayīt*. Note that *abhitthāḥ* receives  $a\bar{T}$  even when it is used in conjunction with  $māN$ . It goes through deletion of *sIC* by 8.2.26 *jhalo jhali*. Follow the derivational pattern of *kārṣuh* (under 3.1.51 *nonayati . . .*) for deriving *avāpsuh*.

#### 6.4.76 इरयो रे

*irayo re*

/ *irayah 6/2 re* (1/1 deleted) /

(*bahulam chandasī* #75)

'*ire*' ity etasya chandasī visaye bahulam 're' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati

The form *ire*, in the Vedic, is variously replaced with *re*.

EXAMPLES:

*garbhāṁ prathāmām dādhr̥a āpah  
yāś' sya paridadhre  
paridadr̥ṣre*

1. This rule allows *re* to replace *ire* in the Vedic variously. Note that *ire* refers to *ireC*, itself a replacement of *jha* (3.4.81 *liṭas thayayor...*). Thus, consider *paridadhre*, from *paridhā* + (*LIT*→*jha*)→*paridhā* + (*jha*→*ireC*) = *paridhā* + *ire*, where deletion *ā* (6.4.64 *āto lopā iti ca*) is accomplished even though *re* replaces *ire*. This is done in view of *re* being *asiddha* (6.4.22 *asiddhavad atrābhāt*).

2. A question is raised against *irayoh* in dual. Why did Pāṇini not use *ire* in singular? Commentators state that *re* may become *ire* when *iT* (7.2.35 *āndhadhātukasyed valādeḥ*) is introduced. It is to ensure that *re* alone replaces *jha*→*ire* and *iT*+*re* that *ire* is specified in the dual. Consider *cakrire* ‘they have made’ as an example of *iT*+*re*.

#### 6.4.77 अच्चि श्नुधातुभूवां खोरियङ्गुवडौ

*aci śnudhātubhruvāṁ yvōr iyanuvañau*  
*/ aci 7/1 śnu -dhātū-bhruvām 6/3 = śnuś ca dhātūś ca bhrūś ca (itar. dv.),*  
*teṣām; yvoh 6/2 = iś ca uś ca (itar. dv.), tayoh; iyan-uvanau 1/2 (itar. dv.) /*  
*(āṅgasya #1)*

*śnupratyayāntasya āṅgasya dhātor ivarnovarnāntasya ‘bhrū’ ity etasya can*  
*‘iyan, uvan’ ity etāv ādeśau bhavato’ jādau pratyaye parataḥ*

The final *i* and *u* of an *āṅga* which ends in affix *Śnu*, or is constituted by a root ending in *i* and *u*, or else, is constituted by *bhrū*, is replaced with *iyAN* and *uvAN*, respectively, when an affix beginning with a vowel (*aC*) follows.

EXAMPLES:

*āpnuvanti* ‘they obtain’  
*rādhnuvanti* ‘they accomplish’  
*śaknuvanti* ‘they are able to do’  
*cikṣiyatuh* ‘those (two) wasted away’  
*cikṣiyuh* ‘they wasted away’  
*luluvatuh* ‘those (two) have cut’  
*luluvuh* ‘they have cut’  
*niyau* ‘nominative dual *KvIP* derivate of *nī* ‘to lead’’  
*niyah* ‘nominative plural . . .’  
*luvau* ‘nominative dual *KvIP* derivate of *lū* ‘to cut’’  
*luvah* ‘nominative plural . . .’  
*bhruvau* ‘nominative singular *KvIP* derivate of *bhrū*’  
*bhruvah* ‘nominative plural . . .’

1. This rule introduces *iyAN* and *unAN*, respectively, as replacements for the final *i* and *u* (1.1.51 *alo' ntyasya*) of (i) an *an̄ga* which may end in *Śnu*, (ii) a root which may end in *i* and *u*, and (iii) verbal root *bhrū*, when a vowel-initial affix follows. Note that *yvoh* could be construed only as an adjective to roots ending in *i* and *u*. For, it cannot refer to *śnu* and *bhrū* as they end in *u*.

Consider *āp* + *Śnu* + (*LAT*→*jh*→*ant*) *i* = *āpmuvanti*, where a replacement in *iyAN* for *u* is blocked in favor of *unAN*. This same also happens in *rādhnuvanti* and *śaknuvanti*. Refer to the appendix for full derivational details of examples.

#### 6.4.78 अभ्यासस्यासवर्णे

*abhyāsasyāsavarṇe*

/ *abhyāsasya* 6/1 *asavarṇe* 7/1 (*nañ.*) /

(*an̄gasya* #1 *aci* *yvō* *iyānuvañau* #77)

*abhyāsasyevarnovarnāntasyāsavarṇe' ci parata 'iyāñ uvañ' ity etāv ādeśau bhavataḥ*

The final sound segment of an *abhyāsa* which, in an *an̄ga*, ends in *i* and *u*, is replaced with *iyAN* and *uvaN* when a non-homogeneous (*asavarṇa*) vowel (*aC*) follows.

EXAMPLES:

*iyesa* 'he has desired'

*uvoṣa* 'he has burnt'

*iyartti* 'he goes'

1. This rule allows a replacement in *iyAN* and *uvAN* for the final *i* and *u* of an *abhyāsa* when a non-homogeneous vowel follows. Consider *iyesa* and *uvoṣa* which derives from *is* + (*LIT*→*tiP*→*NaL*) and *uṣ* + (*LIT*→*tiP*→*NaL*). Given *is* + *a* and *uṣ* + *a*, we get *eṣ* + *a* and *oṣ a* through *guṇa* of the short penultimate vowel (6.2.88 *pugantalaghūpadhasya ca*). Operations related to iteration (*dvitva*) are then performed by accepting *e* and *o* of *eṣ* and *oṣ* as if they were *i* and *u*, via *sthānivadbhāva*. This produces *i + eṣ* and *u + oṣ* which, after a replacement in *iyAN* and *uvAN*, yield (*i*→*iyAN*) + *eṣ + a* and (*u*→*uvAN*) + *oṣ + a*. Thus, *iy + eṣ + a = iyesā* and *uv + oṣ + a = uvoṣā*. Now consider *iyartti* which is a third singular *LAT*-derivate of *r* 'to go'. Given *r* + *ŚaP* + *tiP*→*r* + *ŚLU* + *ti* where *ŚaP* goes through deletion by *ŚLU*, we get *r + r + ti*, via iteration (*dvitva*). The *r* of the *abhyāsa* is then replaced by *a*, with a following *r* (7.4.65 *ur at*; 1.1.51 *ur añ raparah*). The *r* which follows *a*, however, is deleted by 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣah*. The *a* of *i + r + ti* is then replaced with *i* (7.4.77 *arttipiparyoś ca*) to yield: (*i*→*a*) + *ar + ti*. This rule then replaces *i* with *iyAN* to produce (*i*→*iy*) + *ar + ti = iyarti*.

Note that this replacement in *iyAN* and *uvAN* cannot be accomplished if the *abhyāsa* is followed by a vowel homogeneous with it. Thus, consider *isatuh/*

*īsuḥ* and *ūṣatuḥ*/*ūṣuḥ*, both derivates of *atus* and *us*. The *i* and *u* of *i + iṣ + atus* and *u + uṣ + atus*, etc., cannot be replaced with *iyAN* and *uvAN* because *i* and *u* of the *abhyāsa* are followed by homogeneous *i* and *u*. *Kāśikā* offers *iyāja* and *uvāpa* as counter-examples to show that *iyAN* and *uvAN*, in the context of this rule, can only replace an *abhyāsa* when what follows also begins with a vowel.

#### 6.4.79 स्त्रियाः:

*striyāḥ*

/ *striyāḥ* 6/1/

(*aṅgasya* #1 *aci iyāṇ* #77)

‘*strī* ity etasyājādau *pratyaye parata iyāṇādeśo bhavati*

The final sound segment of an *aṅga*, namely *strī*, is replaced with *iyāṇ* when an affix beginning with a vowel follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*strī* ‘nominative singular of *strī* ‘woman’

*striyau* ‘nominative dual . . .’

*striyah* ‘nominative plural . . .’

1. This rule allows *iyAN* as a replacement for the final *i* of *strī* when a vowel-initial affix follows. Note that *strīṇām* does not involve a replacement in *iyāṇ*. It, instead, requires introduction of augment *nUT* (7.1.54 *hrasvanadyāpo nuṭi*), which, for reasons of being subsequent (*para*) in order (*paratvāt*), blocks (1.4.2 *vipratisēdhe . . .*) *iyāṇ* (*Kāś*: ‘*strīṇām*’ ity *atra paratvān mud āgamah*). This being the case, we do not get a vowel-initial affix to follow.

2. How come this rule was not formulated along with the following? A separate formulation of this rule is intended to block the *anuvṛtti* of *dhāturbhruvoḥ* in the following rule (*Kāś*: *pṛthag yogakaraṇam uttarārtham*).

#### 6.4.80 वाम्शासोः:

*vā amśasoh*

/ *vā* φ *am-*śasoh 7/2 = *am ca śas ca = amśasau* (itar. dv.) *tayoh/*

*ami śasi parataḥ striyā vā iyāṇādeśo bhavati*

The final sound segment of an *aṅga*, namely *strī*, is replaced with *iyāṇ*, only optionally, when affixes *am* and *śas* follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*strīm paśya* ‘accusative singular of *strī*’

*striyam paśya* ‘ibidem’

*strīḥ paśya* ‘accusative plural . . .’

*striyah paśya* ‘ibidem’

1. This rule allows *iyaṄ* and *uvAṄ*, only optionally, when affixes *am* and *Śas* follow. This option is available against a single replacement of *i* + a similar to *ī*, when *am* follows (6.1.103 *ami pūrvah*). It is made against the *pūrvasavarṇadīrgha* ‘long replacement homogeneous with what precedes in a sequence’ when *Śas* follows. Thus, we get two forms: *striyam/strīm* and *striyah/strīḥ*.

#### 6.4.81 इणो यण्

*ino yan*  
*/ināḥ 6/1 yan 1/1/*  
*(angasya #1 aci #77)*

*inō' ngasya yanādeśo bhavati aci parataḥ*

The final vowel of an *aṅga* constituted by verbal root *iṄ* ‘to go’ is replaced with *yaṄ* when an affix beginning with a vowel follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*yanti* ‘they go’  
*yantu* ‘they may go’  
*āyan* ‘they went’

1. Note that this rule is an exception to replacement in *iyaṄ*. Thus, an *aṅga* constituted by verbal root *iṄ* ‘to go’ gets its *i* replaced with *yaṄ*, when a vowel follows (*aci*). Recall that an exception read in between operations only blocks preceding operations, and not any subsequent. This replacement in *yaṄ* will thus block *iyaṄ*, but cannot block *guna* and *vrddhi* which follow. Commentators cite *yanti*←(*i* + (*ŚaP*→∅) + (*LAT*→*tiP*)) and *yantu*←(*i* + (*ŚaP*→∅) + (*LAT*→*antu*)) as examples where *yaṄ* finds its independent scope. They cite *cayanam* ‘heaping’ and *cāyakah* ‘he who heaps’ as examples for independent scope of *guṇa* and *vrddhi*. They state that *ayanan* ‘return’ and *āyakah* ‘he who returns’ may entail *yaṄ* and *guna-vrddhi* both. They state that *yaṄ* is blocked here by *guna* ((*i*→*e*) + (*LyuT*→*ana*)) = *ayana* and *vrddhi* (*i* + *Nvul*= *āyaka*) on the basis of *paratva*. Incidentally, *āyan* derives from *āT* + *i* + (*LAṄ*→(*jh*→*ant*)*i*)) where *jh* is replaced with *ant* (7.1.3 *jho' ntah*) with subsequent deletion of the final of the conjunct (8.2.23 *samyogāntasya lopah*). Augment *āT* is introduced by 6.4.72 *āt ajādīnām* on the basis of the vowel-initial root as well as *asiddhatva* ‘suspension’.

#### 6.4.82 एरनेकाचोऽसंयोगपूर्वस्य

*er anekāco' samyogaḥ pūrvasya*  
*/eh 6/1 anekācaḥ 6/1 = na ekaḥ = anekah (nañ. tat.); aneko'c yasmin sa*  
*(bv.), tasmin; avidyamānaḥ samyogaḥ pūrvo yasmāt (bv.), tasya/*  
*(angasya #1 aci dhātoḥ #77 yan #81)*

*dhātor avayavah samyogah pūrvo yasmād ivarnān na bhavaty asāv asam-yoga-pūrvah, tadantasyāṅgasyānekhāco’ ci parato yañādeśo bhavati*

An *aṅga* which consists of more than one vowel and ends in an *i*, where *i* is not preceded by a conjunct (*samyoga*) contained within a verbal root, is replaced with *yaṄ*, when an affix beginning with a vowel follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*ninyatuh* ‘those two led’

*ninyuh* ‘they led’

*unnyau* ‘nominative dual of *unnī* ‘leader’’

*unnyah* ‘nominal plural . . .’

*grāmanyau* ‘nominative singular of *grāmanī* ‘village leader’’

*grāmanyah* ‘nominative plural . . .’

1. This rule allows *yaṄ* as a replacement for the final *i* of an *aṅga* which ends in *i*, provided *aC* follows, and *i* is not preceded by a conjunct contained within the *dhātu*. Note that *dhātoḥ* is carried here to qualify *samyoga* ‘conjunct’. This is how we get the meaning: ‘an *i* before which there does not occur a conjunct as part of a verbal root’ (*dhātor avayavah samyogah pūrvo yasmād ivarnāt*). A specification with *eh* is made here so that it could be qualified with *asamyogapūrvasya*. For, *asamyogapūrvasya* is not intended as a qualifier for *i*.

It is argued that if *eh* was not stated in this rule, *yaṄ* could replace *i* and *u* in general. This would then not require the formulation of 6.4.83 *oh supi*, whereby a final *u* is replaced with *yaṄ* before *sUP*. Rule 6.4.83 then becomes restrictive, requiring *yaṄ* only where *sUP* follows. This restrictive provision does not permit *yaṄ* where a *tiṄ* follows. This is why *luluwatuh*, etc., get a replacement in *uvAṄ*, as against *yaṄ*.

2. Why do we have to state *anekā?* So that *yaṄ* could be blocked in favor of *iyAṄ* in the nominative dual and plural forms of *nī*, i.e., *niyau* and *niyah*. For, this derivate of *KvIP* consists of a single vowel (*ekāc*). Now consider *yavakriyau* and *yavakriyah*, the nominative dual and plural forms of *yavakrī*, again a derivate of *KvIP*. The *i* of *yavakrī* must be replaced with *iyAṄ* because it is preceded by a conjunct contained within a *dhātu*. Now consider *unnyau* and *unnyah* where the conjunct, i.e., *nn*, occurs before *i* in *unnī*. This conjunct is not any part of the *dhātu* ‘verbal root’. Consequently, *i* is replaced with *yaṄ*. This is how *samyoga* ‘conjunct’ must be qualified with *dhātu*.

3. A *vārttika* proposal is made to block *yaṄ* in case of an *aṅga* which ends in *i*, provided *i* is not preceded by anything other than a *gati* and *kāraka*. Consider *paramaniyau* and *paramaniyah*, where *nī*, a derivate of *KvIP*, combines with *parama*. Since *parama* is neither a *gati* nor a *kāraka*, *yaṄ* must be blocked in favor of *iyAṄ*.

## 6.4.83 ओः सुपि

*oh supi**/ oh 6/1 supi 7/1/**(aṅgasya #1 aci #77 yan #81 anekāco' samyogapūrvasya #82)**dhātuvavayavah samyogah pūrvo yasmād uvarṇān na tadantasyāṅgasyānekaśo' jādau supi parato yanādeśo bhavati*

An *aṅga* which consists of more than one vowel and ends in *u*, not preceded by a conjunct (*samyoga*) contained within a verbal root, is replaced with *yaṄ* when a *sUP* affix beginning with a vowel follows.

## EXAMPLES:

*khalapvau* ‘nominative dual of *khalapū* ‘those who clean the threshing floor’*khalapvah* ‘nominative plural . . .’*śatasvau* ‘nominative dual of *śatasū* ‘he who produces a hundred . . .’*śatasvah* ‘nominative plural . . .’*sakṛllvau* ‘nominative dual of *sakṛllū* ‘he who cuts only once’*sakṛllvah* ‘nominative plural . . .’

1. This rule allows *yaṄ*-replacement for *u* before a vowel-initial *sUP*. That is, when an *aṅga* consists of more than one vowel and ends in *u*, and this *u* is not preceded by a conjunct contained within a *dhātu*. Thus, consider *khalapvau* and *khalapvah*, the nominative dual and plural forms of *khalapū*, where a derivate of *KvIP* combines to form a compound paraphrased as *khalam punāti*. This same is also true of other examples. They all get their *u* replaced with *yaṄ*. Incidentally, the *t* of *sakṛt* is replaced with *l* before *lū* (8.4.60 *tor li*). Recall that this replacement in *yaṄ* can be possible only when a *sUP* follows. Thus, *luluvatuh* and *luluvuh* will get a replacement in *uvAṄ* because *atus* and *us* are not denoted by *sUP*. This *uvAṄ* again blocks *yaṄ* in *luvau* and *luvah* because the *aṅga*, i.e., *lū*, is monosyllabic (*ekāc*). We also get *uvAṄ* in *kaṭapruvau* ‘nominative dual of *kaṭaprū* ‘he who makes a mat while going’ and *kaṭapruvah* ‘nominative plural . . .’ where *pr*, a conjunct (*samyoga*), not only precedes *u* but is also a part of verbal root *pru*.

2. A *vārttika* proposal similar to the preceding rule is also made here to block *yaṄ* where something other than a *gati* and *kāraka* precedes. Thus, consider *paramaluvaau* and *paramaluvaah*.

## 6.4.84 वर्षाभ्वश्च

*varsābhvaś ca**/ varsābhvah 6/1 ca φ/**(aṅgasya #1 aci #77 yan #81 supi #83)**‘varsābhū’ ity etasyājādau supi parato yanādeśo bhavati*

The final *u* of *varṣābhū* ‘born in the rainy season’, termed an *aṅga*, is replaced with its *yaṄ* counterpart when a *sUP* affix beginning with a vowel follows.

EXAMPLES:

*varṣābhvau* ‘nominative dual of *varṣābhū*’  
*varṣābhvah* ‘nominative plural . . .’

1. This rule is formulated so that a replacement in *yaṄ*, negated by 6.4.85 *na bhūsudhiyoh*, can be made available. Thus, *varṣābhū* gets its *ū* replaced with *u* when a vowel-initial affix follows.

2. A *vārtika* proposal also allows *yaṄ* when *bhū* occurs in combination preceded by *punar* and *kārā*. Thus, we get *punarbhvau/punarbhvah* ‘nominative dual and plural’ of *punarbhū* ‘nail’; *kārābhvau/kārābhvah* ‘nominative dual and plural’ of *kārābhū* ‘born in jail’.

#### 6.4.85 न भूसुधियोः

*na bhūsudhiyoh*  
*/na φ bhū-sudhiyoh 6/2 (itar. dv.)/*  
*(aṅgasya #1 aci #77 yaṄ #81 supi #83)*  
*‘bhū, sudhi’ ity etayor yaṄādeśo na bhavati*

The final vowels of an *aṅga*, namely *bhū* and *sudhī*, are not replaced with their *yaṄ* counterpart when a *sUP* affix beginning with a vowel follows.

EXAMPLES:

*pratibhuvau* ‘nominative dual of *pratibhū* ‘guarantor’’  
*pratibhuvah* ‘nominative plural . . .’  
*sudhiyau* ‘nominative dual of *sudhī* ‘intellectuals’’  
*sudhiyah* ‘many intellectuals . . .’

1. Note that *bhū* of this rule is interpreted not only as *bhū* but also as: ‘that which ends in *bhū*’ (*PM ad Kāś: bhūgraḥāṇena tadantasya grahaṇam, na kevalasya*).

#### 6.4.86 छन्दस्युभयथा

*chandas yubhayathā*  
*/chandasī 7/1 ubhayathā φ/*  
*(aṅgasya #1 bhūsudhiyoh #85)*  
*chandasī viṣaye ‘bhū, suddhī’ ity etayor ubhayathā dṛṣyate*  
*An aṅga constituted by *bhū* and *sudhī*, in the Vedic, is seen with forms of both kinds.*

## EXAMPLES:

váneṣu cītram vibhvám vīśe  
 vīśe vibhvám  
 sudhyo havyamagne  
 sudhiyo havyamagne

1. This rule states that *yaṄ*, and *iyAṄ/uvAṄ*, both, are found in the Vedic usage. Thus, *vibhvam/vibhvam*; *sudhyah/sudhiyah*

## 6.4.87 हुश्नुवोः सार्वधातुके

huśnuvoh sārvadhātuke  
 / hu-śnuvoh 6/2 sārvadhātuke 7/1/  
 (angasya #1 aci #77 yan #81 anekāco' samyogapūrvasya #82)  
 'hu' ity etasyāngasya śnupratyayāntasyānekāco' samyogapūrvasyājādau  
 sārvadhātuke parato yañādeśo bhavati  
 The *u* of an *āṅga*, particularly *hu* 'to call, perform sacrifice', or of an *āṅga* which consists of more than one vowel and does not begin with a conjunct, though ends in *Śnu*, is replaced with *yaṄ* when a *sārvadhātuka* (3.4.113 *tiṁśit sārvadhātukam*) affix beginning with a vowel follows.

## EXAMPLES:

*juhvati* 'they offer oblations'  
*juhvatu* 'let them offer oblations'  
*juhvat* 'nominative singular of *juhvat* ending in *ŚatR'*  
*sunvanti* 'they press-out'  
*sunvantu* 'let them press-out'  
*asunvan* 'they pressed out'

1. This rule allows *yaṄ* to the *u* of *hu*, and an *āṅga* which consists of more than one vowel and ends in *Śnu*, provided a *sārvadhātuka* affix beginning with a vowel follows, and the *u* is not preceded by a conjunct. As usual, this *yaṄ* is an exception to the *iyAṄ* and *uvAṄ* replacements. Note that *asamyogapūrvah* is interpreted as a qualifier to *u*. The word *anekācaḥ* is similarly interpreted as a qualifier to *angasya*. Refer to derivational details of *juhoti* (under 1.1.61 *pratyayasya . . .*) and *juhvat* (under 3.2.124 *lataḥ . . .*) in the appendix. A replacement in *at* for *jhi* is offered by 7.1.4 *ad abhyastāt*. Deriving *sunvanti*, etc., with *Śnu* should present no problem.

2. The condition of *hu* and *Śnu* blocks *yaṄ* in favor of *unAṄ* in *yoyuvati* and *roruvati*. These are both derivates of verbal roots *yu* 'to mix' and *ru* 'to cry', respectively, with deletion of *yaṄ*, via LUK. The conditions of *sārvadhātuke* and *asamyogapravasya* are also valid. Thus, *juhuvatuh* and *juhuvuh* illustrate how *uvAṄ* is favored against *yaṄ* because of the third person dual and plural ārdhadhātuka affixes *atus* and *us*. Examples such as *āpnuvanti* 'they obtain'

and *rādhnuvanti* ‘they accomplish’ illustrate how, because of *asamyo<sup>g</sup>apūrvasya*, *yaN* is again blocked in favor of *uvAN*.

#### 6.4.88 भुवो वुलुङ्लिटोः:

*bhuvo vuglunliṭoh*  
*/bhuvah 6/1 vuk 1/1 luṇliṭoh 7/2 (itar. dv.)/*  
*(angasya #1 aci #77)*

*bhuvo vug āgamo bhavati luṇi liṭi cājādau parataḥ*

Augment *vUK* is introduced to an *anga*, namely *bhū*, when a *LUN* and *LIT* affix beginning with a vowel follows.

EXAMPLES:

*abhūvan* ‘third person plural active *LUN* of *bhū*’  
*abhūvam* ‘first person singular active *LUN* of *bhū*’  
*babhūva* ‘third person singular *LIT* of *bhū* ‘to be’’  
*babhūvatuḥ* ‘third person dual . . .’  
*babhūvuḥ* ‘third person plural . . .’

1. This rule introduces augment *vUK* to *bhū* when a replacement of *LUN* and *LIT* which begins with a vowel follows. Thus, consider *abhūvan* and *abhvam*, the third and first person singular derivates of *LUN*. The last three examples are third singular, dual and plural derivates of *LIT* with *NaL*, *atus* and *us* as replacement (3.4.82 *parasmaipadānām* . . .). Refer to many examples of *LUN* and *LIT* in the appendix and notes for derivational details.

#### 6.4.89 ऊदपथाया गोहः:

*ūdupadhāyā gohah*  
*/ūt 1/1 upadhāyāḥ 6/1 gohah 6/1/*  
*(angasya #1 aci #77)*

*goho'* *ngasya upadhāyā ūkārādeśo bhavati ajādau pratyaye parataḥ*  
 The penultimate vowel of an *anga*, namely *goh*, is replaced with *ūT* (1.1.70 *taparas tatkālasya*) when an affix beginning with a vowel follows.

EXAMPLES:

*nigūhayati* ‘. . . hides, preserves’  
*nigūhakah* ‘he who preserves, hides’  
*sādu nigūhi* ‘ibidem’  
*nigūhamnigūham* ‘hiding over and over again’  
*nigūho varttate* ‘. . . hiding goes on’

1. This rule allows *ū* to replace the penultimate (*upadhā*) *o* of an *anga* constituted by *goh*, provided a vowel-initial affix follows. Note that *goh* is real-

ized via *guṇa* of *u* in *guh* when *NiC* follows. The *NiC* is then deleted by 6.4.51 *ner anīti*. The *o* of *goh* is then replaced by *ū* of our present rule. Thus, *nigūhayati* and *nigūhakah*, etc. Refer to derivational details in the appendix.

2. Note that the condition of *upadhāyāḥ* is imposed so that *ū* does not replace the final sound (1.1.52 *alo’ ntyasya*). A specification with *goh*, a modified form of *guh*, is made to restrict the scope of application of this rule (*Kāś. vikṛtagrahaṇaṇī viṣayārtham*). That is, a replacement in *ū* is blocked where *goh* is not found. Thus, *nijuguhatuḥ* and *nijuguhuh*.

Some claim that this modified form of *goh* is specified to block *ay* as a replacement of *Ni*, for example, in *nigūḥ + Ni*. They think that this *ū* replacement will become *asiddha* in view of the *ay* of 6.4.56 *lyapi laghupūrvāt*. But this view is not correct. These replacements do not share identical condition of application. Negating *ay* of *Ni* could hardly be accepted as the purpose of specifying *guh* with *goh*.

#### 6.4.90 दोषे णौ

*doṣo nau*  
*/doṣah 6/1 nau 7/1/*  
*(aṅgasya #1 upadhāyā ūt #89)*  
*doṣa upadhāyā ūkāra ādeśo bhavati nau parataḥ*

The penultimate vowel of an *aṅga*, namely *duṣ*, is replaced with *ū* when affix *Ni* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*dūṣayati* ‘he contaminates, corrupts’  
*dūṣayataḥ* ‘those two contaminate’  
*dūṣayanti* ‘they (all) contaminate’

1. This rule allows *ū* to replace the *o* of *doṣ* when *NiC* follows. A specification with the modified form of *duṣ*, i.e., *doṣ*, is made to maintain contextual similarity with the preceding rule (*prakramābheda*).

#### 6.4.91 वा चित्तविरागे

*vā cittavirāge*  
*/vā φ citta-virāge 7/1 (saṣ. tat.), tasmin/*  
*(aṅgasya #1 upadhāyā ūt #89 doṣo nau #90)*  
*cittavikārārthe doṣa upadhāyā vā ūkārādeśo bhavati nau parataḥ*

The penultimate vowel of an *aṅga*, namely *duṣ* used with the significance of *cittavirāga* ‘distraction, indifference (of mind)’, is optionally replaced with *ū* when affix *Ni* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*cittam doṣayati* ‘... agitates mind’

*cittam dūṣayati* ‘ibidem’

*prajñām dūṣayati* ‘... corrupts intelligence’

*prajñām doṣayati* ‘ibidem’

1. This rule offers an optional replacement in *ū* when the derivate denotes *cittavirāga* ‘distraction, indifference (of mind)’. Thus, *doṣayati cittam* and *dūṣayati cittam*. This replacement will be obligatory, as against optional, in *sādhnām dūṣayati* ‘fouls up the means’. It will be blocked in *cittasya doṣāḥ* where *doṣā* is a derivate of *GHaṄ*.

#### 6.4.92 मितां ह्रस्वः:

*mitāṁ hrasvah*

*mitāṁ* 6/3 *hrasvah* 1/1/

(*aṅgasya* #1 *upadhāyā* #89 *nau* #90)

*mito dhātavah* ‘*ghaṭādayo mitah*’ *ity evam ādayo ye pratipāditāḥ teṣām upadhāyā hrasvo bhavati nau parataḥ*

The penultimate vowel of an *aṅga*, namely one specified with *m* as an *it* (*mit*), is replaced with its short counterpart when affix *NiC* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*ghaṭayati* ‘... brings about’

*vyaṭhayati* ‘... causes pain’

*janayati* ‘... brings into existence’

*rajayati* ‘... sports (colors)’

*śamayati* ‘... quiets down, afflicts’

*jñāpayati* ‘... informs’

1. This rule offers *hrasva* ‘short’ as a replacement for the penultimate vowel of an *aṅga* constituted by roots called *mit* ‘those which have *M* as their *it*’. This replacement is valid before affix *NiC*. Recall that roots of the *bhuādi* class, enumerated beginning with *ghaṭ* and ending with *pha*, are termed *mitādi*. This rule offers replacement for the *vṛddhi* vowel accomplished by 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ*.

#### 6.4.93 चिण्णमुलोदीर्घोऽन्यतरस्याम्

*cīṇnamulo dīrgho'* *nyatarasyām*

/ *cīṇ-namuloh* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*); *dīrghah* 1/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1/

(*aṅgasya* #1 *upadhāyāḥ* #89 *nau* #90 *mitāṁ* #92)

*cīṇpare* *namulpare* *ca nau parato mitāṁ aṅgānāṁ upadhāyā dīrgho bhavaty anyatarasyām*

The penultimate vowel of an *aṅga*, namely one specified as *mit*, is replaced with its long counterpart when affixes *cIN* and *NamUL*, preceded by *Ni*, follow.

## EXAMPLES:

*aśami* 'first person singular *LUN*-derivate of causal'  
*śāmi* 'to quiet down, cause affliction'

*aśāmi* 'ibidem'

*atami* 'first person singular *LUN* derivate of causal'

*tāmi* 'to cause desire'

*atāmi* 'ibidem'

*śamamśamam* 'NamUL form; . . . over and over again'

*śāmamśāmam* 'ibidem'

*tamantamam* 'NamUL form; . . . over and over again'

*tāmantāmam* 'ibidem'

1. Note that *aśami*/ *aśāmi* and *atami*/ *atāmi* are derives of *LUN* introduced after causal verbal roots *śāmi* and *tāmi*. Given *aT* + *śāmi* + (*CLI*→*CiN*) + (*LUN*→*ta*), where *CiN* is introduced by 3.1.66 *cin bhāvakarmanoḥ* as a replacement of *CLI*, we get the deletion of *Ni* (6.4.51 *ner aniṭi*). The *ta* is then deleted (6.4.104 *cino luk*) after this rule introduces its optional long replacement. The remaining examples illustrate optional replacement in derives of *NamUL*, introduced with the signification of *ābhūkṣṇya* 'over and over again'. Recall that 8.1.4 *nityavīpsayoh* requires repeating a form such as *śamam* in toto. Thus, *śamaṇśamam*, etc.

2. Why was this specification made with the optional replacement in long? Why can we not offer the optional replacement in long for the short which is already available? This way, if the option of *hrasva* is not accepted then the *vṛddhi*-replacement before *Ni* could be retained as long. But this cannot be done. Consider *śam* + *NiC* which yields *śāmi* after *vṛddhi*-replacement, *Ni*-deletion and shortening. If *NiC* is introduced again, we cannot get *aśami*. For, given *aśāmi*, we cannot get optional shortening because of the earlier *NiC* appearing again in place of deletion, via *sthānivadbhāva*. If, however, a long is offered as opiton, *Ni*-deletion does not become *sthānivat* in accomplishing vocalic replacements (*ajādeśa*; 1.1.58 *na padānta* . . .). This same is also applicable to deletions (of *a* (of *yaṄ* and *NiC*) in deriving *aśamśāmi* and *aśāmśāmi*. An optional replacement for *vṛddhi* is not possible here. For, the deleted *Ni* will reappear via *sthānivadbhāva*. A *NiC*, when occurring after a verbal root ending in *yaṄ*, will block *vṛddhi*. For, the deleted *a* of *yaṄ* will reappear via *sthānivadbhāva*. Consequently, there will not be any penultimate *a* to go through *vṛddhi*. Thus, an optional provision of long is justified.

## 6.4.94 खचि हस्तः:

*khaci hrasvah*

/ *khaci* 7/1 *hrasvah* 1/1 /

(*angasya* #1 *upadhbāyāḥ* #89 *ṇau* #90)

*khacpare* *ṇau* *parato hrasvo bhavaty angasyopadhbāyāḥ*

The penultimate vowel of an *āṅga* is replaced with its short counterpart when affix *Ni*, occurring before *KHaC*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

*dviśantapah* ‘he who torments his enemy’

*parantapah* ‘he who torments others’

*purandarah* ‘he who destroys cities’

- Refer to derivational details of these examples under (appendix, III:735–36) rules 3.2.39 *dviśat parayos tāpe* and 3.2.41 *pūḥsaravayor*. . . .

#### 6.4.95 ह्लादो निष्ठायाम्

*hlādo niṣṭhāyām*

/ *hlādah* 5/1 *niṣṭhāyām* 7/1 /

(*āṅgasya* #1 *upadhāyāh* #89 *hrasvah* #94)

*hlādō*’ *ngasyopadhāyā* *hrasvo bhavati niṣṭhāyām paratah*

The penultimate vowel of an *āṅga*, namely *hlād*, is replaced with its short counterpart when an affix termed *niṣṭhā* follows.

EXAMPLES:

*prahlannah* ‘. . . has rejoiced’

*prahlannavān* ‘ibidem’

- Note that 8.4.42 *radābhyaṁ* . . . replaces the *t* of *niṣṭhā*, and the preceding *d* as well, with *n*. This rule allows shortening and 7.2.14 *śvīdito niṣṭhāyām* blocks introduction of *iT*. Thus, *prahlannah* and *prahlannavān*.

Why do we state the condition of *niṣṭhāyām* ‘when a *niṣṭhā* suffix follows’? Consider *prahlādayati* ‘. . . causes to rejoice’ where, because *LA T* follows, we do not get a short vowel replacement.

- A proposal is here made for split-formulation (*yoga-vibhāga*) of *hlādah*. This is done so that a short replacement can be accomplished when affix *KtN* follows. Thus, we get *prahlattih*. Haradatta (*PM ad Kāśikā*) claims that this proposal is not found in the *Mahābhāṣya*.

#### 6.4.96 छादेर्घेऽद्वयुपसर्गस्य

*chāder ghe'* *dvyupasargasya*

/ *chādeḥ* 6/1 *ghe* 7/1 *a-dvy-upasargasya* 6/1 = *dvau upasargau yasya* (bv.);

*na dvyupasargah* (*nañ.*), *tasya/*

(*āṅgasya* #1 *upadhāyāh* #89 *hrasvah* #94)

*chāder aṅgasyādvyupasargasya ghapratyaye parata upadhāyā* *hrasvo bhavati*

The penultimate vowel of an *āṅga*, namely *chādi* when not used after two preverbs, is replaced with its short counterpart, provided affix *GHa* follows.

## EXAMPLES:

*uraśchadah* ‘that which covers the chest; armor’

*pracchadah* ‘that which properly covers’

*dantacchadah* ‘that which covers teeth; lips’

1. This rule allows a short replacement to the penultimate vowel of an *aṅga* which is constituted by *chādi* and is not used with two preverbs at the beginning. Of course, when affix *GHa* follows. Look for derivational details under rule 3.3.118 *pūṇsi samjñāyām*. . . .

Note that this rule will become vacuous if deletion of *Ni* is treated as *asiddha* (6.4.22 *asiddhavat* . . .), or else, is treated as *sthānivat* (1.1.57 *acah parasmin pūrvavidhau*). The penultimate short which this rule provides will then become impossible. It is to save this rule from becoming vacuous that *asiddhatva* ‘suspension’ and *sthānivadbhāva* ‘treatment of substitute as what it replaced’ of *NiC* is not accepted here.

## 6.4.97 इमन्त्रक्षिणु च

*ismantrankviṣu ca*

/is-man-tran-kviṣu 7/3 (itar. dv.) ca φ/

(āṅgasya #1 *upadhāyāḥ* #89 *hrasvah* #94 *dhādeḥ* #96)

‘is, man, tran, kvi’ ity eteṣu parataś chāder *upadhāyā* *hrasvo bhavati*

The penultimate vowel of an *aṅga*, namely *chādi*, is replaced with its short counterpart when affixes *is*, *man*, *tran* and *Kvi* follow.

## EXAMPLES:

*chadiḥ* ‘cover’

*chadma* ‘cover; roof’

*chatram* ‘umbrella’

*dhāmacchat* ‘that (a roof) which covers a house’

*upacchat* ‘a cover in general’

1. Note that *is* (II:108: *arcīsuci* . . .), *manIN* (IV:145: *sarvadhātubhyo manin*) and *traN* (IV:159: *sarvadhātubhyaś ṣṭran*), of *chadi*, *chadma* and *chatra*, are all *Uṇādi* affixes. Rule 3.2.76 *kviḥ ca* introduces *KviP*. Deletion of *NiC*, as usual, is accomplished by 6.4.51 *ner anīti*.

## 6.4.98 गमहनजनखनघसां लोपः किञ्चत्यनदि

*gamahanajanakhaganhasāṁ lopah knity anāni*

/gama-hana-jana-khana-ghasāṁ 6/3 (itar. dv.); *lopah* 1/1/ *kniti* 7/1/  
*anāni* 7/1 = *na an* (*nañ.*), *tasmin*/

(āṅgasya #1 *aci* #77 *upadhāyāḥ* #89)

‘gama, hana, jana, khana, ghasa’ ity eteṣāṁ aṅgānāṁ *upadhāyā* *lopo bhavaty*  
*ajādau pratyaye knity anāni parataḥ*

The penultimate sound segment of an *aṅga*, namely *gamA* ‘to go’, *hanA* ‘to kill’, *janA* ‘to be born’, *khanA* ‘to dig’ and *ghasA* ‘to eat’, is deleted by means of *LOPA* when a non-*aṄ* affix beginning with a vowel and marked with *K* or *N* as an *it* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*jagmatuh* ‘third person dual active *LIT*-derivate of *gam* ‘to go’’  
*jagmuh* ‘third person plural . . .’  
*jaghnatuh* ‘third person dual active *LIT*-derivate of *han* ‘to kill’’  
*jaghnuh* ‘third person plural . . .’  
*jajñe* ‘he came into existence (*LIT*; *ātmanepada*)’  
*jajñāte* ‘those (two) came into existence’  
*jajñire* ‘they (all) came into existence’  
*cakhnatuh* ‘third person dual active *LIT*-derivate of *khan* ‘to dig’’  
*cakhnuh* ‘third person plural active . . .’  
*jakṣatuh* ‘third person dual active *LIT*-derivate of *ad* ‘to eat, consume’’  
*jakṣuh* ‘third person plural active . . .’  
*akṣánnamimadanta pitárah*

1. This rule offers deletion of an *upadhā* ‘penultimate sound’ when *gam*, *han*, *jan*, *khan* and *ghas* constitute an *aṅga*, provided the affix which follows does not begin with a vowel, is not *aṄ* and is marked with *K* and *N* as an *it*. Refer to derivational details of *jakṣatuh*, *jakṣuh*, *jaghmatuh*, *jaghnuh* and *akṣan* under the appendix of 1.1.58 *na padānta*. . . Examples of *jan* are middle (*ātmanepada*) derivates of *LIT* where *ta* and *jha* are replaced with *eŚ* and *ireC* (3.4.81 *liṭas tajhayor* . . .). Refer to many derivates of *LIT* already derived in the appendix (II:412–13).

#### 6.4.99 तनिपत्योश्छन्दसि

*tanipatyōś chandasī*  
*/tani-patyoh* 6/2 (itar. dv.), *tayoh*; *chandasī* 7/1/  
(*angasya* #1 *aci* #77 *upadhāyāḥ* #89 *lopah kniti* #98)  
‘*tani*, *pati*’ ity *etayoś chandasī viṣaye upadhāyā lopo bhavati ajādau kniti pratyaye paratah*

The penultimate vowel of an *aṅga*, namely *tanI* and *patI* in the Vedic, is deleted by means of *LOPA* when a vowel-initial affix marked with *K* or *N* as an *it* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*vitātnire kavayah* ‘the weavers weaved’  
*śákunā iva paptima* ‘. . . fell like a bird’

1. Note that *vitatnire* derives from *vitan* + (*LIT*→*jha*→*ireC*), where we get *vitanan* + *ire* after iteration. We get *vital*(*a*→∅) *nire* = *vitatnire* after deletion of

*upadhā* by this rule. This deletion is also found in deriving *paptima*, from *pat* + (*LIT*→*mas*), after iteration. The condition of a following vowel-initial affix is met via introducing augment *iT* (7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasya* . . .).

#### 6.4.100 घसिभसोर्हेलि च

*ghasibhasor hali ca*

/ *ghasi-bhasoḥ* 6/2 (itar. dv.); *hali* 7/1 /

(*angasya* #1 *aci* #77 *upadhāyāḥ* #89 *lopah kñiti* #98 *chandasi* #99)

‘*ghasi, bhas’* ity *etayoś chandasi upadhāyāḥ lopoh bhavati halādāv ajādau ca kñiti pratyaye parataḥ*

The penultimate vowel of an *āṅga*, namely *ghasI* and *bhas*, is deleted, in the Vedic, by means of *LOPA* when an affix beginning with a vowel or consonant, and marked with *K* or *N* as an *it*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

*sagdhīś ca me sapītiś ca me  
babdhām te harī dhānāḥ*

1. Refer to derivational details of *sagdih* ‘eating together’ and *babdhām* ‘third person dual active imperative of *bhas* ‘to eat’ in the appendix (II:410–12) of rule 1.1.58 *na padānta*. . . Note that penultimate deletion (*upadhālopa*) is subsequent (*para*) and obligatory (*nitya*) in comparison with iteration (*dvirvacana*). But, because of the usage being Vedic (*chāndasatvāt*), it is accomplished subsequent to the application of iteration and operations relative to *abhyāsa*.

*Kāśikā* offers *bapsati* as an example for the condition of *ajādi* ‘when a vowel-initial affix follows’. Thus, *bhas* + (*LAT*→(*jh*→*at(i)*)→*bhas* + (*ŚaP*→*ŚLU*) + *ati*→*babhas* + *ati*). We finally get *babh(a→ϕ)s+ati→ba(bh→p)s+ati=bapsati*, through penultimate deletion and *cartva* (8.4.54 *khari ca*). A derivate with singular *tiP* will be *babhasti*. For, penultimate deletion will be blocked because of *P* as an *it* in *tiP*. That is, it cannot be accepted as marked with *K* and *N* as an *it*.

#### 6.4.101 हुझलभ्यो हेर्धिः

*hujhalbhyo her dhiḥ*

/ *hujhalbhyoḥ* 5/2 = *huś ca jhalaś ca* (itar. dv.), *tebhyaḥ; heḥ* 6/1 /

(*angasya* #1 *hali* #100)

‘*hu*’ ity *etasmāt jhalantebhyaś cottarasya halāder heḥ sthāne dhir ādeśo bhavati*  
A consonant-initial *hi*, which occurs after *hu*, or after a form ending in a sound denoted by *jhaL* (cf. Śs: 8–14), is replaced with *dhi*.

EXAMPLES:

*juhudhi* ‘second person singular active *LOT*-derivate of *hu* ‘to call out’’

*bhindhi* ‘second person singular middle LOT-derivate of *bhid* ‘to split’  
*chindhi* ‘second person singular middle LOT-derivate of *chid* ‘to cut’

1. This rule allows a consonant-initial *hi* which either occurs after *hu*, or after a form which ends in a sound denoted by *jhal*, to be replaced with *dhi*. Recall that *hi* is offered as a replacement of *siP* (3.4.87 *ser hy apic ca*) in the imperative (*LOT*). It is also treated as ‘not marked with *P* as an *it* (*apit*). Derivational details of *juhudhi* can be found in the appendix (3.3.166 *adhiṣṭe ca*). Deriving *bhindhi* and *chindhi*, from *bhid* + (*siP*→*hi*) and *chid* + (*siP*→*hi*), requires introduction of *Śnam* (3.1.78 *rudhādibhyah śnam*). This rule replaces *hi* with *dhi* and 6.4.111 *śnasor allopah* deletes the *a* of *Śnam*.

2. Recall that *hi* is allowed to be replaced with *dhi* after forms which end in a sound denoted by *jhal*. That is why, *tām* is not replaced with *dhi* in *juhutām*. This replacement in *dhi* is also conditioned with *halādi* ‘that which begins with a consonant’. Notice that *hi* begins with a consonant. Why did Pāṇini have to restate this condition? Obviously to block this replacement where *hi*, because of the introduction of *iT*, may not remain consonant-initial. This is what happens in *rudihi* and *svapihi*, where *iT* (*rudādibhyah sārvadhātuke . . .*) is introduced. The augment is treated as part of *hi* (*Paribh* (12): *yad āgamā . . .*).

It is stated that an optional *tātAN* (7.1.35 *tuhyos tātañ*) blocks *dhi*, as a replacement for *hi*, on the basis of *paratva*. Thus, we get *juhutāt* and *bhintāt*, the two derivates of *hu* and *bhid*. Furthermore, *dhi*, which has gone through blocking under *vipratiṣedha* once, will remain blocked forever (*Paribh* (PŚ: 41): *sakṛd gatau vipratiṣedhe yad bādhitam tad bādhitam eva*). That is, application of *dhi*, once blocked, was not possible (*asambhavāt*). But then consider *bhindhaki* and *chindhaki* where *akAC* (5.3.71 *avyayasarvanāmnām akac . . .*) was blocked on the basis of *paratva*. It was, however, introduced subsequently in consonance with: (*Paribh* (40): *punah prasaṅgavijñānāt siddham*).

#### 6.4.102 श्रुशृणुपूर्कवृभ्यश्छन्दसि

*śruśrṇupr̥krvrbhyaś chandasi*

/śru-śrṇu-pṛ-kr-vrbhyah 5/3 (itar. dv.), *tebhyaḥ; chandasi* 7/1/  
*(aṅgasya #1 her dhiḥ #101)*

‘śru, śrṇu, pṛ, kr, vṛ’ *ity etebhya uttarasya her dhir ādeśo bhavati chandasi visaye*

A *hi* which occurs after *śru*, *śrṇu*, *pṛ*, *kr*, and *vṛ* is replaced with *dhi* when the usage is Vedic.

#### EXAMPLES:

*śraḍhī havāmindra* ‘listen to the invocation, O Indra’

*śrṇudhī girāḥ* ‘listen carefully to the speech’

*pūrddhi* ‘fulfill’

*uruṇāskṛdhi* ‘make . . . wide’  
*apāvṛdhi* ‘uncover’

1. This rule replaces *hi* with *dhi*, in the Vedic, when the same occurs after *śru*, *śṛṇu*, *pṝ*, *kṝ* and *vṝ*. Note that, except for *śṛṇudhi*, all other examples receive *ŚaP*, via *bāhulaka* (3.21.85 *vyat�ayo bahulam*). This *ŚaP* is subsequently deleted by *LUK* (2.4.73 *bahulam chandasī*). The *i* of *śṛṇudhi* is replaced with its long counterpart by 6.3.137 *anyeśām api dṝsyate*. Thus, *śru + (LOT → hi → dhi)* = *śru + dh(i → ī)* = *śrudhī*. Remember that *Śnu* is not introduced here because of *bāhulaka*. We, however, do find *Śnu* in *śṛṇudhī*. Note that *pūrddhi* is optional to *pūrdhi*, both deriving from *pṝ + (LOT → siP → hi → dhi)*. Rule 7.1.102 *ud oṣṭhyapūrvasya* replaces *ṝ* with *u*, followed by *r̄*. This *u* is replaced with its long counterpart by 8.2.77 *hali ca*. The *dh* of *pūrdhi* goes through optional iteration (8.4.46 *aco rahābh्याम् dve*) and subsequent replacement in *d (dh → d; jaśta)*. Thus, *pūr(dh → d) + dhi = pūrddhi*. Similar rules apply in deriving *skṛdhi* and *apāvṛdhi*.

#### 6.4.103 अङ्गितश्च

*aṇitaś ca*

/ *aṇitah* 6/1 = *ṅ it yasya* (*bv.*); *na ṇit* (*nañ.*), *tasya*; *ca φ/*  
*(her dhiḥ #101 chandasī #102)*

*aṇitaś ca her dhir ādeśo bhavati chandasī viṣaye*

A *hi* which is not marked with *Ṅ* as an *it* is also replaced with *dhi* when the usage is Vedic.

#### EXAMPLES:

*sómaṁ rārandhi*

*asmabhyāṁ taddháryaśva prayándhi*

*yuyodhyāsmajjúhurāṇaménah*

1. A *hi*, when not marked with *Ṅ* as an *it*, is replaced with *dhi* in the Vedic. Recall that 3.4.88 *vā chandasī* assigns the optional non-*pit* status to *hi*. That is, if the non-*pit* option is not accepted then 1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit* will treat it as marked with *Ṅ* as an *it*. Thus, if *Nit* status of *hi* is not accepted, this rule will apply on the basis of *Nit* status of *hi*. Consider *rārandhi*, the second person *LOT*-derivate of *ramU* ‘to sport, please’ where *parasmaipada* is used on the basis of *vyat�aya* ‘transposition’. Rule 2.4.76 *bahulam chandasī* is responsible for *ŚLU*-deletion of *ŚaP*. The *abhyāsa* also goes through lengthening after iteration (6.1.7 *tujādīnāṁ dīrgho bhyāsasya*). The *m* of *ramU* is not deleted because *hi* is not marked with *Ṅ* as an *it* (*Nit*; 6.4.37 *anudāttopadeśa . . .*). The *ŚaP* which occurs after *yam* ‘to strive’ goes through deletion by *LUK* (2.4.73 *bahulam chandasī*). The *ŚaP* after *yudh* ‘to fight’ goes through deletion by *ŚLU*. This causes iteration and optional *pit* and non-*Nit* status of *hi*. An application of *guṇa* yields *yuyodhi*.

## 6.4.104 चिणो लुक्

*cino luk*/ *cinah* 5/1 *luk* 1/1 /

(aṅgasya #1)

*cina uttarasya pratyayasya lug bhavati*An affix which occurs after *CiN* is deleted by means of *LUK*.

EXAMPLES:

*akāri* '... made'*ahāri* '... fetched'*alāvi* '... cut'*apāci* '... cooked'

1. Note that *LUK* is used as a term for *adarśana* 'non-appearance' of an affix (1.1.61 *pratyayasya* ...). That is, this rule offers deletion of an affix which occurs after *CiN*. Refer to derivational details of *akāri* under the appendix of rule 3.1.66 *cin bhāvakaṁṇoh*. Similar rules apply in deriving *ahāri*, etc. This rule deletes *ta* which occurs after *CiN* in  $k\dot{r} + (LUN \rightarrow ta) \rightarrow aT + kr + (CLI \rightarrow CiN) + ta \rightarrow aT + kār + CiN + (ta \rightarrow \emptyset) = akāri$ . But consider *akāri + tarām* = *akāritarām*, where *ta*-deletion becomes *asiddha* in view of deletion of *tarām*. This is done by interpreting 6.4.104 *cino luk* differently in view of contextual requirements. Yet another suggestion is made to bring *knīti* from *anuvṛtti* and changing *cinah*, the ablative, into genitive. This makes it possible for deletion of affixes which are marked with *k* and *N* as *it*. It saves *taraP* and *tamaP* from deletion since they are marked with *P* as an *it*.

## 6.4.105 अतो हे:

*ato heḥ*/ *ataḥ* 5/1 *heḥ* 6/1 /(aṅgasya #1 *luk* #104)*akārāntād aṅgād uttarasya her lug bhavati*A *hi* which occurs after an *aṅga* ending in *a* is deleted by means of *LUK*.

EXAMPLES:

*paca* 'cook!'*paṭha* 'study!'*gaccha* 'go!'*dhāva* 'run!'

1. This rule offers deletion of *hi* which may occur after an *aṅga* ending in *a*. Note that the genitive of *aṅgasya* is here changed into ablative (*pañcamī*) for facilitating proper interpretation of this rule.

2. Kāśikā offers *yuhi* ‘... mix’ and *ruhi* ‘... grow’ as counter-examples to the condition of an *aṅga* ending in *a*. Obviously, the *aṅga* here ends in *u*. Thus, deletion of *si*→*hi*, after *yu* and *ru*, is blocked. The specification of *a* with *t* (*aT*; *taparakarana*) is also significant. Thus, given *lunā* + *hi* and *punā* + *hi*, we do not get deletion. The *aṅga* here ends in a long ā. Recall that the final derivates are *lunīhi* and *punīhi* where, given *lunā* + *hi* and *punā* + *hi*, 6.4.113 *i* *haly aghoh* replaces the long ā of *lunā* with *i*. This *i* is treated as *asiddha* in view of deletion of this rule. That is, the *aṅga* is still considered as ending in long ā, and not a short.

#### 6.4.106 उत्तराच प्रत्ययादसंयोगपूर्वात्

*utas ca pratayād asamyogapūrvāt*  
*/utah 5/1 ca φ pratayāt 5/1 asamyogapūrvāt 5/1 = avidyamānah samyogah*  
*pūrvo yasya (bu.), tasmāt/*  
*(aṅgasya #1 luk #104 heh #105)*  
*ukāro yo' asamyogapūrvas tadantāt pratayād uttarasya her lug bhavati*  
 A *hi*, when occurring after an affix which (i) occurs at the end of an *aṅga* and (ii) terminates in an *u* not used after a conjunct, is also deleted by means of *LUK*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*cinu* ‘heap!’  
*sunu* ‘listen!’  
*kuru* ‘do!’

1. This rule deletes a *hi* which occurs after an *aṅga*, provided the *aṅga* terminates in an affix ending in *u*, and there is no conjunct occurring before *u*. Thus, consider *cinu* and *sunu* where, given *ci* + (*LOT*→*si*→*hi*) and *su* + (*LOT*→*si*→*hi*), *Śnu* is introduced as a *vikarana* (3.1.73 *svādibhyah śnuh*). The *vikarana* in case of *kṛ* of *kuru* is *u* (3.1.79 *tanādikṛnībhya* ...). Our present rule deletes *hi*. We thus get *cinu* and *sunu*. Recall that *kṛ* + *u* + *hi* goes through *guṇa* to produce *k(r→ar)* + *u* + *hi*. The *a* of *ar*, in addition to deletion of *hi*, is replaced with *u* (6.4.110 *at ut sārvadhātuke*).

Kāśikā offers *rādhnuhi* and *prāpnuhi* as counter-examples where deletion of *hi* is blocked because *u* occurs after a conjunct. Consider *lunīhi* ‘cut!’ and *punīhi* ‘cleanse!’ as counter-examples where deletion of *hi* is blocked because *hi* occurs after ā. Similar counter-examples are *ruhi* and *yuhī* where *hi* occurs after *u* which is part of the base and not of an affix.

2. A *vārtika* proposal is made to make this deletion optional in the Vedic. That is, this deletion of *hi* applies sometimes. But on occasions it also does not. Thus, consider *ātanuhi* ‘extend (it) properly’, *dhinuhi* ‘please!’ and *kṛnuhi* ‘do!’ where this deletion does not apply.

## 6.4.107 लोपश्चान्यतरस्यां म्बोः:

*lopaś cānyatarasyāṁ mvoḥ*  
*/lopaḥ 1/1 ca φ anyatarasyāṁ 7/1 mvoḥ 7/2 = maś ca vaś ca (itar. dv.), tayoh/*  
*(aṅgasya #1 utaḥ pratyayād asaṁyogapūrvāḥ #106/*  
*yo' yam ukāro' saṁyogapūrvah̄ tadantasya pratyayasyānyatarasyāṁ lopo bhavati vakāramakārādau pratyaye parataḥ*

An affix which ends in *u* and does not occur after a conjunct is optionally deleted by means of *LOPA*, provided an affix beginning with *m* or *v* follows.

## EXAMPLES:

*sunvah̄* 'first person dual active *LOT* of *sUṄ* 'to press out'  
*sunuvah̄* 'ibidem'  
*sunmah̄* 'first person plural . . .'  
*sunumah̄* 'ibidem'  
*tanvah̄* 'first person dual *LOT* of *tanU* 'to extend'  
*tanuvah̄* 'ibidem'  
*tanmah̄* 'first person plural . . .'  
*tanumah̄* 'ibidem'

1. Notice how all derivates end in *vah̄* and *mah̄* in consonance with the affixal condition of *mvoḥ*. Note also that *asaṁyogapūrvā* is here interpreted as an adjective to *u*, and not to the affix which may end in *u*. The *vikarāṇa* in these examples is *Śnu*. This deletion applies only to an *u* which belongs to an affix. Thus, there is no deletion in *yuvah̄* and *yumah̄* where *u* is part of verbal roots. Now consider *śaknuvah̄* and *śaknumah̄* where these derivates end in *vas* and *mas* but their *u* occurs after a conjunct. This *u* can also not be deleted.

2. Why is *LOPA* used here explicitly? Why could *LUK* not be brought via *anuvṛtti*? So that the final *u* of an affix alone could be deleted. If *LOPA* was not used, deletion would have applied to an affix terminating in *u*.

## 6.4.108 नित्यं करोते:

*nityam̄ karoteḥ*  
*/nityam̄ φ karoteḥ 5/1/*  
*(aṅgasya #1 utaḥ pratyayāt #106 lopaḥ mvoḥ #107)*  
*karoter uttarasya ukārapratyayasya vakāramakārādau pratyaye parato nityam̄ lopo bhavati*

Affix *u* which occurs after an *aṅga*, namely *kṛ*, is obligatorily deleted by means of *LOPA*, when an affix beginning with *m* or *v* follows.

## EXAMPLES:

*kurvah* ‘first person dual active *LOT*-derivate of *kṛ* ‘to do’  
*kurmaḥ* ‘first person plural . . .’

1. An affix in *u* which occurs after an *aṅga* constituted by *kṛ* is obligatorily deleted by *LOPA*, provided an affix beginning with *v* or *m* follows. Thus,  $k(r \rightarrow ar) + u + mas \rightarrow kar + (u \rightarrow \phi) + mas \rightarrow k(a \rightarrow u) r + mas = kurma$  ( $s \rightarrow r \rightarrow h$ ). This same is also applicable to *kurvah*. Recall that 3.1.79 *tanādikṛ̥bhayah . . .* introduces *u* as the *vikarana*. The *a* of the *guna*, i.e., *ar*, is replaced with *u* (6.4.110 *at ut sārvadhātuke*).

## 6.4.109 ये च

*ye ca*

/ye 7/1 ca φ/

(*aṅgasya* # 1 *utah prat�ayāt* # 106 *lopah* # 107 *nityam karoteḥ* # 108)  
*yakārādau ca prat�aye parataḥ karoter uttarasyokāraprat�ayasya nityam lopo bhavati*

Affix *u* which occurs after an *aṅga*, namely *kṛ*, is obligatorily deleted by means of *LOPA* also when an affix beginning with *y* follows.

## EXAMPLES:

*kuryāt* ‘third person singular active *LIN*-derivate of *kṛ*

*kuryātām* ‘third person dual . . .’

*kruyuh* ‘third person plural . . .’

1. This rule obligatorily deletes an affix in *u* which occurs after an *aṅga* constituted by *kṛ*. Of course, when the *aṅga* is followed by an affix beginning with *y*. Refer to derivational details of *kuryāt*, *kuryātām* and *kruyuh* (III:784), under 3.4.103 *yāsuṭ parasmaipade . . .* The affix which conditions deletion of *u* is *yāsuṭUT*.

## 6.4.110 अत उत्सार्वधातुके

*ata ut sārvadhātuke*

/ataḥ 6/1 ut 1/1 sārvadhātuke 7/1/

(*aṅgasya* #1 *kñiti* #98 *utah prat�ayāt* #106 *lopah* #107 *karoteḥ* #108)  
*ukāraprat�ayāntasya karoter akārasya sthāne ukāra ādeśo bhavati sārvadhātuke kñiti parataḥ*

The *a* of an *aṅga* which is constituted by *kṛ*, and ends in an affix ending in *u*, is replaced with *uT* (1.1.70 *taparas taikālasya*) when a *sārvadhātuka* affix marked with *K* or *N* as an *it* follows.

## EXAMPLES:

*kurutah* ‘third person dual active *LAT*-derivate of *kṛ*

*kurvanti* ‘third person plural . . .’

1. Refer to the appendix of 1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit* for derivational details of *kurutah* and *kurvanti*. This rule introduces *u* as a replacement for the *a* of an *āṅga*, namely *kṛ*, when the same ends in *u*, provided a *sārvadhātuka* affix marked with *K* and *N* follows. Thus,  $k(r \rightarrow ar) + u + tas \rightarrow k(u \rightarrow ar) + u + tas \rightarrow k(a \rightarrow u)$   $r + u + tas = kuruta(s \rightarrow r \rightarrow h) = kurutah$ .

1. Why do we have to use *sārvadhātuke*? So that this replacement can take place even under the condition of a previously existing *sārvadhātuka*. Thus, consider *kuru* which I derive under 6.4.106 *utāś ca*. . . . Recall that *hi*, a *sārvadhātuka*, is deleted after *kar + u*. The *utva* of this rule, because of the express mention of *sārvadhātuke*, can now take place under the condition of the removed *hi*. Recall also that a *hi*-replacement of *si* is also considered as not marked with *P* (3.4.87 *ser hy apic ca*). This enables *hi* to be accepted as marked with *K* and *N*. It is still argued that the *utva* can be accomplished even without the express mention of *sārvadhātuke*? How? The deletion of *hi* will be considered as *asiddha* (PM: *asiddho hi, tasyāsiddhatvād utvam bhavisyati*). Thus, *hi* being there, *utva* cannot be blocked. In that case, an express mention of *sārvadhātuke* can be accepted as made for clarity (*vispaṣṭārtham*).

Why is *u* specified here with a following *t* (*taparakarana*)? So that the penultimate *guṇa* (*laghūpadhaguṇa*; 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdha* . . .) of *u* can be blocked. A replacement specified with a following *t* cannot allow any further replacement.

Finally the condition of marked with *K* and *N* is still valid. Consider *karoti*, *karośi* and *karomi* where *tiP*, *siP* and *miP* are marked with *P* as an *it*. This *utva* does not apply there since the condition of *kniti* is not satisfied.

#### 6.4.111 इनसोरल्लोपः:

*śnasor allopaḥ*

/ *śnasoh* 6/2 = *śnaś ca aś ca* = *śnasau* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoh*; *allopah* = *ato lopah* (*saś. tat.*) /

(*āṅgasya* #1 *kniti* #98 *sārvadhātuke* #110)

*śnasyāsteś cākārasya lopo bhavati sārvadhātuke kniti parataḥ*

The *a* of *ŚnaM*, and that of verbal root *as* as well, is deleted by means of *LOPA* when a *sārvadhātuka* affix marked with *K* or *N* as an *it* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*rundhah* ‘third person singular active *LAT*-derivate of *rudh* ‘to obstruct’’  
*rundhanti* ‘third person plural . . .’

*bhintah* ‘third person singular active *LOT*-derivate of *bhid* ‘to split’’  
*bhindanti* ‘third person plural . . .’

*santi* ‘third person singular active *LAT*-derivate of *as* ‘to be’’

1. This rule allows deletion of *a* of *ŚnaM* and *as*. Consider *rudhIR* +

(*LAT*→*tas*)→*ru* + ŠnaM + *dh* + *tas*, where ŠnaM is introduced after *u* of *rudh* (1.1.47 *mid aco' ntyāt parah*). Refer to *ruṇaddhi* (appendix, 3.1.78 *rudhādi-bhyah* . . .) for further derivational details. Our present rule deletes the *a* of ŠnaM. The *n* then goes through replacements in *anusvāra* (8.3.24 *mo' nusvārah*) and back to *n* again via *parasavarna* (8.4.58 *anusvārasya* . . .). This *n* cannot be replaced with *ṇ* because of *asiddhatva* (8.2.1 *pūrvatrāsiddham*). Examples such as *bhintah* and *bhindanti* follow similar rules. Refer to derivational details of *stah* under the appendix of 1.1.58 *na padānta*. . . . Deriving *santi* from: *as* + (*LAT*→*jhi*→*anti*) should then become easier.

Note that this deletion is also available before an affix marked with *Kor N̄* as an *it*. It does not apply in *bhinatti* and *asti* since *tiP* is marked with *P* as an *it*.

2. How do we get the specification of *śnasoh*. It should be *śna* + *asoḥ* = *śnāsoḥ*. The *a* of *śna* goes through *pararūpa* because of the listing of *śakandhvādi* (cf. *vt ad* 6.1.94 *eni pararūpam*).

#### 6.4.112 श्नाभ्यस्तयोरातः:

*śnābhystayor ātah*

/ *śnā-abhyastayoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tayoh*; *ātah* 6/1/

(*aṅgasya* #1 *kniti* #98 *lopaḥ* #107 *sārvadhātuke* #110)

'śnā' ity etasyābhystānām cāṅgānām ākārasya lopo bhavati sārvadhātuke  
*kniti parataḥ*

The *ā* of an *aṅga* which ends in *Śnā*, or of one which is termed *abhyasta*, is deleted by means of *LOPA*, when a *sārvadhātuka* affix marked with *K* or *N̄* as an *it* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*lunate* 'third person singular middle *LAT*-derivate of *lūN̄* 'to cut'

*lunatām* 'third person dual middle *LOT*-derivate of *lūN̄*'

*alunata* 'third person plural middle *LAṄ*-derivate of *lūN̄*'

*mimate* 'third singular middle *LAT*-derivate of *māṄ* 'to measure'

*mimalām* 'third person dual middle *LOT*-derivate of *māṄ*'

*amimata* 'third person plural middle *LAṄ*-derivate of *māṄ*'

*sañjhate* 'third person singular middle *LAT*-derivate of *OhāṄ* 'to go'  
used with the preverb *sam*'

*sañjihatām* 'third person dual middle *LOT*-derivate . . .'

*samañjhata* 'third person plural middle *LAṄ*-derivate . . .'

1. Note that our next rule proposes a replacement in *ī* under the condition of a consonant-initial *sārvadhātuka* affix marked with *K* and *N̄*. By inference, we have to accept this rule's provision under the condition of a similar *sārvadhātuka* affix beginning with a vowel (*ajādi*).

Refer to derivational details of *vyatilunate* (appendix, II:468); 1.3.14

*kartari . . .*) for deriving *lunate*. The *e* of the derivate of *LOT* gets *ām* (3.4.90 *ām etah*). Thus we get *lunatām*. The third plural middle form *alunata* is derived with *LAṄ* and introduction of augment *aṄ*. We find *mimate*, *mimatām*, and *animata* as examples for items termed *abhyasta*. Recall that *māṄ* ‘to measure’ is a root of the *juhotyādi* class. A *ŚaP* introduced after it goes through deletion by *ŚLU*. This starts the process of iteration (*ditva*; 6.1.10 *ślau*). The *ā* of *abhyāsa* goes through shortening and its *a* is replaced with *i* (7.4.76 *bhrñām it*). The *ā* of *abhyasta* (6.1.5 *ubhe abhyastam*) goes through deletion of this rule. The rest of operational steps are similar to many *ātmanepada* derivates of *LAT*, *LOT* and *LAṄ*. Derivational details of *sañjhate*, *sañjhatām* and *samajihata* are not very different. These are examples of verbal root *OhāṄ*, used with the preverb *sam*. The *m* of *sam* goes through *anusvāra* and *parasavarṇa* ‘homogeneous with the following’.

2. Recall that this deletion is limited to derivates with *Śnā* and *abhyasta*. That is why we do not get it in *yānti* and *vānti*. This deletion is also available only when an affix marked with *K* and *N* follows. That is why this deletion is blocked before *tiP* in *alunāt*, *ajahāt*. A *mit* and *nit* status is not allowable in the context of *tiP*.

3. Why was this specification made with *ā* used with *t* (*taparakarana*)? That is, a specification with *a* should have accounted for it. A specification with *āt* is made for clarity (*spastārtham*).

#### 6.4.113 इ हल्यघोः:

*ī halī aghoh*

/*ī* (1/1 deleted) *halī* 7/1 *aghoh* 6/1 = *na ghuḥ* (*naṄ*), *tasya/*  
(*aṅgasya* #1 *kniti* #98 *sārvadhātuke* #110 *śnābhystayor ātah* #122)  
*śnāntānām aṅgānām abhyastānām ca ghuvarjitānām āta īkārādeśo bhavati*  
*halādau sārvadhātuke kniti parataḥ*

The final *ā* of an *aṅga* which ends in *Śnā*, or else, is termed an *abhyasta* but is not termed *ghu*, is replaced with *ī* when a *sārvadhātuka* affix beginning with a consonant and marked with *K* or *N* as an *it* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*lunitah* ‘third person dual active *LAT*-derivate of *lūṄ*

*punitah* ‘third person dual . . . of *pūṄ* ‘to cleanse’

*lunithah* ‘second person dual active *LAT* of *lūṄ*

*punithah* ‘. . . of *pūṄ*

*punite* ‘third person singular middle *LAT* of *pūṄ*

*mimite* ‘. . . of *māṄ*

*mimise* ‘second person singular . . .’

*mimidhue* ‘second person plural . . .’

*sañjhīte* ‘third person singular middle *LAT* of *OhāṄ* used with the

preverb *sam'*

*sañjihīse* 'second person singular . . .'

*sañjihidhvē* 'second person plural . . .'

1. Refer to derivational details of *parikrīnīte* (appendix, 1.3.18 *parivya-vebhyah* . . .) for deriving *lunīte* and *punīte* from *lū + LAT* and *pū + LAT*. Deriving *lunītah* and *lunīthah* with active (*parasmaipada*) *sārvadhātuka* affixes *tas* 'third dual' and *thas* 'second dual' should not present any difficulty. Recall that these affixes are termed *Nit* by 1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit*. Derivates such as *mimīte*, *mimīse*, etc., will involve iteration as usual. Derivates of *OhāN*, used with *sam*, are not very difficult to derive.

2. A condition of *halādi* 'beginning with a consonant' is imposed so that this replacement in *i* is blocked in deriving *lunanti* and *punanti* where *jhi* is replaced with *anti*. The condition of *aghoh* is needed to block this *i* in deriving *dattah* and *dhattah*. Recall that *dā* and *dhā*, with the exception of *dāP*, are termed *ghu* (1.1.20 *dādhāghv adāp*). The condition of *kñiti* is again valid. Thus, we do not get this replacement in *lunāti* and *jahāti* where *tiPis* marked with *P* as an *it*.

#### 6.4.114 इदं दरिद्रस्य

*id daridrasya*

/it 1/1 *daridrasya* 6/1

(*an̄gasya* #1 *kñiti* #98 *sārvadhātuke* #110 *ātah* #112 *hali* #113)

*daridrāter halādau sārvadhātuke kñiti parata ikārādeśo bhavati*

The final *ā* of *daridrā* is replaced with *i* when a consonant-initial *sārvadhātuka* affix marked with *K* or *N* as an *it* follows.

EXAMPLES:

*daridritah* 'third person dual active *LAT*-derivate of *daridrā* 'to be poor''

*daridritah* 'second person dual . . .'

*daridriyah* 'first person dual . . .'

*daridrimah* 'first person plural . . .'

1. This rule offers *i* as a replacement for the *ā* of *daridrā*. Of course, when a *sārvadhātuka* affix marked with *K* and *N* follows. We get *daridritah*, *daridritah*, *daridriyah* and *daridrimah*, where *daridrā* occurs before *LAT* replaced with the active endings *tas*, *thas*, *vas* and *mas*. Note that *daridrā* is a root of the *adādi* class. A *ŚaP* which occurs after it is thus deleted (2.4.72 *adiprabṛhtibhyah* . . .).

2. This replacement is blocked in deriving *daridrati* and *daridrāti* because of the twin conditions of *halādi* and *kñiti*, respectively.

3. A *vārttika* proposal is made for deletion of *ā* of *daridrā* when an *ārdhadhātuka* affix follows (*vt. daridrāter ārdhadhātuke lopo vaktavyah*). Additionally, it is stated that *ā*-deletion remains valid in affixal operations (*vt.*

*siddhaś ca pratyayavidhau bhavatīti vaktavyam).* Thus, *daridrātīti* = *daridrah* ‘poor’.

The following verse of the *Mahābhāṣya* summarizes:

*na daridrāyake lopo daridrāne ca nesyate/  
didaridrāsatīty eke didaridrasatītī vā//*

‘there is no deletion in *daridrāyakah*; no deletion is also desired in *daridrāṇah*; some accept optional deletion in *didaridrāsati* and *didaridriṣati*’

#### 6.4.115 भियोऽन्यतरस्याम्

*bhiyo' nyatarasyām*  
*/ bhiyah 6/1 anyatarasyām 7/1/*  
*(aṅgasya #1 kniti #98 sārvadhātuke #110 hali #113 it #114)*  
*'bhī' ity etasyāṅgasyāntarasyām ikārādeśo bhavati halādau kniti sārvadhātuke parataḥ*

The final *i* of an *aṅga*, namely *bhī*, is optionally replaced with *i* when an affix beginning with a consonant, and marked with *K* or *N̄* an *an* or *it*, follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*bibhitah* ‘third person dual active LAT-derivate of *Nibhī* ‘to fear’  
*bibhitah* ‘ibidem’  
*bibhithah* ‘second person dual . . .’  
*bibhīthah* ‘ibidem’  
*bibhivah* ‘first person dual . . .’  
*bibhīvah* ‘ibidem’  
*bibhimah* ‘first person plural . . .’  
*bibhīmah* ‘ibidem’

1. The *i*-replacement of the preceding rule is made optional (*anyatarasyām*) in case of verbal root *bhī*. Thus, we get two forms. Note that example derives all involve iteration and operations relative to *abhyāsa*. This replacement in short *i* comes in place of the final *i* of *bī + bhī*. The first *i* goes through shortening.

2. This replacement is blocked in deriving *bibhyati* where *jh* of *jhi* is replaced with *at*. That is, a consonant-initial affix does not follow. The final *i* is thus replacement with *yaN*. A lack of meeting the condition of *kniti* again blocks this replacement in *bibheti*. This example goes through a replacement in *guṇa*. The condition of *sārvadhātuke* similarly does not allow this replacement in *bhīyate*. Affix *yaK* is obviously an *ārdhadhātuka*.

## 6.4.116 जहातेश्च

*jahātēś ca*

/ *jahātēḥ* 6/1 *ca* φ /

(*aṅgasya* #1 *kñiti* #98 *sārvadhātuke* #110 *hali* #113 *it* #114 *anyatarasyām* #115)

*jahātēś ca ikārādeśo bhavaty anyatarasyām halādau kñiti sārvadhātuke parataḥ*  
The final ā of an *aṅga*, namely *OhāK* ‘to abandon’, is also optionally replaced with *i*, when an affix which begins with a consonant and is marked with *K* or *N* as an *it* follows.

EXAMPLES:

*jahitāḥ* ‘third person dual active *LAT*-derivate of *OhāK*

*jahītāḥ* ‘ibidem’

*jahīthāḥ* ‘second person dual . . .’

*jahīthāḥ* ‘ibidem’

1. A separate formulation of this rule is intended so that, in subsequent rules, only *jahātēḥ* could be carried (*prthag yogakaraṇam uttarārtham*).

2. Refer to derivational details of *juhoti* (appendix, 1.1.61 *pratyayasya . . .*) for operations relative to iteration and *abhyāsa*. Recall that 6.4.113 *i haly agħoh* offers *i* as an obligatory (*nitya*) replacement for the final ā of *abhyāsa*. That *i* becomes applicable if this optional *i* is not accepted. This replacement option is again not available where a non-*sārvadhātuka* affix follows. Thus, we get *hiyate* and *jehīyate* where affixes *yaK* and *yaṄ* are termed *ārdhadhātuka*.

## 6.4.117 आ च है

ā ca hau

/ ā ca φ hau 7/1 /

(*aṅgasya* #1 *it* #114 *anyatarasyām* #115 *jahātēḥ* #116)

*jahāter ākāraś cāntādeśo bhavati ikāraś cānyatarasyām hau parataḥ*

The final ā of an *aṅga*, namely *OhāK*, is optionally replaced with ā, in addition to an optional *i*, when affix *hi* follows.

EXAMPLES:

*jahāhi* ‘second person singular active *LOT*-derivate of *OhāK* ‘to abandon’’

*jahihi* ‘ibidem’

*jahīhi* ‘ibidem’

1. This rule offers ā as an optional replacement for an *aṅga* in *hā*. The optional *i* of the preceding rule is also applicable. The *ca* is used here to attract *anyatarasyām* and *i* both (*Nyāsa: cakāra ittvānyatarasyāmgraḥanayor*

*anukarṣaṇārthaḥ*). Since these two options are both made against ī of 6.4.113 *haly aghoḥ*, we will end up with three forms: *jahāhi*, *jahihi* and *jahīhi*. Operations relative to deletion by ŠLU (of ŠaP) and iteration all obtain as usual.

#### 6.4.118 लोपो यि

*lopo yi*  
*/lopah 1/1 yi 7/1/*

(*aṅgasya #1 kniti #98 sārvadhātuke #100 jahāteḥ #116*)

*lopo bhavati jahāter yakārādau kniti sārvadhātuke parataḥ*

The final ā of an *aṅga*, namely *OhāK*, is deleted by means of *LOPA* when a *sārvadhātuka* affix which begins with y and is marked with *K* or *N* as an *it* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*jahyāt* 'third person singular active *LIN*-derivate of *OhāK*'  
*jahyātām* 'third person dual . . .'  
*jahyuh* 'third person plural . . .'

1. This rule offers deletion of ā when hā is followed by a *sārvadhātuka* affix marked with *K* and *N*. Additionally, this *sārvadhātuka* affix must begin with y (*yakārādi*). Incidentally, the deletion applies to a final ā (1.1.52 *alo’ ntyasya*). Refer to many *LIN*-derivates in the appendix where operational steps common to these examples, i.e., ŠaP, ŠLU-deletion, doubling, introduction of *yāsUT*, and *tām* and *us*, have been explained.

#### 6.4.119 घ्वसोरेद्वावभ्यासलोपश्च

*ghvasor edd hāv abhyāsalopas ca*  
*/ghvasoh 6/2 (itar. dv.); et 1/1 hau 7/1 abhyāsa-lopah 1/1 (śas. tat.); ca*  
*ϕ/*

(*aṅgasya #1 kniti #98*)

*ghusamjñākānām aṅgānām asteś ca ekārādeśo bhavati hau parato’ bhyāsalopas ca*

The final sound segment of an *aṅga* termed *ghu*, or of an *aṅga* constituted by *as*, is replaced with *e* when affix *hi* follows, with an additional provision that the *abhyāsa* be deleted by means of *LOPA*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*dehi* 'second person singular active *LOT*-derivate of *dā* 'to give''  
*dhehi* ' . . . of *dhā* 'to place''  
*edhi* ' . . . of *as* 'to be''

1. This rule offers *e* as a replacement for an *aṅga* constituted by roots termed *ghu*, and *as* as well. Additionally, these *aṅga* also go through deletion

of their *abhyāsa*. Refer to the appendix (II: 352–54) of 1.1.20 *dādhāghv adāp* for general derivational direction for imperative forms of *dā* ‘to give’ (*dehi*), *dhā* ‘to place’ (*dhehi*) and *as* ‘to be’ (*edhi*). Rule 6.4.22 *asiddhavad atrābhāt* shows derivational details of *edhi*.

2. Commentators explain that this *lopa* is here intended as marked with Š (*Kāś: śid ayam lopah*). Consequently, deletion applies to an *abhyāsa*, in toto (1.1.55 *anekālśit sarvasya*). This provision now becomes an exception to deletion of the final sound segment (1.1.52 *alo’ ntyasya*).

#### 6.4.120 अत एकहल्मध्ये नादेशादेलिंटि

*ata ekahalmadhye’ nādeśāder liṭi*

/ *ataḥ* 6/1 *ekahalmadhye* 7/1 = *ekaś ca ekaś ca* = *ekau*; *ekaś ca* *tau halau ca* = *ekahalau* (*karmadhāraya*); *ekahalor madhyah* (*śaṣ. tat.*), *tasmin*; *anādeśādeḥ* 6/1 = *avidyamāna ādeśa ādir yasya* (*bv.*), *tasya*; *liṭi* 7/1/ (*aṅgasya* #1 *kniṭi* #98 *eta abhyāsalopaś ca* #119)

*liṭi parata ādeśa ādir yasyāṅgasya nāsti tasya ekahalmadhye asahāyayor halor madhye yo’ kāras tasya ekārādeśo bhavati abhyāsalopaś ca liṭi kniṭi parataḥ*  
An *a* which occurs in between two single consonants of an *aṅga* whose initial sound has not gone through a replacement is replaced with *e*, with an additional provision of deletion of *abhyāsa*, when a *LIT* affix marked with *K* or *N* as an *it* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*renatuh* ‘third person dual active *LIT*-derivate of *raṇ* ‘to be happy’

*renuh* ‘third person plural . . .’

*yematuḥ* ‘third dual active *LIT*-derivate of *yamA* ‘to be indifferent’

*yemuḥ* ‘third person plural . . .’

*pecatuḥ* ‘third dual active *LIT*-derivate of *pac*’

*pecuh* ‘third person plural . . .’

*dematuḥ* ‘third person dual active *LIT*-derivate of *damU* ‘to control, suppress’

*demuh* ‘third person plural . . .’

1. This rule replaces the *a* of an *aṅga* with *e*, provided this *a* occurs in between two consonants. Additionally, the *abhyāsa* of this *aṅga* is also deleted. These two operations apply to an *aṅga* which does not go through deletion of its initial sound, and which occurs followed by a *LIT* affix marked with *K* and *N* as an *it*. Thus, consider *raṇ* + *atus* where *atus* is a replacement of *LIT*, via *tiP* (3.4.82 *parasmaipadānām nalatusus . . .*). This string produces *ra* + *raṇ* + *atus* after iteration (*dvitva*) and *halādiśeṣa* (7.4.60). Our present rule replaces the *a* of *ra* with *e* and deletes *ra*. We thus get *renatu(s→r→h=renatuḥ)*.

Notice how the *aṅga*, i.e., *ra* + *raṇ*, meets the condition of *anādeśādi* ‘that

of which there is no replacement at the beginning'. The *a* of *ra* meets the condition of *ekahalmadhyā* because the two *r* sounds in between which it occurs are not conjuncts. Similar derivational details apply in deriving *reṇuh* from *ra + ran + (LIT→tas→us)*. Other examples follow similar derivational applications.

The word *eka* is not used here in the sense of a number (*samkhyā*). It is, instead, used here in the sense of *asahāya* 'without an accompanying consonant, non-conjunct'. This interpretation of *eka* is valid in view of the specification of *madhya* 'in between'. Obviously, 'in between' is a relative notion and, hence, is impossible to make sense in the context of *eka* interpreted as a number. Commentators explain that this *eka* is derived from *ekaś ca ekaś ca*, a *dvandva* paraphrase, where only one *eka* is retained (*ekaśeṣa*).

2. Note that *e* comes as a replacement for *a*. Thus, we get *didivatuh* and *didivuḥ* from *div + LIT*, where *e* and deletion of *abhyāsa* do not apply. Obviously, because there is no *a*. Since this *a* is specified with *taparakaraṇa* 'marking with *T*', our present rule does not apply on the string yielded by *rās + LIT→rarāse/rarāsāte/rarāsire*. That is, the replacement and deletion of this rule applies only when the *aṅga* has a short *a*, occurring in between two single consonants.

Why is the specification made with *ekahalmadhyā* 'in between two non-conjunct consonants'. So that this rule does not apply on derivates of *tsar* 'to hide, move', i.e., *tatsaratuḥ* and *tatsaruḥ*. A condition of *anādeśa* blocks the application of this rule on *cakanatuh* and *cakanuh*, etc., where the initial *k* of *kan* goes through a replacement in *c*.

3. Note that the negation of *anādeśādeḥ* is also construed with *līti*. That is, *līti* of this rule is read twice via repetition (*āvṛtti*). One *līti* is thus read with *anādeśādeḥ* and the other with *knīti*, constrained by the condition of a following *LIT*. Thus, replacements which may block the application of this rule must result under the condition of a following *LIT*. Consider *nematuḥ/nemuḥ*; and *sehe/sehāte*. These sets of examples involve a replacement of *n* and *s* with *n* and *s*, respectively. These consonants, *n* and *s*, are replaced with *s* and *n* when occurring as initial of a verbal root (6.1.64 *dhātvādeḥ* . . . ; 6.1.65 *no nah*). Obviously, they are replaced prior to the introduction of *LIT* and are thus not conditioned (*animittika*) by *LIT*. The negation of *anādeśādeḥ* does not apply to these examples.

Commentators explain that there are two types of replacements: (a) where a replacement causes formal difference (*bhedā*) and (b) where no such difference (*abheda*) results. Our present rule applies only where the first kind of replacement is involved. Consider 6.4.126 *na śāṣadadvādiguṇānām* which negates *etva* 'replacement in *e*' and *abhyāsalopa* 'deletion of *abhyāsa*' in *viśāśasatuḥ* and *viśāśasuh*, etc. Now consider 8.1.54 *abhyāse car ca* which replaces sounds denoted by *caR* and *jaŚ*, in an *abhyāsa*, with corresponding *caR* and *jaŚ*. This results in non-difference of forms such as *śas* and *dad*. If the

negation of *anādeśādiḥ* does not make a difference in replacements depending on formal difference or a lack of it, *sas* and *dad* will become *ādeśādi*. This rule itself will be able to block *etva* and *abhyāsalopa*. What is the need of formulating 6.4.126 *na śāṣadadiṇvādi . . . ?* This, in turn, indicates that our present rule considers a replacement resulting in formal difference.

Finally, the condition of *kiti* is also valid. Consider *aham papaca* and *aham papatha* where *NaL*, of *pac + (LIT→miP→NaL)* and *pāth + (LIT→miP→NaL)*, cannot be considered as *kniT* (1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit*). That is, it will still be accepted as marked with *P* as an *it*, via *sthānivadbhāva* ‘treating a replacement as what it replaced’. A replacement in *e*, with concurrent deletion of *abhyāsa*, is blocked.

4. There are four *vārttika* proposals under this rule:

- (i) A replacement in *e* (*etva*) and deletion of *abhyāsa* should also be stated for *dambhi*, i.e., in *debhatuh* and *debhuh*. This *vārttika* is necessitated because deletion of *m* in *dambh* becomes *asiddha*, thereby impairing the condition of *ekahalmadhyā*.
- (ii) A replacement in *e* should also be stated for *naś* and *man* when followed by a non-*LIT*. Thus, we get *aneśam* and *menakā*, derivates of *LUN* and *vuK*, respectively.
- (iii) A replacement in *e* should be stated for *am* and *pac* in the Vedic when a non-*LIT* affix follows. Consider *(vi-am + (CānaŚ) + sU→vyemānam*, where augment *mUK* is not introduced. Examples of *pac* in *LIT*: *pac + a + siyUT + (LIN→jha→ran)*) = *peciran*.
- (iv) An *etva* must also be stated for *yaj* and *vac*, in the Vedic. Thus, we get *(āy(a→e)j(a + i→e))* = *āyeje* and *āvepe*, both derivates of *LAÑ*, where augment *āT* is introduced by 6.4.73 *chandas yapi dr̥ṣyate*. Note that this *āT* is introduced to *anajādi* ‘that which does not begin with a vowel’.

#### 6.4.121 थलि च सेटि

*thali ca seti*

/ *thali* 7/1 *ca* φ *seti* 7/1 /

(*angasya #1 ed abhyāsalopaś ca #119 ekahalmadhye' nādeśāder liṭi #120*)  
*thali ca seti parato' nādeśāder angasya ekahalmadhyagatasyātaḥ sthāne ekāra*  
*ādeśo bhavati abhyāsalopaś ca*

An *a* which occurs in between two single consonants of an *āṅga* whose initial sound has not gone through a replacement is also replaced with *e*, with an additional provision of deletion of *abhyāsa*, when affix *thaL* used with *iT* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*pecitha* ‘second person singular active *LIT*-derivate of *pac* ‘to cook’’

*śekitha* ‘second person singular active LIT-derivate of śak ‘to be able to’’

1. Note that *thaL* is not an affix marked with *K* and *N* as an *it*. This rule is thus formulated for allowing *etva*, and concurrent deletion of *abhyāsa*, in contexts outside of *kñiti*. Consider *pecitha* and *śekitha* (appendix (III:787), 3.4.115 *liṭ ca*) where *etva* and deletion of *abhyāsa* apply before LIT. A condition of *seti* is imposed so that, in case of the non-*iT* option of 7.2.63 *rto bhāradvājasya*, we can get *papaktha* with no *etva* and concurrent deletion of *abhyāsa*.

It is stated that *thaL* need not be stated in this rule. For, this rule is needed for contexts not covered by *kñiti*. The condition of *seti*, outside the context of *kñiti*, can only be met by *thaL*. Why then make an explicit mention of *thaL*? It is made for clarity (*Kāś: thalgrahanam vispaṣṭārtham*).

The conditions of *at*, *ekahalmadhyā* and *anādeśādi* are also valid. Thus, consider *didevitha* where *i* is not replaced with *e*. The deletion of the *abhyāsa* also does not apply. Now consider *tataksitha* where replacement does not apply because the vowel does not happen to be used in between two single consonants. Finally, consider *cakanitha* and *babhaṇitha* where we do have the replacement at the beginning. Consequently, we do not get a replacement in *e*. We also do not get deletion of the *abhyāsa*.

#### 6.4.122 तुफलभजत्रपश्च

*tṛphalabhajatrapaś ca*

/ *tṛ-phala-bhaja-trap-ah* 6/1 (sam. dv.), *tasya; ca φ/*

(*angasya* #1 *kñiti* #98 *ed abhyāsalopaś ca* #119 *ataḥ liṭi* #120 *thali ca seti* #121)

‘*tṛ, phala, bhaja, trapa*’ *ity eteśām aṅgānām ata ekārādeśo bhavati abhyāsalopaś ca liṭi kñiti paratas thali ca seti*

The final *a* of an *aṅga*, namely *tṛ* ‘to float’, *phal* ‘to be fruitful’, *bhaj* ‘to serve’, and *trap* ‘to be ashamed, be shameful’, is also replaced with *e*, with an additional provision of deletion of *abhyāsa*, when a LIT affix marked with *K* or *N* as an *it*, or else, affix *thaL* used with *iT* follows.

EXAMPLES:

*teratuh* ‘third person dual active LIT-derivate of *tṛ*’

*teruh* ‘third person plural . . .’

*teritha* ‘second person singular . . .’

*phelatuh* ‘third person dual . . . of *phal*’

*pheluḥ* ‘third person plural . . .’

*phelitha* ‘second person singular . . .’

*bhejatuḥ* ‘third person dual . . . of *bhaj*’

*bhejuḥ* ‘third person plural . . .’

*bhejitha* ‘second person singular . . .’

*trepe* ‘third person singular middle LIT-derivate of *trap*’  
*trepāte* ‘third person dual . . .’  
*trepire* ‘third person plural . . .’

1. This rule allows *etva*, and deletion of *abhyāsa*, where a LIT affix marked with *K* and *N*, or a *thaL* with *iT*, follows. Note that *ṛ* of *tṛ* goes through a replacement in *guna*, i.e., *ar* (7.4.11 *rcchatyṛtām*). We thus get (*ta*→∅) + *t(a*→*e*)*r* + *atus* = *teratu(s*→*ḥ*) = *teratuh*. This *etva* and deletion of *abhyāsa* is negated by 6.4.126 *na śāśadada*. . . . Our present rule makes it available. Examples such as *phelatuh*/ *pheluh*/ *phelitha*; and *bhelatuh*/ *bhehuh*/ *bhelitha* involve doubling and a replacement in *p* and *b* for initial *ph* and *bh*. This, in turn, could have blocked *etva*, and deletion of *abhyāsa*, in accord with the negation of *anādeśādi*. Our present rule makes these operations both possible. A similar explanation can be offered for *etva* and deletion in *trepe*/*trepāte* and *trepire* where *tr* impairs the condition of *ekahalmadhyā*. This rule again facilitates *etva* and deletion.

2. A *vārttika* proposal recommends that *etva* and deletion should also be stated for *śranth*, i.e., in *śrethatuh* and *śrethuh*.

#### 6.4.123 राधो हिंसादाम्

*rādho himsāyām*  
*/rādhah* 6/1 *himsāyām* 7/1/  
*(aṅgasya #1 kñiti #98 ed abhyāsalopāś ca #119 atah liṭi #120 thali ca seti #121)*  
*rādho himsāyām arthe' varṇasya ekāra ādeśo bhavati abhyāsalopāś ca liṭi kñiti paratas thali ca seti*  
The *a* of an *aṅga*, i.e., *rādh*, signifying *himsā* ‘wishing harm to’ is replaced with *e* with the additional provision of deletion of its *abhyāsa* when a LIT affix marked with *K* or *N* as an *it*, or else, affix *thaL* used with *iT* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*aparedhatuh* ‘third person dual active LIT-derivate of *rādh* used with the preverb *ap*’  
*aparedhuh* ‘third person plural . . .’  
*aparedhitha* ‘second person singular . . .’

1. This rule allows *etva*, and deletion of *abhyāsa* as well, when *rādh* is used with the signification of *himsā* ‘harm’. All other conditions remain similar to those of the preceding rule. Thus, consider *aparedhatuh*/*aparedhuh* and *aparedhitha*. This *etva* and deletion of *abhyāsa* is not available to *rādhatuh*/*rādhuḥ* and *rādhitha*, mainly because this *rādh* is not used with the signification of *himsā*.

2. Note that *ataḥ* is still carried. It thus requires *e* as a replacement in place of the short *a*. What we find in *rādh* is a long. Commentators state that *ataḥ* is indeed carried. It, however, is interpreted as denoting *a* in general. That is, it also includes ā. Some suggest that, because of the specification of *rādh*, we must carry *ātaḥ* from 6.4.112 *śnābhystayor ātaḥ*. Others say that this is not necessary. Since a specification for *etva* and deletion of *abhyāsa* is made with express mention of *rādh*, there is no problem in replacing ā with *e*. Since the vowel which is to be replaced must meet the condition of *ekahalmadhyā* and also since it is not possible to find any vowel other than ā here, *etva* applies to ā.

#### 6.4.124 वा जृभ्रमुत्रसाम्

*vā jībhramutrasām*

/ *vā* *ϕ jī-bhramu-trasām* 6/3 (*itar. dv.*), *teṣām* /

(*aṅgasya* #1 *kñiti* #98 *ed abhyāsalopāś ca* #119 *ataḥ liṭi* #120 *thali ca seti* #121)

'*jī, bhramu, trasa'* *ity eteṣām aṅgānām atāḥ sthāne vā ekāra ādeśo bhavati abhyāsalopāś ca liṭi kñiti paratas thali ca seti*

The *a* of an *aṅga*, namely *jī* 'to decay, be old', *bhramU* 'to ramble, err' and *trasA* 'to tremble', is optionally replaced with *e*, with the additional provision of deletion of their *abhyāsa* when a *LIT* affix marked with *K* or *N* as an *it*, or else, affix *thaL* used with *iT* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*jeratuh/jajaratuḥ* 'third person dual active optional *LIT*-derivates of *jī*'  
*jeruh/jajaruh* 'third person plur' . . .'

*jeritha/jararitha* 'second person singular . . .'

*bhrematuh/babhramatuh* 'third person dual . . . of *bhram*'

*bhremuh/babhramuh* 'third person plural . . .'

*bhremitha/babhramitha* 'second person singular . . .'

*tresatuh/tatrasatuh* 'third person dual . . . of *tras*'

*tresuh/tatrasuh* 'third person plural . . .'

*tresitha/tatrasitha* 'second person singular . . .'

1. This is an optional rule. It offers *etva* and concurrent deletion of *abhyāsa* to an *aṅga* relative to verbal roots *jī*, *bhramU* and *tras*. All other conditions, namely *ataḥ*, *liṭi*, *thali ca seti* and *kñiti*, also remain in force. Thus, consider *jajaratuḥ*, etc., where *jī* goes through *guṇa* (7.4.11 *rcchatyātām*) and yields *a* followed by *r*. Consequently, *etva* and deletion, both get blocked in view of negation of 6.4.126 *na śasadavādigunānām*. Our present rule allows it in case of *a* of *jar*. Derivates of verbal root *bhramU* involve a replacement at the beginning and do not meet the condition of *ekahalmadhyā*. Derivates of verbal root *tras* also do not meet the condition of *ekahalmadhyā*. Our present

rule makes it possible for *etva* and deletion of *abhyāsa* to apply. Since this rule is optional, we also get examples with no *etva* and deletion of *abhyāsa*.

#### 6.4.125 फणां च सप्तानाम्

*phanām̄ ca saptānām̄*

/*phanām̄* 6/3 *ca* φ *saptānām̄* 6/3/

(*aṅgasya* #1 *kniti* #98 *ed abhyāsalopaś ca* #119 *ataḥ liṭi* #120 *thali ca seti* #121 *vā* #124)

*phanādinām̄ saptānām̄ dhātūnām̄ avarṇasya sthāne vā ekāra ādeśo bhavati abhyāsalopaś ca liṭi kniti paratas thali ca seti*

The *a* of an *aṅga*, namely one constituted by one of the seven verbal roots beginning with *phañA* ‘to move, go’, is also optionally replaced with *e*, with the additional provision of deletion of their *abhyāsa*, when a *LIT*-affix marked with *Kor N* as an *it*, or else, affix *thaL* used with *iT*, follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*phenatuh/paphaṇatuh* ‘third person dual active optional *LIT*-derivates of *phañ*’

*phenuh/paphaṇuh* ‘third person plural . . .’

*phenitha/paphaṇitha* ‘second person singular . . .’

*rejatuh/rarājatuh* ‘third person dual active optional *LIT*-derivates of *rāj* ‘shine’’

*rejuh/rarājuh* ‘third person plural . . .’

*rejitha/rarājitha* ‘second person singular . . .’

*bhreje/babhrāje* ‘third person singular middle optional *LIT*-derivates of *bhrāj* ‘to shine’’

*bhrejāte/babhrājāte* ‘third person dual middle . . .’

*bhrejire/babhrājire* ‘third person plural middle . . .’

*bhreśe/babhrāše* ‘third person singular middle optional *LIT*-derivates of *bhrās* ‘to shine’’

*bhreśāte/babhrāśāte* ‘third person dual middle . . .’

*bhreśire/babhrāśire* ‘third person plural middle . . .’

*bhleśe/babhlāše* ‘third person singular middle optional *LIT*-derivates of *bhlāś* ‘to shine’’

*bhleśāte/babhlāśāte* ‘third person dual middle . . .’

*bhleśire/babhlāśire* ‘third person plural middle . . .’

*syematuḥ/sasyamatuḥ* ‘third person dual active optional *LIT*-derivates of *syam* ‘to sound’’

*syemuh/sasyamuḥ* ‘third person plural active . . .’

*syemitha/sasyamitha* ‘second person singular . . .’

*svenatuḥ/sasvanatuḥ* ‘third person dual active optional *LIT*-derivates of *svan* ‘to sound’’

*svenuh/sasvanuh* ‘third person plural active . . .’

*svenitha/sasvanitha* ‘second person singular . . .’

1. Note that a specification with the genitive plural of *phañām* is made to indicate the meaning of *ādi* ‘a set of verbs beginning with *phañ*’. We get the meaning of ‘seven roots beginning with *phañ*’ when *phañām saptānām* is read together. Recall that *pha* is listed as a root in the *bhvādi* class. This listing *phañ, rājR, TUbhrājR, TUbhāSR, TUbhlāSR, syamU* and *svanA*.

An *aṅga* constituted by these verbal roots may not qualify for *etva* and deletion, mainly because of not meeting the conditions of *anādesādih, eahalmadhyā* and *ataḥ*. This rule expressly provides for *etva* and concurrent deletion against such requirements, optionally. Thus, *phenatuh/phenuh/phenitha* and *paphenatuh/paphenuh/paphenitha*, etc.

2. Derivational details of these examples are not hard to comprehend. That is, if one applies doubling and operations relative to *abhyāsa*. Refer to many derivations already discussed.

#### 6.4.126 न शसददवादिगुणानाम्

*na śasadadavādiguṇānām*

/ *na φ śasa-dada-vādi-guṇānām* 6/3 *vakāra ādir yasya sa vādih* (bv.); *śasāś ca dadas ca vādiś ca guṇaś ca* (itar. dv.), *teṣām/*

(*aṅgasya* #1 *kñiti* #98 *ed abhyāsalopāś ca* #119 *ataḥ liṭi* #120 *thali ca seti* #121)

‘śasa, dada’ ity etayor *vakārādīnām* ca *dhātūnām* *guṇa* ity evam *abhinirvṛttasya* ca yo’ *akāras tasya sthāne ekārādeśo na bhavati*

The *a* of an *aṅga*, namely *śas, dad, vādi* ‘that which has *v* as its initial’, and that which has a *guna*-replacement in *a*, is not replaced with *e*, with the additional provision of non-deletion to their *abhyāsa*, when a *LIT* affix marked with *K* or *N* as an *it*, or else, affix *thaL* used with *iT*, follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*viśaśasatuh* ‘third person dual active *LIT*-derivate of verbal root *śas* ‘to cut’ used with the preverb *vi*’

*viśaśasuh* ‘third person plural active . . .’

*viśaśasitha* ‘second person singular active . . .’

*dadate* ‘third person singular middle *LIT*-derivate of verbal root *dā* ‘to give’’

*dadadātē* ‘third person dual middle . . .’

*dadadiре* ‘third person plural middle . . .’

*vavamatuh* ‘third person dual active *LIT*-derivate of verbal root *vamA* ‘to vomit’’

*vavamuḥ* ‘third person plural active . . .’

*vavamitha* ‘second person singular active . . .’

*viśāśaratuh* ‘third person dual active *LIT*-derivate of verbal root *śr̥* ‘to harm’ used with the preverb *vi*’

*viśāśaruh* ‘third person plural active . . .’

*viśāśaritha* ‘second person singular active . . .’

*lulavitha* ‘second person singular active *LIT*-derivate of verbal root *lū* ‘to cut’’

1. This is a negation (*pratiṣedha*) rule. It blocks *etva* and deletion of *abhyāsa* in contexts where an *aṅga* involves *śasU* ‘to harm’, *dadA* ‘to give’, or a verbal root beginning with *v*, or else, an *aṅga* where a replacement in *guṇa* has applied. Consider *viśāśasatuh*, etc., where *śas* is used with *vi* before *LIT*. This rule negates *etva* for *a* of *viśāśas + atus*. This same is also true in case of *dadade*, where *ta* of *dad + (LIT→ta)* is replaced with *eŚ* (3.4.81 *litastajhayor . . .*). Other examples of *dadA* are similarly derived with doubling and related operations. This rule blocks *etva* and deletion of *abhyāsa*. An example where the *aṅga* involves *vam*, a verbal root beginning with *v*, is: *vavamatuh*. Derivates such as *viśāśaratuh* and *lulavitha* illustrate instances where *etva* gets a *guṇa*-replacement in *a* as its focus. Thus, *viś̥ + (LIT→tas→atus)*, where *ś̥* yields *ar* through application of *guṇa* (7.4.11 *rcchatyṛtām*). The *lū* of *lū + (LIT→siP→tha)* also goes through *guṇa*, though followed by a replacement in *av* before *iT*. Commentators point out that the *a* which forms the focus of *etva* must result out of an application of expressly mentioned *guṇa*. Thus, we get *a* of *ś̥→ar* and *ū→o→av* as the focus.

#### 6.4.127 अर्वणस्त्रसावनजः:

*arvanas t̥ asāv anañah*

/ *arvanah* 6/1 *t̥* (1/1 deleted) *asau* 1/2 (*nañ.*); *anañah* 5/1 (*nañ.*)/  
(*aṅgasya #1*)

‘*arvan*’ ity etasya *aṅgasya* ‘*t̥*’ ity ayam ādeśo bhavati suś cet tataḥ paro na  
bhavati sa ca *nañ* uttarō na bhavati

The final sound segment of *arvan* is replaced with *tR̥*, provided *arvan* is not combined after *naÑ* and *sU* does not follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*arvantau* ‘nominative dual of *arvan* ‘courser’’

*arvantah* ‘nominative plural . . .’

*arvantam* ‘accusative singular . . .’

*arvantau* ‘accusative dual . . .’

*arvatah* ‘accusative plural . . .’

*arvatī* ‘nominative singular (feminine with *NiP*)’

*ārvatam* ‘a derivate of *aÑ* denoting *apatyā* ‘offspring’’

1. This rule allows *tR* as a replacement for an *aṅga* constituted by *arvan*, provided it does not occur after *naṄ* and is also not followed by *sU*. This replacement in *tR* comes in place of the final *n* (1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*) of *arvan*. Thus, *arva*(*n*→*tR*) + *au*. Recall that augment *nUM* is introduced here as a result of *R* as an *it* (7.1.70 *ugid acām . . .*), before an affix termed *sarvanāmsthāna* (1.1.43 *sud anapunṣakasya*). Thus, *arva* + (*n*→*tR*) + *au*→*arva* + *nUM* + *t* + *au* = *arvantau*. Other forms, i.e., *arvataḥ*; *arvantam*, *arvantau*, *arvataḥ*, follow similar rules. Affix *NṛP* (4.1.6 *ugitaś ca*) is introduced in deriving feminine forms, also as a result of *R* as an *it*. Thus, we get *arvatī*. Our last example, i.e., *ārvata*, is derived from *arvat*, through initial *vṛddhi*, with affix *aṄ* (4.1.104 *anṛṣyā' nantarye . . .*) denoting *apatya* ‘offspring’.

2. Note that *sU* of *asau* ‘when *sU* does not follow’ is here interpreted as the nominative singular. It cannot be accepted as the locative plural (*PM*: . . . *prathamaikavacanasya cātra grahanam*, *na saptamibahuvacanasya*). This condition of *asau* blocks *tR*, and yields *arvā*, through penultimate *vṛddhi*, *sU*-deletion and deletion of *n*. Thus, *arv(a→ā)n* + *sU*→*arvān* + (*sU*→∅)→*arvā(n→∅)* = *arvā*. The restriction of *anañāḥ* ‘not used after *naṄ*’ also blocks *tR*. We thus get *anarvānau* and *anarvānah*, where *anarvan* is interpreted as *na arvā* ‘non-*arvan*’.

#### 6.4.128 मधवा बहुलम्

*maghavā bahulam*

/ *maghavā* 1/1 *bahulam* 1/1/

(*angasya* #1 *tṛ* #127)

‘*maghavan*’ *ity etasyāṅgasya bahulam* ‘*tṛ*’ *ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*

The final sound segment of an *aṅga*, namely *maghavan*, is variously replaced with *tR*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*maghavān* ‘nominative singular of *maghavan* ‘Indra’’

*maghavantau* ‘nominative dual . . .’

*maghavantah* ‘nominative plural . . .’

*maghavantam* ‘accusative singular . . .’

*maghavantau* ‘accusative dual . . .’

*maghavataḥ* ‘accusative plural . . .’

1. Note that *maghavān* is derived from *maghavan* + *sU*, where *n* gets replaced with *tR* to yield *maghavat* (*R*→∅) = *maghavat* + *sU*. Augment *nUM* is now introduced (7.1.70 *ugidacām . . .*) to derive *maghavant* + *sU*. We can now derive *maghavan* by deleting *sU* (6.1.66 *halnābbhyo . . .*) and the conjunct final *t* (*samyogānta*; 8.2.23 *samyogāntasya lopah*). Our final form *maghavān* is derived by replacing the penultimate *a* by its *vṛddhi* counterpart (6.4.8 *sarvanāmsthāne cā' sambuddhau*). Remember that the conjunct-final dele-

tion of *t* is not treated as *asiddha* in accomplishing this penultimate *vṛddhi*. It is to accomplish this, and also non-deletion of *n*, that *bahulam* ‘variously’ is used in this rule.

The use of *bahulam* also suggests that *tR* does not have to be accepted as a replacement. We thus get forms such as *maghavā*, etc., parallel to *rājā* (appendix, 1.1.43 *sud anapumsakasya*): *maghavā/maghavānau/maghavānah*, in the nominative, and *maghavānam/maghavānau/maghonah*, in the accusative. Our accusative plural form involves *samprasāraṇa* (6.4.133 *śvayuvamaghonām . . .*), thereby yielding: *magha(v→u) + an + (S) as = magha + uan + as*. The *u* and *a* of *uan* is then replaced with *u* (6.1.104 *samprasāraṇāc ca*). We thus get *magha + u + n + as*. Rule 6.1.84 *ād guaḥ* then replaces the *a + u* sequence of *magha + u* with a single *guna* vowel *o*. We thus get *magh(a + u→o) n + as→maghon + a(s→h) = maghonah*. Recall that augment *nUM* is not introduced when a non-*sarvanāmastiḥāna* ending follows. Derivational details of *maghavat* and *māghavatam* are similar to those of *arvatī* and *ārvatam* of the previous rule. Deriving *maghonī* from *maghavan + NiP* will again involve *samprasāraṇa*, etc. Deriving *māghavanam* from *maghavan + Nas + aN*, with initial *vṛddhi*, should pose no problem.

#### 6.4.129 भस्य

*bhasya*

/ *bhasya* 6/1/

(*aṅgasya #1*)

‘*bhasya*’ ity ayam adhikāra ā adhyāyaparisamāpteh

Of the *bha* (1.4.18 *yaci bham*) of an *aṅga* . . .

#### EXAMPLES:

*dvipadah* (*paśya*) ‘accusative plural of *dvipād* ‘biped’’

*dvipadā* (*kṛtam*) ‘instrumental singular . . .’

1. This is a governing (*adhikāra*) rule. One should consider *bhasya* present in whatever is stated till the end of this quarter (*āpādaparisamāpteh*). Thus, the following rule offers *pat* as a replacement for *pād*. The word *bhasya*, when read with the following rule, yields this interpretation: ‘*pād*, which occurs as final of an *aṅga* termed *bha*, is replaced with *pat*’.

Recall that 1.4.18 *yaci bham* assigns the term *bha* to a string which occurs before a non-*sarvanāmastiḥāna* affix beginning with *y*, or a vowel. An affix before which the term *bha* is assigned must also be one enumerated within the list headed by *sU* (*svādi*). This covers affixes enumerated by rules 4.1.2 *svaujasmau* . . . through 5.4.151 *uraḥ prabhṛtibhyḥ kap*. Thus, a *non-sarvanāmastiḥāna* affix which is listed as part of *svādi* and which begins either with a *y*, or a vowel, conditions the assignment of the term *bha*. A string which does not occur before an affix specified for *bha* is termed *pada*. Whether or

not a string is assigned the term *pada* and *bha* also depends on whether or not an affix is assigned the term *sarvanāmsthāna*. A *Śi* replacement of nominative and accusative plural endings *Jas* and *Śas* (7.1.20 *jaśasoh śi*) is termed *sarvanāmsthāna* (1.1.42 *śi sarvanāmsthānam*). Affixes *su*, *au*, *Jas*, *am* and *auT* (*sUT*) are also termed *sarvanāmsthāna* when they occur after a non-neuter nominal stem (1.1.43 *sud anapumsakasya*). A non-neuter string which occurs before a *sarvanāmsthāna* affix is neither termed a *pada*, nor a *bha*. A neuter which occurs before *su* is termed *pada*. It is termed *bha* when occurring before *au* and *am*. Since a *Jas* and *Śas* is replaced with *Śi* which, in turn, is termed *sarvanāmsthāna*, we do not get *pada* or *bha* before them. The term *bha* is also assigned before affixes *Śas*, *Tā*, *Ne*, *NasI*, *Nas*, *os* and *Ni*, obviously because they begin with a vowel. A string before the genitive plural *ām* can also be termed *bha*, provided it has not receive augment *nUT*. Note that *nUT* impairs the vowel-initial status of *ām* which, in turn, occasions the assignment of the term *pada*. Similar reasoning applies in assigning the terms *pada* and *bha*, outside the domain of nominal endings.

#### 6.4.130 पादः पत्

*pādah pat*

/ *pādah* 6/1 *pat* 1/1/

(*āngasya* #1 *bhasya* #129)

'*pādah*' iti *pādaśabdo luptākāro grhyate, tadantasyāngasya bhasya 'pat' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*

The final *pād* of an *āṅga* termed *bha* is replaced with *pat*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*dvipadah (paśya) 'accusative plural . . .'*

*dvipadā 'instrumental singular . . .'*

*dvipade 'dative singular of dvipād'*

*dvipadikām (dadāti) 'gives two quarters each'*

*vaiyāghrapadyah 'offspring of Vyāghrapād'*

1. The base in *pādah* is specified with its final *a* deleted (*luptākāra*). Since such a deletion takes place only in a compound, *pādah* is interpreted as referring to 'that which ends in *pād* (*tadantasya*)'. Note that *pat* will come in place of *pād*, since a replacement is introduced in place of that which is specified (*nirdiśyamānasyādeśā bhavanti*). That is, *pat* will not replace the final *d* of *pād*. Nor will it replace the *āṅga* which ends in *pād*.

Note that *dvipat*, of *dvipadah paśya*, is a *bahuvrīhi* (2.2.24 *ane kam anyapadārthe*), where 5.4.140 *saṃkhyāśupūrvasya* deletes the final *a* of *pāda*. Our present rule replaces this *pād* with *pat*. The word *dvipadikā*, parallel to *dvau dvau pādau*, is derived with affix *vuN* (5.4.1 *pādaśatasya . . .*) introduced after *dvipādā*. A deletion of the final *a*, and subsequent replacement of *pād*

with *pāt*, produces *dvipat* + *vuN*. Rule 7.1.1 *yuvor anākau* then replaces *vu* with *aka*. An introduction of *TāP*, followed by *i* as a replacement for *a* of *aka*, produces *dvipad(a→i)ikā*. A replacement of *pād*, in *pat*, is also seen in *vaiyāghryapadyah*, derived parallel to *vyāghrasyeva pādāv asya, tasyāpatyam* ‘a son of he whose feet are similar to that of a tiger’s’, with affix *yaṄ* introduced after the *bahuvrīhi* compound *vyāghrapāda* (4.1.105 *gargādibhyo yaṄ*). The *a* of *pāda* is deleted by 5.4.138 *pādasya lopo*. . . . The *ā* of *vyāghra* gets replaced with *aiC* in accord with 7.3.3 *na yvābhȳām*. . . .

#### 6.4.131 वसोः सम्प्रसारणम्

*vasoh samprasāraṇam*  
*/vasoh 6/1 samprasāraṇam 1/1/*  
*(aṅgasya #1 bhasya #129)*  
*vasvantasya bhasya samprasāraṇam bhavati*  
 An *aṅga* termed *bha* which ends in *vasu* goes through *samprasāraṇa*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*viduṣah* ‘accusative singular of *vidvas* ‘scholar’  
*viduṣā* ‘instrumental singular . . .’  
*viduṣe* ‘dative singular . . .’  
*pecuṣah* ‘accusative singular of *pecvas* ‘he who has cooked’  
*pecuṣā* ‘instrumental singular . . .’  
*pecuṣe* ‘dative singular . . .’  
*papuṣah* ‘nominative singular of *pecvas*’

1. Note that *viduṣah* is derived from *vidvas* + Šas, where *vidvas* itself derives with ŠatR (3.2.124 *laṭah śatṛśānacāv* . . .), introduced after *vid* as a replacement of LAT. A replacement in *vasU* is then introduced for ŠatR as per 7.1.36 *videḥ śaturuvasuh*. An application of *samprasāraṇa* on *vidvas* + (Š)as, followed by the *pūrvarūpa* of resultant *u+a*, produces *vid(v→u) + as + (Š) as→vid (u+a→u)s + (Š) as = vidus + as*. Our final form *viduṣah* results from the application of *s→ṣ* (*satva*; 8.3.59 *ādeśa pratyayayoh*) and *s→r→h* (*rutva-visarga*). Our next examples are derivates of *LIT*, introduced after *pac*, where *LIT* gets replaced with *KvasU* (3.2.107 *kvasuś ca*). An application of doubling and related operations then produces *pac + (LIT→KvasU)→pacpac + vas*. Rule 6.4.120 *ata ekahalmadhyā . . . then orders e and deletion of abhyāsa*, thereby yielding *pecvas*. We get *pecvas* + Šas → *pecuṣah*, through *samprasāraṇa*, *satva* and *rutva-visarga*. The singular instrumental and dative forms, i.e., *pecuṣā* and *pecuṣe*, are similarly derived by introducing *Tā* and *Ne* after *pacvas*. Deriving *yayuṣah*, from *yā + (LIT→KvasU) + (Š) as*, yields *yayā + us + as*, through application of doubling, *samprasāraṇa* and related operations. The *ā* of *yayā + us + as*, under the condition of *KvasU* marked with *Kas it*, is deleted (6.4.64).

*āto lopa iti ca). Recall that samprasāraṇa impairs the condition of valādi, and hence, iT is not introduced (7.2.67 vasvekājād ...).*

2. Why is the *samprasāraṇa* of *vas* not treated as *asiddha* ‘suspended’ in view of deletion of *a*? These two operations both have different conditions (*nimitta; Kāś: ākāralope kartavye vasusamprasāraṇasya vyāśrayatvād asiddhatvatvān na bhavati*). Note that a specification with *vasU* is also desired to include a reference to *KvasU* (*Kāś: vasugrahaṇe kvasor api grahaṇam iṣyate*).

#### 6.4.132 वाह ऊऽ

*vāha ūṭh*

*vāha 6/1/ūṭh 1/1/*

(*aṅgasya #1 bhasya #129 samprasāraṇam #131*)

‘vāhah’ ity evam antasya bhasya ‘ūṭh’ ity etat samprasāraṇam bhavati

A form termed *samprasāraṇa*, namely ūṬH, comes in place of the final *vāh* of an *aṅga* termed *bha*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*praśthauhah* ‘accusative plural of *praśthavāh* ‘a calf under training’

*praśthauhā* ‘instrumental singular . . .’

*praśthauhe* ‘dative singular . . .’

*dityauhah* ‘accusative plural of *dityavāh* ‘. . . who carries a demon’

*dityauhā* ‘instrumental singular . . .’

*dityauhe* ‘dative singular . . .’

1. Note that *vāhah* specifies a derivate of *vah* used with affix *NvI* (3.2.64 *vahāś ca*). The assignment of the term *samprasāraṇa* to ūṬH facilitates its introduction in place of *v*, a sound denoted by *yaN* (1.1.45 *ig yaṇah . . .*). That is, ūṬH does not replace the final sound (1.1.52 *alo’ ntyasya*). Refer to derivational details under notes of 6.1.86 *etyedhatyūṭhsu*. Our example *dityavāh* follows derivational patterns similar to *praśthavāh*.

2. Why do we have to introduce the *samprasāraṇa* as ūṬH? Why can we simply not introduce the *samprasāraṇa* vowel *u*? This general *u* can then be replaced with *o* (*guna; 7.2.88 puganta . . .*), under the condition of *NvI* revived via 1.1.62 *pratyayalope*. . . . This can easily offer us desired results after the *vṛddhi* of *o*. But specifying a general *samprasāraṇa* will render ūṬH vacuous (*vyartha*). This, in turn, indicates that the *antarāṅga* ‘internally conditioned’ rule of interpretation is valid here. That is, a *guna*-replacement conditioned by *NvI* is internally conditioned (*antarāṅga*), as opposed to assignment of the term *bha* which is externally conditioned (*bahirāṅga*) by vowel-initial affixes. This will render the *samprasāraṇa* as *asiddha* in replacing *u* with *o*. The question of any *vṛddhi* or *guna* will thus not arise. It is for this reason that ūṬH, and subsequent *vṛddhi* by 6.1.89 *etyedhaty . . .*, is necessary.

## 6.4.133 रुवयुवमधोनापतद्विते

*śvayuvamaghonām ataddhite*

/ śva-yuva-maghonām 6/3 (itar. dv.), teṣām; ataddhite 7/1 (nañ.), tasmin/ (angasya #1 bhasya #129 samprasāraṇam #131)

'śvan, yuvan, maghavan' ity etesām angānām ataddhite pratyaye parataḥ samprasāraṇam bhavati

An *aṅga* termed *bha*, namely *śvan* 'dog', *yuvan* 'young', and *maghavan* 'Indra', goes through *samprasāraṇa* when a non-*taddhita* affix follows.

EXAMPLES:

*śunah* 'accusative plural of *śvan* 'dog'

*śunā* 'instrumental singular ...'

*śune* 'dative singular ...'

*yūnah* 'accusative plural of *yuvan* 'young'

*yūnā* 'instrumental singular ...'

*yūne* 'dative singular ...'

*maghonaḥ* 'accusative plural of *maghavan* 'Indra'

*maghonā* 'instrumental singular ...'

*maghone* 'dative singular ...'

1. Derive *śunah* from *śvan* + Šas with *samprasāraṇa*, *pūrvavarūpa* of *a* and *rutva-visarga*. The instrumental and dative singular forms, i.e., *śunā* and *śune*, offer nothing new. Deriving *yūnah*, from *yuvan* + Šas, involves *savarmadīrgha*, in addition to *samprasāraṇa* and *pūrvavarūpa*. Thus, *yu(v→u)an+(Š)as→yu(u+a→u)n+as→y(u+u→ū)n+as= yūna(s→h)= yūnah*. Refer to derivational details of *maghonaḥ* under notes of 6.4.128 *maghavā bahulam*.

Why do we have the condition of a non-*taddhita* affix? Consider *śauvam* of *śauvam māṁsam* 'dog's meat'. This derivate of *aṄ* (4.3.154 *prāṇirajatā-dibhyo . . .*) produces *śauvan*, where *au* is introduced as an augment (7.3.4 *dvārādīnām ca*). Rule 6.4.144 *nas taddhite* then requires *ti*-deletion of *an* of *śau+v(an→φ)+a = śauva*. This *ti*-deletion, however, is blocked by 6.4.167 *an* in deriving *yauvana* with *aṄ* (5.1.130 *hāyanānta . . .*). Thus, *y(u→au)van+Nas+aṄ=yauvana* 'youth'.

2. The *Mahābhāṣya* notes that *samprasāraṇa* of *śvā*, etc., is desired only when the derivates denote feminine, or end in *n*. Thus, consider *yuvatīḥ paśya* where *yuvan* is used with affix *ti* with the signification of feminine. Examples with no denotation of feminine are: *maghavataḥ*, *maghavatā* and *maghavate*.

## 6.4.134 अल्लोपोऽनः:

*allopo' nah*

/ *allopaḥ* 1/1 = *ato lopah* (ṣaṣ. tat.); *anah* 6/1/ (angasya #1 bhasya #129)

'an' ity evam antasya bhasya akāralopo bhavati

The *aT* of an *āṅga* termed *bha* which ends in *an* is deleted by means of *LOPA*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*rājñah* 'accusative plural of *rājan* 'king'

*rājñā* 'instrumental singular . . .'

*rājñe* 'dative singular . . .'

*takṣṇah* 'accusative plural of *takṣan* 'carpenter'

*takṣṇā* 'instrumental singular . . .'

*takṣṇe* 'dative singular . . .'

1. This rule deletes *a* of an *āṅga* termed *bha* which ends in *an*. Thus, *rājñah* from *rājan* + (Ś) as where deletion of *a* applies. Rule 8.4.39 *stoś cunā ścuḥ* now applies on *raj(a→φ)n + as = rāj + n + as* to yield *rāj + (n→ñ) + as = rājñas*. Similar deletion of *a* also applies on *takṣan* + (Ś) as to yield *takṣṇah*, through *n→ñ* (*natva*).

2. Note that this deletion applies only to an *an* which retains its *n* at the end. Thus, this *a*-deletion cannot apply in deriving *rājñah idam = rājakyam* 'regal', where *n* gets replaced with *k* (4.2.140 *rājñah ka ca*).

#### 6.4.135 षपूर्वहन्धृतराजामणि

*ṣapūrvahandhṛtarājñām aṇi*

/ *ṣapūrva-han-dhṛtarājñām* 6/3 = *ṣakārah pūrvo yasmāt* (bv.); *ṣapūrvāś ca han ca dhṛtarājā ca = ṣapūrvahandhṛtarājñāḥ* (itar. dv.), *teśām;*  
*aṇi* 7/1 (*nañ*)/

*ṣakārapūrvo yo' n hano dhṛtarājñāś ca tasyākāralopo bhavati aṇi parataḥ*  
The *a* of *an* occurring after *s* at the end of an *āṅga* termed *bha*, and the *a* of *an* of *han* and *dhṛtarājan* as well, is deleted by means of *LOPA* when affix *aN* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*aukṣṇah* 'offspring of Ukṣan'

*tākṣṇah* 'offspring of Takṣan'

*bhrauṇaghṇah* 'he who killed a fetus'

*dhārttarājñah* 'offspring of Dhṛtarājan'

1. Note that the 'as is' (*prakṛtibhāva*) provision of 6.4.167 *an* would block the provision of *a*-deletion of our preceding rule. This rule is then formulated to facilitate it. Thus, consider *ukṣan + aN→aukṣṇa* and *takṣan + aN→tākṣṇa*, where *s* occurs before *an*. Note that the base which is used in deriving *bhrauṇaghṇa* with *aN* (3.1.92 *tasyāpatyam*) is *bhrūṇahan*, a compound termed *upapada* paraphrased as *bhrūṇaḥ̣ hatavān* 'killed a fetus'. Affix *KvIP* (3.2.87 *brahmabhrṇa* . . .) which occurs after *bhrūṇahan* is deleted as usual.

Our final form *bhrauṇaghna* is derived with initial *vṛddhi*, *a*-deletion and *h*→*gh* (*kutva*; 7.4.54 *ho hanter*...). Deriving *dhārtarājñā*, from *dhārtarājan* + *Nas* + *aN*, involves *n*→*ñ* (*ścutva*; 8.4.39 *stoś cunā ścuḥ*). That is, in addition to initial *vṛddhi* and deletion of *a*.

2. This *a*-deletion is constrained by conditions of *sapūrva*, etc., so that, elsewhere, *an* could be retained (6.4.67 *an*). That is, deletion of *a* or *ti*, i.e., *an*, is blocked. Thus, we get *sāmanah* and *vāmanah* with no deletion of *a*. That this deletion applies to specified *bha* only when *aN* follows is also important. Consider *tākṣanyah* where this deletion is not allowed because *Nya* (4.1.151 *kurvādibhyo yah*) follows. A retention of *an* in this case is in consonance with 6.4.168 *ye cābhāvakarmanoḥ*.

#### 6.4.136 विभाषा डिश्योः:

*vibhāṣā niśyoḥ*

/ *vibhāṣā* 1/1 *niśyoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*) /

(*aṅgasya* #1 *allopo'* *nah* #134)

*nau parataḥ sīśabde ca ano vibhāṣā akāralopo bhavati*

The *a* of *an* which occurs at the end of an *aṅga* is optionally deleted by means of *LOPA* when affixes *Ñi* and *Śi* follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*rājñi* ‘locative singular of *rājan* ‘king’

*rājani* ‘ibidem’

*sāmni* ‘locative singular of *sāman* ‘chant’

*sāmani* ‘ibidem’

*sāmnī* ‘nominative/accusative neuter dual of *sāman*’

*sāmanī* ‘ibidem’

1. This rule offers optional deletion of *a*, provided *Ñi* and *Śi* follow. Recall that *Śi* here refers to a replacement of *Jas* (7.1.17 *jasaś ū*) and *auÑ* (*au* and *auT*; 7.1.18 *auñ āpah*). Thus, we get *rājan* + *Ñi* = *rājñi*, with *a*-deletion and *n*→*ñ* (*ścutva*). We will get *rājani* if the optional deletion of *a* is not applied. Similar deletion is seen in deriving *sāman* + *Ñi* = *sāmni*, or else, *sāmani*. Now consider *sāmnī* and *sāmanī*, where the nominative accusative dual endings *au* and *auT*, when occurring after a neuter, are replaced with *Śi* (7.1.19 *napum̄asakāc ca*).

#### 6.4.137 न संयोगाद्वमन्तात्

*na samyogād vamantāt*

/ *na* φ *samyogāt* 5/1 *vamantāt* 5/1 = *vaś ca maś ca* = *vamau* (*itar. dv.*);

*vamāv ante yasya* (*bv. with int. dv.*), *tasmāt/*

(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *allopo'* *nah* #134)

*vakāramakārāntāt samyogād uttarasyāno' kārasya lopo na bhavati*

The *a* of *an* which occurs at the end of an *āṅga* termed *bha* after a conjunct ending in *v* or *m* is not deleted by means of *LOPA*.

EXAMPLES:

*parvanā* ‘instrumental singular of *parvan* ‘junction, section’

*parvane* ‘dative singular . . .’

*atharvanā* ‘instrumental singular of *atharvan* ‘fire-priest’

*atharvane* ‘dative singular . . .’

1. This rule is a negation (*pratīṣedha*). It blocks *a*-deletion when *an* occurs after a conjunct formed with *v* or *m* as its final. Thus, we get *parvan* + *Tā*→*parvanā*, with *a*-deletion and *n*→*ṇ* (*natva*). An example where *m* forms the final of a conjunct is *carmanā* ‘instrumental singular’ of *carman* ‘skin, hide’.

2. The condition of *samyogāt* ‘after a conjunct consonant’ is imposed so that *a*-deletion cannot be blocked in *pratidivan* + *Tā*→*pratidiv(a→∅)n* + *Tā* = *pratidivnā* ‘instrumental singular’ of *pratidivan* ‘sun’. Incidentally, the penultimate *i* of *pratidivn* + *ā* is replaced with *ī* (8.2.77 *hali ca*). That the conjunct must end in *v* or *m* is also important. Thus, consider *takṣṇā* and *takṣṇe* where, because of an absence of *v* and *m*, deletion of *a* cannot be blocked.

3. The word *antāt* is used for clarity (*vispaṣṭārtham*). For, *v* and *m* are used as qualifiers to *samyoga*, and consequently, the sense of *antāt* could have been available via *tadantavidhi* ‘treating *x* as that which ends in *x*’. That is, a specification with *vamah* should have been enough.

#### 6.4.138 अचः:

*acah*

/ *acah* 6/1/

(*āṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *allopah* #134)

‘*acah*’ ity ayam *añcatir luptanakāro gṛhyate, tadantasya bhasya akārasya lopo bhavati*

The *a* of *ac* of an *āṅga* termed *bha* is deleted by means of *LOPA*.

EXAMPLES:

*dadhīcah* ‘accusative plural of *dadhīc* ‘he who loves yogurt’’

*dadhīcā* ‘instrumental singular . . .’

*dadhīce* ‘dative singular . . .’

*madhūcah* ‘accusative plural of *madhūc* ‘he who loves honey’’

*madhūcā* ‘instrumental singular . . .’

*madhūce* ‘dative singular . . .’

1. This rule allows *a*-deletion to a *bha* which ends in *ac*. Commentators explain that this *ac* refers to verbal root *añc*. Our rule has specified *añc* with deleted *ñ*. Why can this *ac* not be interpreted as referring to vowels? It will

not make sense. For, the context is *a*-deletion, and *a* is part of the listing denoted by *aC*. Why can we not interpret *ac* as denoting vowels and make it a qualifier to *aṅga*. This way, we can accomplish deletion of an *a* which occurs at the end of an *aṅga* ending in a vowel. The deletion offered by 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca* will then not make any sense.

Refer to preceding rules, and also rule 6.3.137 *cau*, for derivational details.

#### 6.4.139 उद ईत्

*uda īt*  
*/udah 5/1 īt 1/1/*  
*(aṅgasya #1 bhasya #129 acah #138)*  
*uda uttarasya ac ikārādeśo bhavati*

The *a* of *ac* of an *aṅga* termed *bha* which occurs after the preverb *ud* is replaced with *ī*.

EXAMPLES:

*udicah* ‘accusative plural of *udīc* ‘north-bound’  
*udicā* ‘instrumental singular . . .’  
*udice* ‘dative singular . . .’

1. This rule replaces the *a* of *ac* with *ī*, provided *ac* occurs after the preverb *ud*. Consider *udīc + (S)as = udicah*, where *ud* is a preverb and *udīc* is an *upapada* compound with *KvIN* introduced after *añc*. The *ī*-replacement for the *a* of *ac*, in *ud + ac + as*, thus blocks *a*-deletion. Incidentally, *ī* comes in place of the *a* of *ac* in consonance with 1.1.54 *ādeh parasya*.

#### 6.4.140 आतो धातोः

*āto dhātoḥ*  
*/ātah 6/1 dhātoḥ 6/1/*  
*(aṅgasya #1 bhasya #129 lopah #134)*  
*ākārāntasya dhātor bhasya lopo bhavati*

The final *ā* of an *aṅga* termed *bha* which ends in a verbal root ending in *ā* is deleted by means of *LOPA*.

EXAMPLES:

*kilālapah* ‘accusative plural of *kilālapā* ‘protector of honey’  
*kilālapā* ‘instrumental singular . . .’  
*kilālape* ‘dative singular . . .’  
*śubhamyah* ‘accusative plural of *śubhamyā* ‘auspiciously inclined’  
*śubhamyā* ‘instrumental singular . . .’  
*śubhamye* ‘dative singular . . .’

1. This rule allows deletion of an ā which occurs as final (1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*) of a verbal root. Note that *kilālapā* and *śubhamyā* are *upapada* compounds with affix *vIC* (3.2.74 āto manin . . .). Affix *vIC* is, as usual, deleted. Thus, *kilālap*(ā→ϕ) + *as* = *kilālapah*, *klālap*(ā→ϕ) + (*T*) ā = *kilālapā* and *kilālap*(ā→ϕ) + (*N*) *e* = *kilālape*, etc.

3. It is because of the twin condition of *ātah* and *dhātoḥ* that *niyā* ‘instrumental singular of *nī* ‘lead(er)’ and *niye* ‘dative singular’; and *khatvāḥ* ‘accusative plural’ of *khatvā* ‘cot’ and *mālāḥ* ‘accusative plural’ of *mālā* ‘garland’ cannot avail this ā-deletion. The first set of two derivates contains verbal root *nī*. The second contains non-root bases.

4. Commentators explain that a split-interpretation (*yogavibhāga*) of this rule, i.e., *ātah*, enables ā-deletion also where a root is not used. This is how ā-deletion of *ktvā* and *śnā*, in the wording of rules 7.1.37 *ktvo lyap* and 3.1.83 *halah śnah* . . ., can be justified.

#### 6.4.141 मन्त्रेस्वाडुशादेरात्मनः:

*mantreṣv āny āder ātmanah*  
*/mantresu 7/1 āni 7/1 ādeh 6/1/*  
*(aṅgasya #1 bhasya #129 lopah #134)*

*mantreṣv āni parata ātmana āder lopo bhavati*

The initial ā of an *aṅga* termed *bha*, namely *ātman*, is deleted by means of *LOPA* in the usage of the *mantra* when āN, i.e., *Tā*, follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

ātmanā ‘instrumental singular of *ātman* ‘self, soul’’

1. Note that āN is used for *Tā* ‘instrumental singular’ by earlier grammarians (*pūrvācāryaiḥ*). Thus, āN does not refer here to a preverb (*upasarga*).

2. The ādi, of ādeh ‘of initial’, is used for subsequent rules (*uttarārtham*). Recall that *ātah* is carried, and hence, ā-deletion could only apply to initial ā of *ātman*.

3. The condition of *mantreṣv āny* does not permit ā-deletion in *ātmanā* of the classical usage. It blocks ā-deletion also in *ātmanah* of the *mantra*, where *ātman* occurs before the genitive singular ending *Nas*. This, however, does not rule out usage such as *tmanah*, etc., found before non-*Tā* endings in the *Rgveda*. Thus, consider *tmani* where ā-deletion of *ātman* is seen before *Ni* ‘locative singular’.

#### 6.4.142 ति विंशतेर्दिंति

*ti vimśater diti*  
*/ti (6/1 deleted) vimśateḥ 6/1 diti 7/1/*  
*(aṅgasya #1 bhasya #129 lopah #134)*

*bhasya vimśates tiśabdasya diti pratyaye parato lopo bhavati*

The *ti* of an *aṅga* termed *bha*, namely of *viṁśati*, is deleted by means of *LOPA*, when an affix marked with *D* as an *it* follows.

EXAMPLES:

*viṁśakah = viṁśatī kṛītah* ‘purchased for a twenty . . .’

*viśam śatam* ‘one hundred twenty’

*ekaviṁśah* ‘twenty-one’

1. This rule offers *ti*-deletion to a *bha* constituted by *viṁśati*, provided an affix marked with *D* as an *it* follows. Thus, we get *viṁśa*(*ti*→∅) + *DvuN*→*viṁśa* + (*DvuN*→*aka*) = *viṁśa* + *aka*. An application of 6.1.87 *ād guṇah* produces *viṁś(a+a→a)ka*, paraphrased as *viṁśatī kṛītah* ‘purchased for a twenty’. Similar applications are also involved in deriving *viṁśa* from *viṁśati* + *DaT* (5.2.48 *tasya prae dat*).

The condition of a following affix marked with *D* is imposed so that *ti*-deletion does not apply where an affix is marked otherwise. Consider *viṁśati* + *Tā* = *viṁśatī* ‘instrumental singular of *viṁśati*’ where *Tā* is marked with *T* as an *it*.

#### 6.4.143 ३:

*teh*

*teh* 6/1/

(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *lopaḥ* #134 *diti* #142)

*tiśamjñakasya diti pratyaye parato lopo bhavati*

The *ti* (1.1.64 *aco’ ntyādi ti*) of an *aṅga* termed *bha* is deleted by means of *LOPA* when an affix marked with *D* as an *it* follows.

EXAMPLES:

*kumudvān* ‘that (a place) which abounds in lilies’

*naḍvān* ‘that (a place) which abounds in reeds’

*vetasvān* ‘that which abounds in rattan’

*upasarajah* ‘born near a pond’

*mandurajah* ‘born in a stable’

*triṁśakah = triṁśatā kṛītah* ‘purchased for a thirty’

1. This rule allows *ti*-deletion (1.1.64 *aco’ ntyādi ti*) to a *bha* when an affix marked with *D* as an *it* follows. Consider *kumudvān*, *naḍvān* and *vetasvān*, where affix *DmatUP* (4.2.87 *kumudanadavetasebhyo dmatUP*) follows *kumuda*, *nada* and *vetasa*. The *m* of *kumud(a→∅) + mat* and *naḍ(a→∅) + mat* is replaced with *v* after *ti*-deletion. The *m* of *vetas(a→∅) + mat* is replaced with *v* by 5.4.111 *jhayah*. Refer to derivational details of *upasarajah* and *mandurajah* under the appendix of rule 1.3.7 *cūṭū*. Similar *ti*-deletion applies in deriving

*trimśaka* from *trimś(at→ϕ)* + (*DvuN→aka*) = *trimśaka*. Note that, at the strength of affixal *D* as an *it*, even a non-*bha* can go through deletion of its *ti* (*Kāś-anubandhakarāṇa-sāmarthyāṭ tilopo bhavati*).

#### 6.4.144 नस्तद्विते

*nas taddhite*

/nah 6/1 taddhite 7/1/

(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *lopah* #134 *teḥ* #143)

*nakārāntasya bhasya ṛter lopo bhavati taddhite parataḥ*

The *ti* of an *aṅga* termed *bha* which ends in *n* is deleted by means of *LOPA* when a *taddhita* affix follows.

EXAMPLES:

*āgniśarmih* ‘offspring of Agniśarman’

*audilomih* ‘offspring of Uḍuloman’

1. The *ti* of a *bha* which ends in *n* is also deleted when a *taddhita* affix follows. Thus, consider (*a→ā*)*gniśarm(an→ϕ)* + *iṄ* = *āgniśarmi* ‘son of Agniśarman’ and (*u→au*)*ḍulom(an→ϕ)* + *iṄ* = *auḍulomni* ‘son of Uḍuloman’, where *iṄ* is introduced with the signification of *apatyā* ‘offspring’ (4.1.96 *bāhvādibhyaś ca*).

2. The condition of *nānta* ‘ending in *n*’ is imposed so that *ti*-deletion does not apply elsewhere. Consider *satvataḥ apatyam* = *sātvataḥ* where a *taddhita* affix, i.e., *aṄ*, follows. But *satvat* does not end in *n*. The condition of *taddhite* similarly blocks *ti*-deletion, elsewhere. Thus, consider *śarmanā* and *śarmanē* where the following affixes, i.e., *Tā* and *Ṅe*, are non-*taddhita*.

3. A series of *vārtika* proposals have also been made under this rule:

(i) The following should also be listed in the context of *ti*-deletion of a *bha*: *sabrahmacārin*, *pīṭhasarpin*, *kalāpin*, *kuthumin*, *taitalin*, *lāṅgalin*, *śilālin*, *sikhanḍin*, *sūkarasadman*, and *suparvan*.

Note that rule 6.4.164 *inany anapatyē* allows retention of *an* to bases which end in *in*. Such a retention to bases which end in *an* is allowed by 6.4.167 *an*.

(ii) A derivate denoting modification (*vikāra*) of *āśman* ‘rock’ should also go through *ti*-deletion. Thus, *āśmāḥ*, as against *āśmanāḥ*.

(iii) A derivate of *carman* ‘hide’, when denoting *kośa* ‘sheath’, should also go through *ti*-deletion. Thus, *cārmāḥ kośāḥ*.

(iv) Deletion of *ti* is also recommended for a derivate of *śvan* ‘dog’ when *sampkoca* ‘contraction’ is denoted. Thus, *śauvāḥ*, as against *śauvanam*.

(v) Indeclinables, when *sāyamprātika*, etc., are to be derived, should also go through *ti*-deletion.

Thus, *sāyamprātah bhavah* = *sāyamprātikah* ‘that which occurs at dusk and dawn’.

#### 6.4.145 अहोष्टखोरेव

*ahnos takhor eva*

/ *ahnah* 6/1 *takhoḥ* 6/2 (itar. dv.), *tayoḥ*; *eva* φ/

(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *lopaḥ* #134 *teḥ* #143 *taddhite* 144)

‘ahan’ ity etasya *takhor eva* *paras tilopo bhavati*

The *ti* of an *aṅga* termed *bha*, namely *ahan* ‘day’, is deleted by means of *LOPA* only when the *taddhita* affixes *Ta* and *kha* follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*dvyah* = *dve ahanī samāhṛte* ‘a period of two days’

*tryahah* ‘a period of three days’

*tryahīnah* = *dve ahanī adhiṣṭo bhṛto bhūto bhāvī vā* ‘he who was hired for two days, etc.’

*tryahīnah* ‘he who was . . . for three days’

*ahīnah* = *ahnām samūhah kratuh*

1. This rule allows *ti*-deletion of *ahan* only when affixes *Ta* and *kha* follow. The nature of this rule is restrictive (*niyamārtha*). That is, if *ti*-deletion of *ahan* occurs, it must occur before the two specified affixes only. Refer to derivational details of *dvyahah* and *tryahah* under the appendix of 2.1.24 *dviguś ca*. Deriving *dvyahina* with affix *kha* (5.1.87 *rātryahah . . .*) with a replacement in *īna* (7.1.2 *āyaneyīnīyiyah . . .*) and *ti*-deletion of *bha* is easy. Deriving *ahīna* from *ahan + kha* should not present any difficulty.

2. It is stated that *eva* is used here for clarity (*vispaṣṭārtham*). For, when a new proposal is offered against an already existing one, it becomes restrictive. Thus, *eva* does not have to be stated. The *ti*-deletion of *ahan* is already made available. This new proposal restricts it to the right context of affixes *Ta* and *kha* only. Commentators warn that an opposite restrictive interpretation of this rule should not be resorted to avail the meaning: ‘*ti*-deletion applies to *ahan* only, when affixes *Ta* and *kha* follow’. For, *ti*-deletion to other bases are also available when *Ta* and *kha* follow. Rule 6.4.169 *ātmādhvānau khewill* also become vacuous if it offers retention of *an* of *ātman* ‘self, soul’ and *adhvan* ‘road’. What is the purpose of offering retention when *ahan* alone would go through deletion of its *ti*.

#### 6.4.146 ओर्गुणः

*or gunah*

/ *oh* 6/1 *gunah* 1/1/

(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *taddhite* #144)

*uvāṁāntasya bhasya guno bhavati taddhite parataḥ*

The final sound segment of an *aṅga* termed *bha* which ends in *u* is replaced with its *guṇa* (1.1.2 *aden gunah*) counterpart when a *taddhita* affix follows.

EXAMPLES:

*bābhṛavyah* ‘descendant of Babhru’  
*māṇḍaryah* ‘descendant of Maṇḍu’  
*śāṅkavyam dāru* ‘wood fit for making a ritual peg’  
*picavyah kārpāsaḥ* ‘beneficial for cotton’  
*kamaṇḍalavyā mṛttikā* ‘lump of clay fit for making a kamaṇḍalu’  
*paraśavyam ayah* ‘iron fit for making an axe’  
*aupagavah* ‘descendant of Upagu’  
*kāpaṭuvah* ‘descendant of Kapatu’

1. This rule offers a replacement in *guṇa* to the final *u* of a *bha*. Of course, when a *taddhita* affix follows. Thus, we get *bābhṛavya* and *māṇḍavya* from *babhu + yaṄ* (4.1.106 *madhubabhrvor* . . .) and *maṇdu + yaṄ* (4.1.105 *gargādibhyo yaṄ*), respectively. A replacement in *av* for the resultant *guna* vowel *o* is offered by 6.1.79 *vānto yi prataye*. Other examples follow similar derivational steps, in addition to initial *vrddhi*. Thus, *śāṅkavya*, *picavya*, *kamaṇḍalavya* and *śāṅkavya* are derives of *yaT* (5.1.2 *ugavādibhyo yat*). Refer to derivational details of *aupagavah* and *kāpaṭavah* under the appendix of rule 1.1.1 *vrddhir ādaic*.

2. Why use the technical term (*samjñā*) *guṇa* in this rule? Why not simply formulate the rule as *or ot* ‘*o* comes in place of *u*’? The use of the technical term (*samjñā*) *guṇa* indicates that ‘an operation specified with a technical term is non-obligatory’ (*anitya*; *Kāś: su,ṇjñāpūrvako vidhir anityah*; cf. *PŚ* (94)). One derives *svāyambhuvah* to indicate this. We derive *svayambhū*, parallel to *svayam bhavati* ‘he who comes about by himself’ with affix *KvIP*. Affix *aṄ* is then introduced with the denotatum of 4.3.120 *tasyedam* ‘this is his’, i.e., *svayambhuvah idam*, where *uvAṄ*, and no *guṇa*, comes as a replacement for *ū*.

#### 6.4.147 दे लोपाऽकद्रवाः:

*dhe lopo' kadrvāḥ*  
*/dhe 7/1 lopah 1/1 akadrvāḥ 6/1 (naṄ.) /*  
*(aṅgasya #1 bhasya #129 taddhite #144 oh #146)*  
*dhe parata uvarnāntasya bhasyākadrūvā lopo bhavati*

The final sound segment of an *aṅga* termed *bha* which ends in *u* is, with the exception of *kadrū*, deleted by means of *LOPA* when the *taddhita* affix *dha* follows.

EXAMPLES:

*kāmaṇḍaleyah* ‘offspring of Kamandalu’

*śaitabāheyah* 'offspring of Śitabāhu'  
*jāmbeyah* 'offspring of Jambu'  
*mādrabāheyah* 'offspring of Madrabāhu'

1. This rule offers deletion of a *bha* which ends in *u*, provided affix *dha* follows. Note that *kadrū* is made an exception to this deletion. Thus, *kadr(ū)→o→av* + (*dhaK→eya*) = *kādraveya* does not go through deletion. Deriving *kāmanḍaleya*, *jāmbeya*, *mādrabāheya* and *śaitibāheya* from *kamanḍalu* + *dhaN*, *jambu* + *dhaN*, *madrabāhu* + *dhaN* and *śitibāhu* + *dhaN*, with initial *vrddhi* and *dha→eya*, is straightforward.

#### 6.4.148 यस्येति च

*yasyeti ca*

/yasya 6/1 = iś ca aś ca = *yam* (sam. dv.), *tasya*; īti 7/1 *ca* φ/

(*angasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *lopah* #134 *taddhite* #147)

*ivarṇāntasyāvarṇāntasya ca bhasya īhāre pare taddhite ca lopo bhavati*

The final sound segment of an *angī* termed *bha* which ends in *i* and *a* is deleted by means of *LOPA* when *i* or a *taddhīta* affix follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*dākṣī* 'female descendant of Dakṣa'  
*plākṣī* 'female descendant of Plakṣa'  
*sakhī* 'female friend, companion'  
*dauleyah* 'descendant of Duli'  
*ātreyah* 'descendant of Atri'  
*kumārī* 'girl'  
*śāringaravī* 'Śiva's consort'  
*dākṣih* 'male descendant of Dakṣa'  
*plākṣih* 'male descendant of Plakṣa'

1. This rule allows deletion of the final *i* and *a* of an *angī* termed *bha*, provided *i*, or a *taddhīta* affix, follows. Note that the *ya* of *yasya* could not refer to *ya*. For, our next rule uses *ya* explicitly. If this rule had *ya*, our next rule could have carried the same, via *anuvṛtti*. The *ya←i+a* of this rule refers to *i* and *y*. Since a specification made by means of a sound segment generally involves *tadantavidhi*, *Kāśikā* states '... of that which ends in *i* and *u* (*ivarṇāntasyāvarṇāntasya ca*)'.

Note that *dākṣī*, *plākṣī* and *sakhī* illustrate instances where *i* of *dākṣī*, *plākṣī* and *sakhī* occur before *i* of *NiŚ* (4.1.65 *ito manusyajāteḥ*; 4.1.52 *sakhy*...). Needless to say that *dākṣī* and *plākṣī* are *taddhīta*-derivatives with affix *iN* (4.1.95 *ata iñ*) signifying an offspring (*apatya*). Commentators warn that deriving these forms with *savarṇadīrgha*, as against *i*-deletion, will create problems. For example, we will encounter negation of assignment of the term *ghi* (1.4.7 *śeso ghy asakhi*), and *guna*, in *atisakhah*, parallel to *atisakhīm atikramya*.

Affix *dhaK* (4.1.122 *itaś cāniñah*) is used in deriving *duli + dhaK→dauleya*, *vali + dhaK→vāleya* and *atri + dhaK→ātryeya*. The examples all go through deletion of *i* before the *taddhita* affix *dhaK*. Refer to derivational details of *kumāri*, *gaurī* and *sārṅgaravī* under the appendix (IV: 764–67) of 4.1.2 *svaujasmaut*. . . . These illustrate the deletion of *a* before *ī*. Derivates of *iṄ* (4.1.95 *ata iṄ*), such as *dākṣi*, *plākṣi*, *caudi*, *bālāki* and *saumitri*, illustrate instances where *a* is deleted before a *taddhita* affix. Incidentally, the *iṄ* of *bālāki* and *saumitri* is introduced by 4.1.96 *bāhvādibhyaś ca*.

2. A *vārtika* proposal negates deletion of *i* and *a* where *auṄ* gets replaced with *Śi* (7.1.18 *auṇā āpah*; 7.1.19 *napuṁṣakāc ca*). Thus, this proposal negates deletion of *a* before *Śi* of *kānda + (au→Śi)* and *kudya + (au→Śi)*. We derive *kāṇḍe* and *kudye* with *a→ī→e*, instead. We similarly get *saurye* from *saurya + (au→Śi)*. The deletion of *a*, at the end of *saurya* before *ī*, would also have occasioned deletion of *y* (6.4.149 *sūryatiṣyāgastyā . . .*). Refer to the appendix (IV: 763–90) for derivational insights on feminine and *taddhita* derivates.

How come *iyAṄ* and *uvAṄ* are not introduced in deriving *vātsapreya* and *laikhābhreya* from *vatsaprī + dha* and *lekhābhrū + dha*, respectively? Deletion of *a* blocks *iyAṄ* and *uvAṄ* on the basis of *paratva* ‘subsequent in order’ (1.4.2 *vipratिशेदhe . . .*).

#### 6.4.149 सूर्यतिष्यागस्त्यमत्स्यानां य उपथाया:

*sūryatiṣyāgastyamatsyānāṁ ya upadhāyāḥ*  
*/sūrya-tisya-agastya-matsyānām 6/3 (itar. dv.); yaḥ 1/1 upadhāyāḥ 6/1/*  
*(angasya #1 bhasya #129 taddhite #147 iti #148)*  
*‘sūrya, tisya, agastya, matsya’ ity eteśām yakārasya upadhāyā bhasya lopo bhavati iti paratas taddhite ca*

The penultimate *y* of an *anga* termed *bha*, namely *sūrya*, *tisya*, *agastya* and *matsya*, is also deleted by means of *LOPA* when *ī* or a *taddhita* affix follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*saurī balākā = sūreyenaikadik* ‘unidirectional with sun, a crane going in the direction of sun’

*taiṣamahāḥ* ‘a day when moon may be in the constellation Tiṣya’

*taiṣī rātriḥ* ‘a night when moon may be . . .’

*āgasī = agastyasyāpatyam strī*

*āgasī* ‘a female descendant of Agastya’

*matsī* ‘fish’

1. This rule allows deletion of the penultimate *y* of an *anga* termed *bha*, provided *ī* or a *taddhita* affix follows, and the *y* is part of *sūrya*, *tisya* and *āgastya*. Note that this deletion of *y* will follow after the deletion of *a* (6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*). The word *upadhā* is specified here to facilitate deletion of *y*. For,

*y* could not be found before *ī*, or before a *taddhita*, when *a*-deletion is treated as *asiddha* (6.4.22 *asiddhavad atrābhāt*). This condition of *upadhā* blocks deletion in *matsya + caraT + NiP = matsyacarī*, a derivate of affix *caraT* with the denotation of *bhūtāpūrva* ‘formerly’.

2. It is stated that *yah* of this rule is intended for subsequent rules (*uttarārtham*). A series of proposals are then made under this rule to exactly specify the scope of this deletion:

- (i) A deletion of *y* of *matsya* must apply when *Nī* ‘feminine affix’ follows. Thus, we get deletion in *matsya + NīP → matsī*, but not in *matsyasya māṃsam = mātsyam* ‘fish-meat’.
- (ii) The *y* of *sūrya* and *āgastya* gets deleted only when *cha* and *Nī* follow. Thus, we get deletion in *sūrya + aN → saurya + NīP → saunī* and *āgastya + NīP → āgasti*, but not in *sauryam* and *āgastyah*.
- (iii) The *y* of *tīṣya* and *pūṣya* goes through deletion when *aN* follows and a constellation is denoted. Thus, we get deletion in *tīṣyena yuktah kālah = taiṣah* and *pauṣah*. Incidentally, *tīṣya* and *pūṣya* are synonyms.
- (iv) The *t* and *k* of *antika* is deleted before affix *tasI*. Thus, *antitah* ‘from nearby’ of *antito na dūrāt*.
- (v) The *tīka* and *ka* of *antika* is deleted before *tamaP*. Thus, *atiśayena antikah = antamah* and *antitamah*.
- (vi) This deletion of *ka* applies variously (*bahulam*). That is, deletion of *y* is also seen. Thus, we get *antike sīdati = antisad*.
- (vii) This deletion of *ka* is also seen after *ya*. Thus, *antike bhavaḥ = antiyah*.

Refer to the appendix for derivational details of many of these examples.

#### 6.4.150 हलस्तद्वितस्य

*halas taddhitasya*

/halah 5/1 taddhitasya 6/1/

(*āṅgasya #1 bhasya #129 iti #149 ya upadhāyāh #149*)

*hala uttarasya taddhitayakārasya upadhāyā iti parato lopo bhavati*

A penultimate *y* which occurs after a consonant, as part of a *taddhita* affix of an *āṅga* termed *bha*, is deleted by means of *LOPA* when *ī* follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*gārgī* ‘female descendant of Garga’

*vātsī* ‘female descendant of Vatsa’

1. Refer to derivational details of *gārgī* and *vātsī* under the appendix of rule 4.1.16 *yañāś ca*. Note that the *a* at the end of *gārgya* and *vātsya* is deleted. This deleted *a* is treated as *asiddha* (6.4.22 *asiddhavad atrābhāt*) in

applying *y*-deletion. This is how *y* qualifies for its status as penultimate (*upadhā*).

2. This deletion of *y* does not apply in (*kārikā* + (*dhaK*→*eya*) + *NiP* = *kārikeya* + *i*, since *y* does not occur after a consonant. It also does not apply in *vaidyasya patnī* = *vaidya* + *NiP* = *vaidyī*, since *y* is not part of a *taddhita* affix.

3. Why is *taddhita* specified in this rule when it could have been gotten via *anuvṛtti* from 6.4.144 *nas taddhite*? This *anuvṛtti* is suspended. Our next rule should not have used *taddhite* again if the *anuvṛtti* was valid (PM: *uttarasūtre punas taddhitagrahanāt*).

#### 6.4.151 आपत्यस्य च तद्विते नाति

*āpatyasya ca taddhite' nāti*

/āpatyasya 6/1 ca φ taddhite 7/1 anāti 7/1 = na āt (nañ.), tasmin/ (aṅgasya #1 bhasya #129 lopāḥ #147 yaḥ #148 halah #150)

*āpatyayakārasya hala uttarasya taddhite anakārādau yalopo bhavati*

A *y* which occurs after a consonant and is part of a *taddhita* affix signifying an *āpatya* ‘off-spring’ of an *aṅga* termed *bha*, is deleted by means of *LOPA*, when a *taddhita* affix not beginning with *ā* follows.

EXAMPLES:

*gārgakam* = *gargāñām samūhah* ‘a gathering of the descendants of Garga’  
*vātsakam* ‘a gathering of the descendants of Vatsa’

1. This rule deletes a *y* which occurs after a consonant as part of a *taddhita* affix signifying an *āpatya*, provided a *taddhita* affix not beginning with *ā* follows. Consider *gārgaham* and *vātsakam* which derive from *gārgya* + (*vuṄ*→*aka*) and *vātsya* + (*vuṄ*→*aka*). Affix *vuṄ* is here introduced with the signification of *samūha* ‘group’ (4.2.39 *gotrokṣoṣtrīr*...). The *yaṄ* of *gārgya* and *vātsya* denotes an *āpatya*, where *y* also occurs after *g*, a consonant. Here again, this rule deletes *y*, subsequent to deletion of its following *a*.

2. This deletion cannot apply on *kāmpilya* + *vuṄ* = *kāmpilyaka* and *sāṅkāśya* + *vuṄ* = *sāṅkāśyaka*, where *kāmpilya* and *sāṅkāśya* are derivates of *Nya* (4.2.80 *vuñchanikatha*...), a *taddhita* affix not used with the signification of *āpatya*. Incidentally, affix *vuṄ* (4.2.121 *dhanvayopadhād*...) here denotes the sense of *tatra jātah* ‘born there’. Now consider *gārgyāyana* and *vātsyāyana*, where *y*-deletion cannot apply since the following affix begins with *ā* (*āyana*←*phak*; 2.4.64 *yañayoś ca*). That this deletion cannot apply where *y* does not occur after a consonant is illustrated by *kārikeyasyāpatyam* = (*kārikeya* + *iṄ*) + *sU*→*kārikeyih*.

3. Haradatta (PM ad *Kāś*) presents a detailed discussion on why *taddhite* is explicitly stated in this rule. He states that *taddhita* is specified here to facilitate deletion of *y* in (*soma* + *TyaṄ*) + *NiP* (6.4.150 *halas taddhitasya*), even when an *āpatya* is not denoted. Recall that *NyaṄ* does not denote an

*apatya*. If *taddhita* is carried via *anuvṛtti* from the preceding rule, items associated with that *anuvṛtti* will also be carried. If both of these rule were associated, *y*-deletion could be accomplished by the preceding rules. Formulating this rule when the preceding could account for its function will turn it into a restrictive provision (*niyama*). It will thus read: ‘the *y* of a *taddhita* denoting an *apatya* alone is deleted when a *taddhita*, not beginning with *ā*, or an *ī*, follow’ (*āpatyasyaivānākārādau taddhite īti ca*). This interpretation will block *y*-deletion in *saumī iṣṭih*. An explicit specification with *taddhita* of this rule cancels the *anuvṛtti* of *taddhita* of the earlier rule. Thus, deletion could now apply to *y*, irrespective of whether or not it is part of a *taddhita* affix denoting an *apatya* (*taddhitagrahaṇe tu sati tena pūrvayoge taddhitagrahaṇasya nivṛttir ākhyātety āpatyānāpatyayor dvayor api pūrvena īti lopo vidhīyata iti saumī iṣṭir ity atrāpi yalopah siddhyaty atas taddhitagrahaṇam*).

#### 6.4.152 क्यच्च्योऽच

*kyacvyoś ca*

/kya-cvyoḥ 7/2 (itar. dv.), tayoḥ; ca φ/

(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *lopah* #147 *yah* #148 *halah* #150 *āpatyasya* #151)  
*'kya, cvi'* ity etayoś ca parata āpatyayakārasya hala uttarasya lopo bhavati  
A *y* which occurs after a consonant and is part of a *taddhita* affix signifying an *apatya* ‘offspring’ of an *aṅga* termed *bha* is deleted by means of *LOPA* when affixes *Kya* and *Cvi* follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*vātsiyati* ‘... wishes a *vātsya* for his son’

*gārgiyati* ‘... wishes a *gārgya* for his son’

*gārgāyate* ‘he acts as if he was a *Gārgya*’

*vātsāyate* ‘he acts as if he was a *Vātsya*’

*vātsibhūtah* ‘he who was not a *Vātsya* became one’

*gārgibhūtah* ‘he who was not a *Gārgya* became one’

1. This rule is formulated to facilitate *y*-deletion when a non-*taddhita* affix follows (*PM*: *ataddhitārtha* ‘*yam ārambhah*’). A specification with *Kya* includes references to *KyaC* and *KyaN* both. Refer to derivational details under the appendix of 3.1.8 *supa ātmanah* ... and 3.1.11 *kartuh kyan salopas ca*. Note here that *vātsiyati* and *gārgiyati* are derivates of *LAT*, where *LAT* is introduced after derivates of *KyaC*, i.e., *gārgiya* and *vātsiya*. Thus, *gārgya* + *KyaC* and *vātsya* + *KyaC* yield *gārg(y→φ) a* + *ya* and *vāts(y→φ) a* + *ya*. The *a* which follows *y* is then replaced with *i* (7.4.33 *kyaci ca*). The *a* of derivates of *KyaN*, i.e., *vātsāyate* and *gārgāyate*, is similarly replaced with *ā* (7.4.25 *akṛtasārvadhātukayoh*). A similar *a* of *gārgibhūtah* and *vātsibhūtah* is replaced with *ī* (7.4.22 *asya cvau*) after deletion of *y*. Note that these are both examples of *Cvi*, introduced by 5.4.50 *abhūtatadbhāve* ..., prior to affix *Kta*.

2. This deletion applies to *y* of an affix which denotes an *apatyā* ‘offspring’. Thus, *sāṅkāśyate* and *sāṅkāśyabhūtah* do not go through deletion of their *y*. The condition of *halah* is also applicable. We thus do not get this deletion in *kārikeyīyati* and *kārikeyībhūtah*.

#### 6.4.153 बिल्वकादिभ्यश्छस्य लुक्

*bilvakādibhyaś chasya luk*

/ *bilvakādibhyah* 5/3 = *bilvaka ādir yeśām* (bv.); *chasya* 6/1 *luk* 1/1/  
(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *taddhite* #144)

*bilvakādibhya uttarasya chasya bhasya taddhite parato lug bhavati*

The *cha* which, of an *aṅga* termed *bha*, occurs after *bilvaka*, etc., is deleted by means of *LUK* when a *taddhita* affix follows.

#### EXAMPLES:

*bilvakīyāḥ* = *bilvā yasyām santi*; *tasyām bhavaḥ* = *bailvakāḥ* ‘... found in a Bilva grove’

*vēṇukīyāḥ* = *vaiṇukāḥ* ‘... found in a bamboo forest’

*vetrakīyāḥ* = *vaitrakāḥ* ‘found in a cane forest’

*trṇakīyāḥ* = *taṁnakāḥ* ‘found in straw’

1. Note that the *bilvakādi* nominals are read as part of the *naḍādi* group. Rule 4.2.91 *naḍādinām kuk ca* introduces augment *kUK* to these nominals. This rule specifies *bilva* with *bilvaka*, obviously with augment *kUK*. It deletes a *cha* which occurs after the nominal thus specified. Thus, (*bilva* + *kUK* + (*cha*→*īya*) + *TāP* = *bilvakīyā*; *bilvakīyā* + *aN* = *bailvakīyah*, paraphrased as *bilvāḥ yasyām santi* = *bilvakīyā*; *tasyām bhavaḥ* = *bailvakāḥ*. Other examples are similarly derived. Affix *aN* which forms the condition of deletion of *cha* is introduced by 4.3.53 *tatra bhavaḥ*.

2. Recall that *cha* is introduced concurrently with augment *kUK*. This deletion of *cha* is specified with express mention of *chasya* so that *kUK* can be saved from deletion. It becomes necessary since *sanniyogasīṣṭānām anyatarāpāye ubhayor apy apāyah* ‘removal of one means removal of both if two elements were introduced concurrently’. The word *LUK* is used so that this deletion applies to the affix, and not just to *y*.

3. A *gaṇasūtra* informs that *kruñcā* also goes through shortening of its final *ā* when *kruñcakīyāḥ* and *krauñcakāḥ* are derived.

#### 6.4.154 तुरिष्ठेमेयस्सु

*tur iṣṭhemeyassu*

/ *tuh* 6/1 *iṣṭha-imā-īyassu* 7/3 = *iṣṭhaś ca imā ca īyāṁś ca* = *iṣṭhemeyāṁsaḥ* (itar. dv.), *teṣu*/

(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *lopah* #147)

‘*iṣṭhan*, *imanic*, *īyasun*’ ity eteṣu parataḥ tr̥śabdasya lopo bhavati

The *tr* of an *aṅga* termed *bha* is deleted by means of *LOPA* when affixes *iśthaN*, *imanIC* and *īyasUN* follow.

EXAMPLES:

*āsutim kariṣṭah* ‘most active among those pressing out’  
*vijayiṣṭah* ‘most winning’  
*vahiṣṭah* ‘most carrying’  
*dohīyasī dhenuḥ* ‘most milk-giving cow’

1. Note that *tr* specifies both *trN* and *trC*. This rule is formed separately from the following to accomplish total deletion of *tr*. A deletion of final *r* could have thus been accomplished by the following rule. The *anuvṛtti* of *LUK* is not valid here. For, 1.1.63 *na lumatāṅgasya* would then have blocked *guṇa* of *ji* in *vijayiṣṭah*, etc. It is for this reason that this deletion is accomplished by *LOPA*. Why is *imanIC* stated in this rule when this affix (cf. 5.1.122 *pr̥thvādibhyah* . . . ; 5.1.123 *varṇadṛḍhādibhyḥ syāñ ca*) is not found after *tr*? This specification is made here for use in subsequent rules (*uttarārtham*). Refer to derivational details of *kariṣṭah* and *dohīyas* under notes of 5.3.59 *tus chandasi*.

Note that *h→dh* (*dhatva*; 8.2.31 *ho dhah*) becomes suspended in applying deletion of *tr*. Thus, *tr*-deletion applies first. Consequently, *dhatva* does not apply. For, the conditions under which *dhatva* applies are removed. We thus get *vah + iśthaN = vahiṣṭha*. A similar suspension of *gh* (*ghatva*) is also found in deriving *dohīyas* from (*dogdṛḥ + IyasUN*) + *NiP*. Deriving *vijayiṣṭha* from *vi-jitr + iśthaN* involves *guṇa* and *ay*-replacements.

#### 6.4.155 ॒:

*teh*  
*/ teh 6/1 /*

(*aṅgasya #1 bhasya #129 lopah #147 iśhemeyassu #154*)  
*bhasya ter lopo bhavati iśhemeyassu parataḥ*

The *ti* part of an *aṅga* termed *bha* is deleted by means of *LOPA* when affixes *iśthaN*, *imanIC* and *īyasUN* follow.

EXAMPLES:

*paṭiṣṭah* ‘most clever’  
*paṭimā* ‘cleverness’  
*paṭiyān* ‘clever’  
*laghiṣṭah* ‘shortest, smallest’  
*laghimā* ‘shortness, smallness’  
*laghiyān* ‘shortest, smallest’

1. This rule allows *ti*-deletion (1.1.64 *aco' ntyādi ti*) of a *bha* which occurs

before *īṣṭhaN*, *imanIC* and *īyasUN*. Refer to derivational details under notes of 5.3.58 *ajādi gunavacanād eva*. Derivates of *īyasUN* will involve augment *nUM* and operations similar to *citavān* (cf. appendix, under 1.1.1 *vṛddhir ādaic*).

2. It is proposed that a nominal stem (*prātipadika*), when followed by *Ni*, goes through operations similar to when the same is followed by *īṣṭha* (*vt: nāv iṣṭhavat prātipadikasya*). Commentators enumerate following operations as part of *iṣṭhavadbhāva*:

- (i) *pumvadbhāva* ‘masculine transformation’, as is stated before the *tasilādi* affixes (6.3.35 *tasilādiṣv ākṛtvasucaḥ*) which also include *īṣṭhaN*.

Consider *enīm ācaṣte = etayati*, where *NiC* is introduced by a statement of the *Mahābhāṣya*, i.e., *tat karoti tadācaṣṭe* (ad 7.4.97 *ī ca gaṇah*). Thus, *etad + NiP* (4.1.39 *varṇād anudāttāt . . .*) produces *enī*, through *ti*-deletion and a replacement of *t* with *n*. One can now derive *etayati*, paraphrased as *enī karoti enīm ācaṣṭe*, form (*enī + am + NiC*) + *LAT*, where, as a result of removal of *NiP* (*pumvadbhāva*) and *sUP*-deletion, we get *e(n→t) + i = eti + LAT*. Recall here that the *t* of *etad* was replaced with *n* concurrently with the introduction of *NiP*. A removal of *NiP* will thus also cause removal of *n* as a replacement of *t*. It should be remembered here that *pumvadbhāva* also applies before *NiC*, as it does before *īṣṭhaN*. Similar derivational details can also be offered for *śyetayati* and *haritayati*, parallel to *śyenīm karoti śyenīm ācaṣṭe = śyetayati* and *hariṇīm karoti hariṇīm ācaṣṭe = haritayati*.

- (ii) *rabhāva* ‘change of *r* to *r'*, as is stated by 6.4.161 *ra rto halāder laghoh*.

Consider (*pr̥thu + am + NiC*) + *LAT* → *prathayati*, (*mṛdu + am + NiC*) + *LAT* = *mradayati*, etc., where *r* is replaced with *r* and *ti*-deletion, *guṇa* and *ay*-replacements produce desired derivates.

- (iii) *ti*-deletion, as is stated by 6.4.155 *teh*.

Consider *paṭayati* and *laghayati* from (*patu + NiC*) + *LAT* and (*laghu + NiC*) + *LAT*, parallel to (*paṭum/laghum*) *ācaṣṭe*, through *ti*-deletion, *guṇa* and replacements of *e* with *ay* (*ayādeśa*).

- (iv) *yanādilopa* ‘deletion of that which occurs subsequent to a preceding sound denoted by *yaN*’, as is stated by 6.4.156 *sthūladūra . . .*, whereby an *iK* which precedes *yaN* also goes through a replacement in *guṇa*.

Consider *sthūlam ācaṣṭe = sthavayati* from (*sthūla + am + NiC*) + *LAT*, where *la* is deleted and its preceding *ū* goes through a replacement in *guṇa*. Thus, *sth(u→o)(la→ϕ) + i = sth(o→av) + i* + *LAT* = *sthavayati*, again with *guṇa* of *i* and *ay* of the resultant *e*.

(v) *vinmatublopa* ‘deletion of *vinI* and *matUP*’, as is stated by 5.3.63 *vinmator luk*.

Consider *sragvinam ācaṣte* = *srajayati* from (*sragvin + am + NiC*) + *LIT*, where *sragvin* is derived with *vinI* (5.2.121 *asmāyāmedhā* . . .). A similar derivate with deletion of *matUP* will be: *vasumantam ācaṣte* = *vasayati* from (*vasumat + am*) + *LIT*, where deletion of *matUP* and *ti*-deletion apply.

(vi) *kan* as a replacement of *yuvan* and *alpa*, as is stated by 5.3.64 *yuvālpayoh*. . . .

Consider *yuvānam ācaṣte* = *kanayati*, from (*yuvan + am + NiC*) + *LAT*, where *yuvan* gets optionally replaced with *kan*. Recall that our next rule will produce *yavayati*, through *yanādilopa*, *guṇa* and *av*-replacement.

3. Yet another proposal desires *iṣṭhavadbhāva* for replacements in *pra*, etc., as is stated by 6.4.157 *priyasthira*. . . .

Consider *priyam ācaṣte* = *prāpayati*, from (*priya + am + NiC*) + *LAT*, where *pra* replaces *priya* and augment *pUK* (7.3.36 *artihṛivlā* . . .) is introduced subsequently. Thus, (*priya→pra*) + *NiC→pr(a→ā)* + *pUK + NiC; prāpi + LAT = prāpayati*.

#### 6.4.156 स्थूलदूरयुवहस्तक्षिप्रक्षुद्राणां यणादिपरं पूर्वस्य च गुणः

*sthūladūrayuvaḥrasvakṣiprakṣudrāṇāṁ yanādiparam pūrvasya ca gunah / sthūla-dūra-yuva-hrasva-kṣipra-kṣudrāṇāṁ 6/3 (itar. dv.), teṣāṁ; yanādiparam 1/1 yan ādir yasya (bv.); yanādi ca adaś ca parañ ca (karmadharaya); pūrvasya 6/1 ca φ gunah 1/1/ (angasya #1 bhasya #129 lopah #147 iṣṭhemeyassu #154) ‘sthūla, dūra, yuva, hrasva, kṣipra, kṣudra’ ity eteṣāṁ yanādiparam lupyate iṣṭhemeyassu parataḥ, pūrvasya ca guṇo bhavati*

The *yaṄ*-initial part at the end of an *anga* termed *bha*, namely *sthūla*, *dūra*, *yuva*, *hrasva*, *kṣipra*, and *kṣudra*, is deleted by means of *LOPA* with an additional provision that the preceding vowel be replaced with *guṇa*, when affixes *iṣṭhaN*, *imanIC* and *īyasUN* follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*sthaviṣṭhah* ‘fatest of all’  
*sthavīyān* ‘ibidem’  
*daviṣṭhah* ‘farthest’  
*davīyān* ‘ibidem’  
*yaviṣṭhah* ‘youngest, smallest’  
*yavīyān* ‘ibidem’  
*hrasiṣṭhah* ‘smallest’  
*hrasīyān* ‘ibidem’  
*hrasimā* ‘smallness’

*kṣepiṣṭhaḥ* ‘fastest’  
*kṣepiyān* ‘ibidem’  
*kṣepimā* ‘fastness’  
*kṣodīṣṭhaḥ* ‘smallest’  
*kṣodiyān* ‘ibidem’  
*ksodimā* ‘smallness’

1. This rule allows deletion of a *yaN*-initial part at the end of an *aṅga* termed *bha*, with the additional provision that the *iK*vowel which precedes *yaN* goes through a replacement in *guṇa*. These operations both take place when a *bha*, namely *sthūla* ‘huge, fat’, *dūra* ‘far’, *yuva* ‘young’, *hrasva* ‘short’, *kṣipra* ‘fast’ and *kṣudra* ‘little’, is followed by affixes *iṣṭhaN*, *īyasUN* and *imanIC*. Thus we get deletion of *la/ra* followed by *guṇa* of their preceding vowels. Consider *sthūla* + *iṣṭhaN* → *sth(ū→o)* + (*la→ϕ*) + *iṣṭhaN*) = *sth(o→av)* + *iṣṭhaN* = *sthaviṣṭha*, etc. Similar applications are seen in deriving *daviṣṭha*, *yaviṣṭha*, etc. Examples of *īyasUN* are *sthavīyas* + *sU* → *sthavīyān*, *davīyān*, etc., where *nUM* is introduced before *sU*.

Note that examples of *imanIC* are offered only for *hrasva*, *kṣipra* and *kṣudra* because 5.1.121 *pr̥thvādibhyaḥ* . . . introduces *imanIC* under the condition of a listing under the *pr̥thvādi* group of nominals. Others fall outside this listing, and hence, do not qualify for this affix. The condition of a following *yanādi* is imposed so that a preceding *yanādi* such as *ya* and *ra* of *yava* and *hrasva* could be saved from deletion. That is, the *va* of *yava* and *hrasva* alone gets deleted. There is no concurrent *guṇa*-replacement in derivates of *yava* and *hrasva* since there is no *iK* before *va*. The word *pūrva* is used for clarity (*vispaṣṭārtham*). For, subsequent to deletion of *yanādi*, *guṇa* could only apply to what precedes.

6.4.157 प्रियस्थिरस्फिरोरुबहुलगुरुवृद्धुप्रदीर्घवृन्दारकाणां प्रस्थस्फवरबंहिग्रवर्धित्रप्लाधिवृन्दाः

*priyasthira sphiror ubahula guru vṛddha tr̥pra dīrgha vṛndāraka nām̄ prasthaspha-*  
*varbam̄hi garvarṣi trap drāghi vṛndāḥ*  
*/priya-sthira-sphira-uru-bahula-guru-vṛddha-tr̥pra-dīrgha-vṛndāraka nām̄ 6/*  
*3 (itar. dv.); pra-stha-spha-var-bam̄hi-gar-varṣi-trap-drāghi-vṛndāḥ 1/3 (itar.*  
*dv.)/*

(*aṅgasya #1 bhasya #129 iṣṭhemeyassu #154*)

‘*priya*, *sthira*, *sphira*, *uru*, *bahula*, *guru*, *vṛddha*, *tr̥pra*, *dīrgha*, *vṛndāraka*’  
*ity eteśām̄ ‘*pra*, *sta*, *spha*, *var*, *bam̄hi*, *gar*, *varṣi*, *trap*, *drāghi*, *vṛnda*’ ity ete*  
*yathāsanṄkhyam̄ ādeśā bhavanti iṣṭhemeyassu parataḥ*

An *aṅga* termed *bha*, namely *priya*, *sthira*, *sphira*, *uru*, *bahula*, *guru*, *vṛddha*, *tr̥pra*, *dīrgha* and *vṛndāraka* is replaced with *pra*, *sta*, *spha*, *var*, *bam̄hi*, *gar*, *varṣi*, *trap*, *drāghi*, and *vṛnda*, respectively, when affixes *iṣṭhaN*, *imanIC* and *īyasUN* follow.

## EXAMPLES:

*presthah/ premā/ preyān* ‘dearest’  
*shesthah/ stheyān* ‘most stable’  
*sphesṭhah/ spheyān* ‘more than any’  
*variṣṭhah/ varimā/ variyān* ‘best of all’  
*bamhiṣṭhah/ bamhimā/ bamhiyān* ‘more than any’  
*garīṣṭhah/ garimā/ gariyān* ‘biggest’  
*varisīṣṭhah/ varsiyān* ‘oldest’  
*trapiṣṭhah/ trapiyān* ‘fastest’  
*drāghīṣṭhah/ drāghiyān* ‘fastest among all’  
*drāghimā* ‘fastness’  
*vṛndiṣṭhah/ vṛndiyān* ‘the biggest herd’

1. This rule offers *pra*, etc., as replacements for *priya*, etc. Their order of enumeration determines assignment of equivalents (1.3.10 *yathāsam-khyam* . . .). Thus, *priya*→*pra*, *sthira*→*stha*, *sphira*→*spha*, etc. Examples of *imanIC* are found only after *priya*, *uru*, *guru*, *bahula*, and *dīrgha*, for reasons, that *imanIC* is not introduced after bases not listed in the *prthvādi* group (5.1.121 *prthvādibhyah* . . .) of nominals. The *i* of *bamhi* gets deleted by 6.4.155 *tēḥ*. This application of 6.4.155 *tēḥ* is not valid in deriving *presthā*, since 6.4.163 *prakṛtyaikāc* approves retention of the original in case of a monosyllabic *bha*. That is why we get the application of 6.1.84 *ād gunah* to yield *pr(a + i→e) stha* = *presthā*.

## 6.4.158 बहोलौपो भू च बहोः:

*bahor lopo bhū ca bahoh*  
*/bahoh 5/1 lopah 1/1 bhū (1/1 deleted) ca φ bahoh 6/1/*  
*(āṅgasya #1 bhasya #129 iṣṭhemeyassu #154)*  
*bahor uttareśām iṣṭhemeyasām lopo bhavati tasya ca bahoh sthane ‘bhū’ ity*  
*ayam ādeśo bhavati*  
 Affixes *iṣṭhaN*, *imanIC* and *īyasUN*, when occurring after an *āṅga* termed *bha*, namely *bahu*, are deleted by means of *LOPA*, with an additional provision that *bahu* be also replaced with *bhū*.

## EXAMPLES:

*bhūyān* ‘most’  
*bhūmā* ‘ibidem’

1. This rule offers deletion of *iṣṭhaN*, *imanIC* and *īyasUN*, when they occur after *bahu*. Additionally, *bahu* gets replaced with *bhū*. Note that *bahu* is specified twice in this rule. The first specification is interpreted as made with ablative (*pañcamī*). Consequently, deletion applies only to the initial sound segment of affixes (1.1.54 *ādeḥ parasya*). The second specification with *bahu*

is interpreted as made with *sāsthī* ‘genitive’ to specify what gets replaced (*sthānī*). A replacement in place of affixes may, otherwise, have applied. That is, if this second specification was not made. Since *bhū* consists of more than one sound segment, it will replace *bahu* in toto (1.1.55 *anekāl śit sarvasya*).

#### 6.4.159 इष्टस्य यिदं च

*iṣṭhasya yiṭ ca*  
*/iṣṭhasya 6/1 yiṭ 1/1 ca φ/*  
*(aṅgasya #1 bhasya #1 bahoh bhū ca bahoh #158)*  
*bahor uttarasya iṣṭhasya yiḍ āgamō bhavati bahoś ca bhūr ādeśo bhavati*  
 Affix *iṣṭhaN*, when occurring after an *aṅga* termed *bha*, namely *bahu*, is also introduced with augment *yiT*.

EXAMPLES:

*bhūyisthah* ‘most’

1. This rule introduces augment *yiT* to *iṣṭha* when the same occurs after *bahu*. Additionally, *bahu* is replaced with *bhū*. Thus we get (*bahu*→*bhū*) + *yiT* + *iṣṭha* = *bhūyistha*. The *I* of *yiT* is used for ease of articulation (*uccāraṇārtham*). Augment *yiT* is here introduced as an exception to deletion (*Kāś: lopāpavādo yiḍāgamah*). Deletion cannot apply since *yiT* intervenes between *jya* and *īyasUN*.

#### 6.4.160 ज्यादादीयसः:

*jyād ād īyasah*  
*/jyāt 5/1 āt 1/1 īyasah 6/1/*  
*(aṅgasya #1 bhasya #129)*  
*jyād uttarasya īyasa ākāra ādeśo bhavati*

A long *ā* comes in place of the initial sound segment of *īyasUN* when it follows an *aṅga* termed *bha*, namely *jya*.

EXAMPLES:

*jyāyān* ‘biggest of them all’

1. The *i* of *īyas* is replaced with *ā* when the affix occurs after *jya*. Thus, we get *praśasya* + *īyasUN*→(*praśasya*→*jya*) + *īyasUN*→*jya* + (*i*→*ā*) *yas*(*UN*) = *jya* + *āyas* = *jyāyas*. Deriving *jyāyān* from *jyāyas* + *sU* with *nUM*, etc., is not difficult.

Note that *i* would have been deleted if the *anuvṛtti* of *LOPA* was valid here. The *yas* after *jya* would have then caused lengthening of its final *a*. We could have then gotten the form *jyāyān*. Commentators state that this operational procedure is canceled in view of the *paribhāṣā* (93): *aṅgavṛttte punar vṛtiāv avidhiḥ* ‘an operation applied in this *aṅga* section cancels another equally applicable operation of this section’. Incidentally, *jya* is introduced as a replacement of *praśasya* by 5.3.61 *jya ca*.

#### 6.4.161 र ऋतो हलादेलघोः:

*ra ṛto halāder laghoh*

/rah 1/1 ṛtaḥ 6/1 halādeḥ 6/1 = *hal ādir yasya* (bv.), *tasya*; *laghoh* 6/1/  
(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *iṣṭhemeyassu* #154)

*raśabda ādeso bhavati ṛkārasya halāder laghor iṣṭhemeyassu parataḥ*

A ṛ which forms a light (*laghu*) syllable with a preceding consonant in an *aṅga* termed *bha* is replaced with *ra* when affixes *iṣṭhaN*, *imanIC* and *īyasUN* follow.

#### EXAMPLES:

*prathīṣṭhah/ prathimā/ prathīyān* ‘widest of them all’

*mraḍīṣṭhah/ mradimā/ mradīyān* ‘softest of them all’

1. This rule introduces *ra* as a replacement for a *laghu* ‘short’ (1.4.110 *hrasvam laghu*) ṛ of a *bha*, where ṛ occurs after a consonant, and *iṣṭhaN*, *imanIC* and *īyasUN* follow *bha*. Thus we get *p(r→ra)thu + iṣṭhaN→prath(u→∅)* = *prathīṣṭha*, through *ti*-deletion. Similar rules apply in deriving *mraḍīṣṭha*. Examples of *imanIC* and *īyasUN* can be similarly derived as *prathiman*, *prathīyas*, and *mradiman*, *mradīyas*. Refer to further derivational details in notes of 5.1.120 *ā ca tvāt*.

2. Why is *ra* allowed only for ṛ. So that this replacement does not apply in *paṭiṣṭhah*, *paṭimā* and *paṭīyān*. Why do we have the condition of *halādi* ‘consonant-initial’? So that we do not get replacements in *ṛjusṭhah*, *ṛjimā* and *ṛjīyān*, where *ṛju* ‘straight, upright’ does not begin with a consonant. Why do we have this condition of *laghoh*? So that *ra* does not replace a short ṛ used before a conjunct. Thus, we cannot get this replacement in *kṛṣṇiṣṭhah* ‘balkest’, *kṛṣṇīyān* and *kṛṣṇimā*, etc., where ṛ will be termed *guru* (1.4.111 *samyoge guru*) before the conjunct *sm*.

3. A proposal is made to enumerate the derivates of this rule as follows:

*prthum mṛdum bhrśam caiva krśam ca dr̥dham eva ca/*

*paripūrvam vṛḍham caiva ṣad etān ravidhau smaret//*

‘*ṛ̥thu* ‘wide’, *mṛdu* ‘soft’, *bhrśa* ‘plenty’, *krśa* ‘thin’ and *dr̥dha* ‘solid’, plus *vṛḍha* ‘covered, enclosed’ when used with the preverb *pari*, these six should be remembered in this operational context of *ra*’

It is for this reason that we do not get *ra*-replacement in *kṛtayati* ‘calls, done’, *mātayati* ‘calls, mother’ and *bhrātayati* ‘calls, brother’.

#### 6.4.162 विभाषर्जोऽचन्दसि

*vihāṣarjoś chandasī*

/vibhāṣā 1/1 ṛjoh 6/1 *chandasī* 7/1/

(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *iṣṭhemeyassu* #154 *ra ṛtaḥ* #161)

*'rju' ity etasya rtaḥ sthāne vibhāṣā repha ḥadeśo bhavati iṣṭhemeyassu parataś chandasī visaye*

A replacement in *r* optionally comes in place of the *r* of an *aṅga* termed *bha*, namely *rju* ‘straight, upright’ in the Vedic, when affixes *iṣṭhan*, *imanIC* and *īyasUN* follow.

EXAMPLES:

*rajiṣṭhamanu* nesi pānthām  
*tvamṛjiṣṭhah*

1. This rule allows *ra* as a replacement for the *r* of *rju*, in the Vedic, optionally, when *iṣṭhan*, *imanIC* and *īyasUN* follow. Thus, we get (*r*→*ra*) *j(u*→∅) + *iṣṭhan* = *ra*;*ṛjha*. This optional *ra*, if not accepted, will yield *ṛjiṣṭha*. Examples for other affixes are not available.

#### 6.4.163 प्रकृत्यैकाच्

*prakṛtyaikāc*  
/ *prakṛtyā* 3/1 *ekāc* 1/1 = *eko*’ c *yasmin* (bv.) /  
(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *iṣṭhemeyassu* #154)  
*ekāj* yad *bhasamīñakam* *tadiṣṭhemeyessu* *parataḥ* *prakṛtyā* *bhavati*  
An *aṅga* termed *bha* which contains one vowel (*ekāc*) remains as is when affixes *iṣṭhan*, *imanIC* and *īyasUN* follow.

EXAMPLES:

*srajiṣṭhah* ‘possessing most garlands’  
*srajiyān* ‘ibidem’  
*srajayati* ‘third singular causal active present of *sraj*’  
*sruciṣṭhah* ‘possessing most ritual ladies’  
*sruciyān* ‘ibidem’  
*sruçayati* ‘third singular causal active present of *sruci*’

1. This rule allows a monosyllabic *bha* to retain its original form when affixes *iṣṭhan*, *imanIC* and *īyasUN* follow. That is, *ti*-deletion does not apply. Thus, consider *srajiṣṭhah*, *srajiyān* and *srajayati*, where *sraj* is retained against *ti*-deletion. Note in this connection that *ti*-deletion becomes applicable twice. Thus, we first get *sraj* + *vinI* (5.2.121 *asmāyāmedhā* . . .) where *vinI* gets deleted (5.3.65 *vinmator luk*). We do not get any *ti*-deletion. This deletion is again blocked here in *sraj* + (*iṣṭhan*/*īyasUN*). The first *ti*-deletion can be blocked by *LUK*-deletion of *vinI*. This retention of the original *bha* is thus needed to block the second *ti*-deletion. A similar *ti*-deletion in favor of retention of original form is also blocked in derivates of *matUP*. Thus, *srug asti yasya* = *srugvat*; *srug(vat*→∅) + *iṣṭha* = *sruciṣṭha*. Similar applications are found in deriving *sruciyān* with *īyasUN* and *srajayati* and *sruçayati* with *NiC*, through *iṣṭhavadbhāva* ‘operations similar to when *iṣṭha* follows’.

2. The condition of *ekāc* is imposed so that *vasiṣṭhah* ‘most wealthy’ and *vasījān* could be blocked from retaining their original form *vasu* ‘wealth’, a non-monosyllabic.

3. A *vārttika* proposal is made to allow *rājanya* ‘kṣatriya, royalty’, *manusya* ‘human’ and *yuvan* ‘young’ to retain their original form when *aka* follows. Thus, *rājanya* + (*vuṄ*→*aka*) = *rājanyaka* ‘group of kings’ and *manusya* + (*vuṄ*→*aka*) = *mānusyaka* ‘group of men’, where *vuṄ* is introduced with the signification of *samūha* ‘group’ (4.2.39 *gotrokṣoṣtror*...). The *ya* of these derivates is saved from deletion (6.4.151 *āpatyasya ca taddhite* ‘nāti) by this rule. The *ti*-deletion of *yuvan*, available from 6.4.144 *nas taddhite*, is blocked in deriving *yauvanikā* with *vuṄ* (5.1.133 *dvandvamanojñādibhyaś ca*)

#### 6.4.164 इनण्यनपत्ये

*in any anapatye*

/ *in 1/1 aṇi 7/1 anapatye 7/1 (nañ.)/*

(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *prakṛtyā* #163)

*innantam anapatyārthe' ni parataḥ prakṛtyā bhavati*

An *aṅga* termed *bha* which ends in *in* remains as is when affix *aṄ* follows with the denotatum of something other than an *apatyā* ‘offspring’.

#### EXAMPLES:

*sāṃkūṭinam* ‘burning all around’

*sāṃrāviṇam* ‘noisy all around’

*sāmmārjinam* ‘cleansing all around’

*srāgviṇam* ‘belonging to one who possesses garlands’

1. Refer to derivational details of *sāṅkūṭinam* and *sāṃrāviṇam* (cf. appendix of 3.3.44 *abhividhau bhāva inuṇ*). A derivate of *mṛj*, i.e., *sāmmārjinam*, is similarly derived. This rule allows a *bha* which ends in *in* to retain its original form, provided affix *aṄ* follows with no denotation of *apatyā* ‘offspring’. The *aṄ* of the first three examples denotes *bhāva*. The *aṄ* of *srāgviṇa idam* = *srāgviṇam* denotes the sense of ‘that is his’ (4.3.120 *tasyedam*). This rule goes against *ti*-deletion of 6.4.144 *nas taddhite*.

2. This retention of the original (*praktibhāva*) is not available to *dāṇḍinām* *samūhah* = *dāṇḍam* ‘a group of shaft-carrying ascetics’, where affix *aṄ* (4.2.44 *anudāttāder aṇ*) follows. It is also not available to *medhāvinah apatyam* = *maidhāvah* ‘son of an intelligent person’, because *aṄ* follows *medhāvin* with the signification of *apatyā*.

#### 6.4.165 गाथिविदथिकेशिगणिपणिनश्च

*gāthividathikeśiganipaninaś ca*

/ *gāthi-vidathi-keśi-gaṇi-paṇinah* 1/3 = *gāthī ca vidathī ca keśī ca gaṇī ca paṇī ca* (itar. dv.); *ca ϕ/*

(*aṅgasya #1 bhasya #129 prakṛtyā #163 in aṇi #164*)

*‘gāthīn, vidathīn, keśīn, gaṇīn, paṇīn’ ity ete cāṇī prakṛtyā bhavanti*

An *aṅga* termed *bha* which ends in *in*, namely *gāthīn, vidathīn, keśīn, gaṇīn* and *paṇīn*, remains as is when affix *aN* follows.

EXAMPLES:

*gāthīnah = gāthīno’ patyam ‘descendant of Gāthīn’*

*vaidathīnah ‘descendant of Vidathīn’*

*kaiśīnah ‘descendant of Keśīn’*

*gaṇīnah ‘descendant of Gaṇīn’*

*paṇīnah ‘descendant of Paṇīn’*

1. This rule allows *prakṛtibhāva* ‘retention of the original’ even when affix *aN* with the denotation of *apatyā* follows. These derivates all include *in* of 5.2.115 *ata inīthānau*. This *prakṛtibhāva* was available to them from the previous rule. This rule allows it before *aN* signifying an *apatyā*. Nyāsa states that this rule is formulated for derivates denoting *apatyā* (*Nyāsa: apatyārtha’ yam ārambhah*). The *aN* of these derivates is introduced by 4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam*. This rule again goes against *ti*-deletion of 6.4.144 *nas taddhite*.

#### 6.4.166 संयोगादिश्च

*samyogādiś ca*

*/ samyogādih 1/1 = samyoga ādir yasya (bv.); ca φ/*

(*aṅgasya #1 bhasya #1 prakṛtyā #163 in aṇi #164*)

*samyogādiś ca in aṇi prakṛtyā bhavati*

An *aṅga* termed *iḥa* which ends in *in* and begins with a conjunct (*samyoga*), also remains as is when affix *aN* follows.

EXAMPLES:

*śāṅkhīnah = śāṅkhīno’ patyam ‘descendant of Śāṅkhīn’*

*mādrīnah ‘descendant of Madrin’*

*vājrīnah ‘descendant of Varjin’*

1. This provision of *prakṛtibhāva*, once again, is made before *aN*, used with the signification of *apatyā*. This provision also goes against *ti*-deletion of 6.4.144 *nas taddhite*.

#### 6.4.167 अन्

*an*

*/ an 1/1/*

(*aṅgasya #1 bhasya #129 prakṛtyā #163 aṇi #164*)

*annantam aṇi prakṛtyā bhavati apatyē cāṇapatyē ca*

An *aṅga* termed *bha* which ends in *an* remains as is, when affix *aN*,

irrespective of whether used with the signification of an *apatyā*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

*sāmanah* ‘relating to a sāman hymn’  
*vaimanah* ‘relating to Viman’  
*sautvanah* ‘descendant of Sutvan’  
*jaitvanah* ‘descendant of Jitvan’

1. This rule allows *prakṛtibhāva* of a *bha* which ends in *an*, irrespective of whether *aN* denotes an *apatyā*. Thus, *sāmanah* and *vaimanah* have their *aN* with the signification of ‘that is his’ (4.3.120 *tasyedam*). The *aN* of *sautvanah* denotes an *apatyā*. Incidentally, *sutvan* is derived with affix *NvanIP* (3.2.103 *suyajo . . .*), introduced after *suN*. Augment *tUK* is also introduced subsequently. Similar applications are followed in deriving *jitvan* of *jaitvanah* from *ji + KvanIP* (3.2.75 *anyebhyo pi drsyante*). This rule again goes against *ti*-deletion of 6.4.144 *nas taddhite*.

#### 6.4.168 ये चाभावकर्मणोः:

*ye cābhāvakarmaṇoh*  
*/ ye 7/1 ca φ abhāvakarmaṇoh = bhāvaś ca karma ca = bhāvakaṛmaṇī, na*  
*bhāvakaṛmaṇī (nañ. with int. dv.), tayoh/*  
*(angasya #1 bhasya #129 prakṛtyā #163 an #167)*  
*yakārādau ca taddhite' bhāvakaṛmaṇor arthayor an prakṛtyā bhavati*  
*An aṅga termed *bha* which ends in *an* also remains as is when a *taddhita* affix beginning with *y*, and denoting something other than *bhāva* and *karman*, follows.*

EXAMPLES:

*sāmanyah* = *sāmasu sādhuh* ‘skilled in the sāman hymns’  
*vemanyah* ‘skilled in distinguishing’

1. This rule allows *prakṛtibhāva* to a *bha* which ends in *an* and occurs before a *taddhita* affix beginning with *y*, provided the same does not denote *bhāva* ‘root-sense’ and *karman* ‘object’. The examples both involve *yaT* with the signification of ‘skilled in that’ (4.4.98 *tatra sādhuh*). A similar *yaT*, for reasons of denoting *bhāva* and *karman* (5.1.128 *patyantāt . . .*), blocks *prakṛtibhāva* in *rājan + yaT = rājyam* ‘rule, kingdom’, paraphrased as *rājñah bhāvah karma vā*. We thus get *ti*-deletion as a result.

#### 6.4.169 आत्माध्वानौ खे

*ātmādhvānau khe*  
*/ ātmādhvānau 1/2 = ātmā ca adhvā ca (itar. dv.); khe 7/1/*

(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #1 *prakṛtyā* #163)

‘ātman, adhvan’ ity etau khe parataḥ prakṛtyā bhavataḥ

An *aṅga* termed *bha*, namely ātmā ‘self’ and *adhvā* ‘road’, remains as is when affix *kha* follows.

EXAMPLES:

ātmanīnah = ātmane hitah ‘beneficial for one’s self’

adhvanīnah = adhvānam alamgāmī ‘traveler’

1. This rule again offers *prakṛtibhāva* against *ti*-deletion. The *bha* bases are *ātman* and *adhvan* when occurring before affix *kha*. Thus, ātmanīnah and adhvanīnah, where *kha*→*īna* is introduced by 5.1.9 ātmanīśva . . . and 5.2.16 adhvano yathkau, respectively.

2. A condition of *khe* is imposed so that *pratyātmam* and *prādhvam* could not avail *prakṛtibhāva*. These derivates involve *TaC* (5.4.108 *anaś ca*) and *aC* (5.4.85 *upasargād adhvanah*), respectively. These examples both go through *ti*-deletion.

#### 6.4.170 न मपूर्वोऽपत्येऽवर्मणः:

*na mapūrvo' patye' varmaṇah*

/ *na* φ *mapūrvah* 1/1 = *makāraḥ pūrvo yasya* (*bv.*); *apatyē* 7/1 *avarmaṇah* 1/1 *na varmā* = *avarmā* (*nañ*), *tasya*/

(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *prakṛtyā* #163 *anī* #164 *an* #167)

*mapūrvo' n avarmaṇo' ni parato' patye' rthe na prakṛtyā bhavati*

The final *an* of an *aṅga* termed *bha* which occurs after *m*, but is not that of *varman*, remains as is when affix *aN*, used with the signification of *apatyā* ‘offspring’ follows.

EXAMPLES:

*sauṣāmaḥ* = *susāmno'* *patyam* ‘descendant of Suṣāman’

*cāndrasāmaḥ* ‘descendant of Candraśāman’

1. This rule is a negation (*pratiṣedha*). It does not allow *prakṛtibhāva* to a *bha* which ends in *an* preceded with *m*, provided it is not *varman*, and is followed by *aN* signifying an *apatyā*. Thus, *susāmnah apatyam* = *sauṣāmaḥ* and *cāndrasāmnah apatyam* = *cāndrasāmaḥ*. The *an* of *susāman* and *cāndrasāman* thus goes through *ti*-deletion.

2. Note that *prakṛtibhāva* can not be blocked in *sutvanah apatyam* = *sauτvanah* since *m* does not occur before *an* of *sutvan*. A similar *prakṛtibhāva* can also not be blocked in deriving *carmanā pariṛtaḥ rathaḥ* = *cārmanāḥ*, since *aN* does not denote an *apatyā*. An exclusion of *varman* is made to allow *prakṛtibhāva*, against *ti*-deletion, in *cakravarmanah apatyam* = *cākravarmanāḥ* ‘son of Cakravarman’.

3. A proposal is made to make this negation optional in case of *hitanāman*. Thus, *hitanāmnah apatyam* = *haitanāmāḥ* ‘descendant of Hitanāman’, with *ti*-deletion and *haitanāmānah* with no *ti*-deletion.

#### 6.4.171 ब्राह्मोऽजातौ

*brāhma*’ *jātau*

/ *brāhmaḥ* 1/1 *ajātau* 7/1 = *na jātih* (*nañ.*), *tasyām*/

(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *apatyē* #170)

‘*brāhmaḥ*’ *ity etad apatyādhikāre*’ *pi sāmarthyād apatyād anyatrāni ter lopārtham nipātyate*

The word *brāhma* is derived, though not with the signification of *jāti* ‘class’, via *nipātana*.

#### EXAMPLES:

*brāhma garbhah* ‘the golden embryo’

*brāhma astram* ‘weapon of the Brahman’

*brāhmaṇaḥ havih* ‘oblation to Brahman’

1. This *sūtra* is read as two, via split-interpretation (*yogavibhāga*). Thus, (i) *brāhmaḥ*: ‘*ti*-deletion, against *prakṛtibhāva*, applies in deriving *brāhma*, when *aN* with no signification of *aptya* follows. We get examples such as *brāmaḥ garbhah*, *brāhma astram* and *brāmaṇaḥ havih*, where *aN* is introduced by 4.3.120 *tasyedam* ‘this is his’ and 4.2.24 *sā sya devatā* ‘... is the divinity of’. The second split-interpretation is (ii) *ajātau* ‘*ti*-deletion does not apply on *brahman* when an offspring as a class is denoted’. Note that *ajātau* is interpreted as a negation of the *prasajya* type. That is, *naN* is construed with the verb: *jātau na bhavati* ‘does not apply when class is denoted’. Thus, we get *brahmano*’ *patyam* = *brāmaṇah*. The *Bālamanoramā* (ad SK) reads this *sūtra* as *brāmo jātau*, where it carries the *anuvṛtti* of *naN*. the *Mahābhāṣya* and SK retain a (*naN*) as part of the rule, but interpret it as the negation of *prasajya* type.

#### 6.4.172 कार्मस्ताच्छील्ये

*kārmas tācchīlye*

/ *kārmah* 1/1 *tācchīlye* 7/1/

(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129)

‘*kārmah*’ *iti tācchīlye tiślo nipaṭyate*

The word *kārma* is derived via *nipātana* when the singification is *tacchīlya* ‘characteristic habit of ...’.

#### EXAMPLES:

*kārmah* = *karmaśīlah* ‘diligent worker’

1. This rule allows *ti*-deletion of *an* in deriving *kārma* from *karman + Na*,

where *Na* is introduced by 4.4.62 *chatrādibhyo ṣaḥ* with the signification of *tācchīlya* ‘characteristic nature’.

2. What is the need for this rule when 6.4.144 *nas taddhite* can itself accomplish *ti*-deletion. This rule is formulated for indicating (*jñāpaka*) that ‘operations similar to *aN* also apply when *Na* follows with the signification of *tācchīlya*’. This is how affix *NiP* (4.1.15 *tiḍḍhānañ . . .*) could be introduced in deriving *caurī* and *tāpas*. A condition of *tācchīlya* is necessary so that *ti*-deletion could not take place in *karmaṇa idam = kārmaṇaḥ* ‘something relating to one who works diligently’, where *aN* denotes *sambandha* ‘relation’.

#### 6.4.173 औक्षमनपत्ये

*aukṣam anapatye*  
*/ auksam 1/1 anapatye 7/1 (nañ.) /*  
*(aṅgasya #1 bhasya #129)*  
*‘aukṣam’ ity anapatye’ ni tilopo nipātyate*

The word *aukṣam* ‘beneficial for a bull’ is derived, via *nipātana*, when the signification is something other than *apatya* ‘offspring’.

EXAMPLES:

*aukṣam padam* ‘footprint of a bull’

1. This rule allows *ti*-deletion in *aukṣam*, derived from (*ukṣan + aN*) + *sU* where *aN* does not denote an *apatya* ‘descendant’. This *aN* is introduced by 4.3.120 *tasyedam* ‘this is his’. Note that this *ti*-deletion will be blocked where *aN* denotes an *apatya*. Thus, *ukṣnah apatyam = aukṣnah* ‘a descendant of Uksan’, where *a* is deleted, instead, by 6.4.135 *śapūrvahan*. . . .

#### 6.4.174 दाण्डनायनहास्तिनायनाथर्वणिकजैहाशिनेयवासिनायनिभौणहत्यधैवत्यसारवैक्षवाक- मैत्रेयिहरण्मयानि

*dāṇḍināyanahāsttināyanātharvaṇikajaihmāśineyavāsināyanibhrauṇa-*  
*hatyadhaivatyaśāravaikṣvākamaitreyahiraṇmayāni*  
*/ dāṇḍināyanā-hāsttināyanā-ātharvaṇika-jaihmāśineya-vāsināyanī-bhrau-*  
*ṇahatya-dhaivatya-sārava-aikṣvāka-maitreya-hiraṇmayañi 1/3 (itar. dv.)*  
*‘dāṇḍināyanā, hāsttināyanā, ātharvaṇika, jaihmāśineya, vāsināyanī, bhrau-*  
*ṇahatya, dhaivatya, sārava, aikṣvāka, maitreya, hiraṇmaya’ ity etāni nipā-*  
*tyante*

The words *dāṇḍināyanā*, *hāsttināyanā*, *ātharvaṇika*, *jaihmāśineya*, *vāsināyanī*, *bhrauṇahatya*, *dhaivatya*, *sārava*, *aikṣvāka*, *maitreya*, and *hiraṇmaya* are derived via *nipātana*.

EXAMPLES:

*dāṇḍināyanah* ‘descendant of Daṇḍin’  
*hāsttināyanah* ‘descendant of Hastin’

$\bar{a}tharvanikah$  ‘he who studies *atharvan*’  
 $jaihmāśineyah$  ‘descendant of Jihmāśin’  
 $vāsināyanīḥ$  ‘a descendant of Vāsin’  
 $bhrauṇahatyah$  ‘killing of a fetus’  
 $dhaivatyah$  ‘intelligence’  
 $sārvam$  ‘water of river Sarayū’  
 $aikṣvākah$  ‘descendant of Ikṣvāku; born in the country of the Ikṣvākus’  
 $maitreyah$  ‘descendant of Mitrayu’  
 $hiran̄mayah$  ‘golden; gold ornament’

1. This rule derives *dāḍināyana*, etc., via *nipātana*. Thus, *dāḍin* and *hastin* are read in the *naḍādi* class of nominals (4.1.99 *naḍādibhyah phak*), whereby affix *phaK* is introduced. This rule blocks *ti*-deletion of *naḍin* before *phaK*→*āyana*. Some claim that *phaK* is also introduced via *nipātana*. Thus, *dāḍināyana* ‘an offspring of Daḍin’ and *hāstināyana* ‘an offspring of Hastin’. The next nominal, i.e., *atharvan*, is read in the *vasantādi* class (4.2.63 *vasantādibhyah ṣṭhak*) where *ti*-deletion of *atharvan* is blocked before *ṭhaK*→*ika*. Thus, *atharvāṇam adhīte* = *ātharvanikah*. The next *jihmāśin* is read in the *śubhrādi* class (4.1.123 *śubhrādibhyaś ca*), where affix *ḍhaK* is introduced. The *ti*-deletion of *jihmāśin* is blocked, again before *dhaK*→*eya*. Thus, *jihmāśino*’ *patyam* = *jaihmāśineyah*. Affix *phiṄ* gets similarly introduced after *vāsin*, where *ti*-deletion is also blocked before (*ph*→*āyan*)*i*. Thus, we get *vāsināyanīḥ*. The next two bases, i.e., *bhrūṇahan* and *dūvan*, get *t* as a replacement for their final *n*, again via *nipātana*. But the affix is *ṣyaṄ* (5.1.123 *varadṛḍhādibhyah syaṄ*). Thus, *bhrauṇaha*(*n*→*t*) + *ṣyaṄ*→*bhrauahatya*, similarly, *dhaivatya*. Now consider *sarayāṁ bhavam* = *sārvam* where, given *sarayū* + *aṄ* (4.3.35 *tatra bhavaḥ*), we get *yū* replaced with *va*, again via *nipātana*. We similarly get *ikṣvākuṣu janapadeṣu bhavaḥ* = *aikṣvākah*, where given *ikṣvāku* + *aṄ* (4.1.166 *janapada-śabdād* . . .), *ū* is deleted via *nipātana*. The *yu* of *mitrayu* + *ḍhaṄ* (4.1.136 *gr̄styādibhyāś ca*) is also deleted, via *nipātana*, against the *iy*-replacement of 7.3.2 *kekayamitrayu* . . .). Thus, we get *mitra(yu→∅)* + (*ḍha*→*eya*)→*m(i→ai) tr(a→∅)* + *eya* = *maitreya*. Finally, *ya* of *hiranya* is also deleted, via *nipātana*, before *mayaT* to produce *hiran̄maya*.

#### 6.4.175 ऋत्यवास्त्वयवास्त्वमाध्वीहिरण्ययनि च्छन्दसि

$\text{ṛtvayāvāstvayāvāstvamādhvīhiranyayāni cchandasī}$   
 $/ \text{ṛtya-vāstvya-vāstva-mādhvī-hiran̄yayāni } 1/3 \text{ (itar. dv.); chandasī } 7/1/$   
 $'\text{ṛtya, vāstvya, vāstva, mādhvī, hiran̄ya}' \text{ ity etāni nipātyante chandasī viśaye}$   
 The words *ṛtya*, *vāstvya*, *vāstva*, *mādhvī* and *hiranyaya* are derived via *nipātana* in the Vedic.

#### EXAMPLES:

*ṛtvayam* ‘found in seasons’

*vāstvyam* ‘found in things’

*vāstvah* ‘ibidem’

*mādhvīḥ* ‘... honey ...’

*hiranyayam* ‘gold ornament’

1. This rule derives *ṛtuya*, *vāstvya*, *mādhvī* and *hiranyaya*, in the Vedic, via *nipātana*. Given *ṛtu + yaT* (4.4.110 *bhave chandasī*) and *vastu + aN*, the *u* is replaced with *v*, via *nipātana*. A replacement in *yaN* is also allowed in deriving *mādhvī* from (*madhu + aN*) + *NiP*. The *ma* of *mayaT* is also, via *nipātana*, deleted after *hiranyaya*. Thus, *hiranya + (ma→ϕ)yaT = hiranyaya*.

## **APPENDIX**

# Derivational History of Examples

6.1.1 *ekāco dve prathamasya*

6.1.2 *ajāder dvitīyasya*

6.1.3 *na ndrāḥ samyogādayah*

6.1.5 *pūrvo' bhyāsaḥ*

6.1.6 *ubhe abhyastam*

(1) *jajāgāra*

(3) *āra*

(2) *iyāya*

This set of rules prepares necessary background for iteration (*dvitva*). The first rule offers iteration to the first (*prathamasya*) syllable of a monosyllabic (*ekāc*) root. The second offers iteration to the second (*dvitīyasya*) syllable of a root which begins with a vowel (*ajādi*). The third rule offers exception to iteration in the context of roots containing consonant clusters with *n*, *d*, and *r* at the beginning. The fourth rule assigns the term *abhyāsa* to the first element of an iterated string. The last set of this rule assigns the term *abhyasta* to both elements of an iterated string. Obviously, these term assignments are intended to facilitate operations relative to the terms *abhyāsa* and *abhyasta* (hereafter *abhyāsa-kārya*).

Consider (1) *jajāgāra* ‘third singular active perfect’ of *jāgr* where *LIT* is replaced with *tiP*. This *tiP* is further replaced with *NaL* (3.4.82 *parasmaipadānām* . . .). The *jāg* of *jāgr + a* then goes through iteration (*dvitva*; 6.1.9 *ekāco dve* . . .). We thus get *jāg + jāgr + a*, where the first *jāg* is termed *abhyāsa* and *jāgjāg* is together termed *abhyasta*. Rule 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ* states that an *abhyāsa* is allowed to retain only that unit which is formed with its first consonant. We thus get *jā(g→φ) + jāgr + a*. A further application of 7.4.59 *hrasvah* replaces the long *ā* of the *abhyāsa* with short (*hrasva*). This gives us: *j(ā→a) + jāgr + a = jajāgr + a*. Rule 7.2.115 *aco ḥn̄iti* now applies to replace the *r* of *jajāgr* with *ār*, its *vṛddhi*-counterpart. We thus get *jajāg(r→ār) + a = jajāgāra*. We similarly derive *pac + (LIT→tiP→NaL)→papāca* (III:781), *iN + (LIT→tiP→NaL)→iyāya* and *r + (LIT→tiP→NaL) = āra*. Note here that *pac* of *pac + a* will itself (as against its *pa*) go through iteration at the strength of *vyapadeśivadbhāva* (*Paribh.*(31): *vyapadeśivad ekasmin*). One resorts to *vyapadeśivadbhāva* because *pac*, *i* and *r* are *ekāc* by themselves. That is, they are not part of a whole where 6.1.1 *ekāco dve prathamsya* applies. It is to accept the part-whole relationship even in one, or else, to treat one with no part as principal that *vyapadeśivadbhāva* is invoked here. The *vṛddhi* of the second *a* of *pa(c→φ) + p(a→ā)c + a = papāca* will be accomplished by 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ*. Note that *iyāya* follows similar derivational details. We get *iN + (LIT→tiP→NaL)→i + a* where the *i* goes through *vṛddhi* (7.2.115 *aco ḥn̄iti*)

and subsequent replacement in *āy* (*ayādeśa*; 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvah*). We thus get (*i*→*ai*→*āy*) + *a* = *āya*. We now apply iteration where we end up getting *i* as the *abhyāsa* of *i* + *āy* + *a*, basically through ‘formal extension of *i* (*rūpātideśa*)’ with reference to 1.1.58 *dvirvacane’ ci*. The *i* of the *abhyāsa* then receives *iyAN* (6.4.78 *abhyāsasyāsavarne*) as a replacement especially in view of 1.1.52 *nic ca*. We thus get (*i*→*iyAN*) + *āy* + *a*→(2) *iyāya*. Our last example derives from *r* + (*LIT*→*tiP*→*NaL*) where we get (*r*→*ār*) + *a* through *vṛddhi* (7.2.115 *aco nñiti*). The extensional provision of form in consonance with 1.1.52 *dvirvacane’ aci* also applies here in iteration. The result is: *r* + *ār* + *a*. An application of 7.4.66 *ur at* produces (*r*→*ar*) + *ār* + *a* which, through the application of 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣah*, yields *a(r→ϕ)* + *ār* + *a* = *a* + *āra*. The *a* of the *abhyāsa* is then replaced with its long counterpart (7.4.70 *ata ādeḥ*). The final derivate is produced by the application of 6.1.100 *akah savarne dīrghah*. Thus (*ā* + *ā*→*ā*) *ra*→(3) *āra*. Derivates of this rule illustrate three operations relative to *abhyāsakārya*, namely *halādiśeṣa* (7.4.66), *hrasva* (7.4.59) and replacement of *r* in *at* (7.4.66) and *dīrgha* (7.4.70).

### 6.1.3 *na ndrāḥ samyogādayah*

(4) <i>undidiṣati</i>	(6) <i>arcicisati</i>
(5) <i>addiridiṣati</i>	

This rule negates iteration of the initial of a consonant cluster occurring as part of the second vocalic unit of a vowel-initial root. Examples such as (4) *undidiṣati*, (5) *addiridiṣati* and (6) *arcicisati* involve roots derived with affix *saN* (3.1.7 *dhātoḥ . . .*). Affix *LAṬ*, subsequently replaced with *tiP*, is then introduced after verbal roots *arcīṣa* ‘to wish to respect’, *undiṣa* ‘to wish to be wet’ and *addiriṣa*. The *r*, *n* and *d* of the clusters cannot get iterated. This negation facilitates iteration of *cis*, *dis*, and *dīs* only. The desired derivates are produced through application of 7.4.60 *halādiśeṣah*.

### 6.1.6 *jakṣa ityādayah ṣat*

(7) <i>jakṣati</i>	(11) <i>śāsati</i>
(8) <i>jāgrati</i>	(12) <i>dīdhyate</i>
(9) <i>daridrati</i>	(13) <i>vevyāte</i>
(10) <i>cakāṣati</i>	(14) <i>dīdhyat</i>

Example (7) *jakṣati* derives from *jakṣ* + *ŚaP* + *jhi* where *ŚaP* gets deleted (2.4.72 *adiprabṛhtibhyah śapah*). Rule 6.1.6 identifies *jakṣa* as *abhyasta*, whereby 7.1.4 *ad abhyastāt* replaces *jh* of *jhi* with *at*. We thus get *jakṣ* + (*jh*→*at*) *i* = *jakṣati*. We similarly get *jāgr*+*ŚaP*+*jhi*→*jāgr*+*ati*, where *r* of *jāgr* goes through a replacement in *yaN*. We thus get *jāg(r→r)* + *ati* = (8) *jāgrati*. Deriving (9) *daridrati*, from *daridrā* + *ŚaP* + *jhi*→*ati*, involves the application of 6.4.112 *śnābhystaylor ātah*. This rule deletes the *ā* of *daridrā*. We thus get *daridr* (*ā*→*ϕ*) + *ati* = *daridrati*. We similarly get (10) *cakāṣati* from *cakāṣ* + *ŚaP* + (*jhi*→*ati*)

and (11) *sāsati* from *sās* + *ŚaP* + *tiP*. Now consider (12) *dīdhyate* which derives from *dīdhī* + *ŚaP* + *jha* → *dīdhī* + (*ŚaP*→ $\phi$ ) + (*jh*→*at*) *a*) = *dīdhī* + *ata*, where *ŚaP* goes through deletion and the third plural middle ending *jha* gets replaced with *at*. An application of *yaN* (6.4.82 *er anekāco . . .*), followed by *etva* (3.4.79 *tit ātmanepadānām . . .*), produces *dīdhyat(a→e)* = *dīdhyate*.

Recall that 7.1.5 *ātmanepadeśv anataḥ* replaces *jh* with *at*. This replacement is not dependent upon the process of iteration, and subsequent assignments of the terms *abhyāsa* and *abhyasta*. We, however, need the term *abhyasta* for accent. The initial *i* of *dīdhī*, an *abhyasta*, is marked with *udātta* in view of the application of 6.1.186 *abhyastānām ādih*. We get *dīdhyatē* through interaction of rules 6.1.155 *anudāttam padam ekavarjam* and 8.4.66 *udātānudāttasya svaritah*. Of course, also with reference to 1.2.39 *svaritā samhitāyām anudāttah*. We see that assignment of the term *abhyasta* has accentual consequences. This same also applies to (13) *veyrāte*.

Now consider (14) *dīdhyat* which is a derivate of *dīdhīN* + *ŚaP* + (*LAT*→*ŚatR*) → *dīdhī* + (*ŚaP*→ $\phi$ ) + *at*. Note that *ŚatR* could not be introduced after *dīdhīN* since it is an *ātmanepada* verbal root. It should accept *ŚānaC*, especially in view of 1.4.100 *tanānāv ātmanepadam*. This introduction of *ŚatR* is then to be accepted as the expatiation (*prapañca*) of 3.1.85 *vyatayayo bahulam*. Note that augment *nUM* (7.1.70 *ugidcām sarvanāma . . .*) cannot be introduced to *dīdhyat* + *sU*, especially since 7.1.78 *nābhystāc chatuḥ* will negate it. This blocking is also one of the consequences of assigning the term *abhyasta*.

### 6.1.7 *tujādīnām dīrgho' bhyāsasya*

### 6.1.8 *līti dhātor anabhyāsasya*

(15) <i>tūtujānah</i>	(18) <i>mīmāya</i>
(16) <i>māmahānah</i>	(19) <i>tūtāva</i>
(17) <i>dādhānah</i>	(20) <i>dādhāra</i>

We derive (15) *tūtujānah* and *māmahānah* from *tuj* + (*LIT*→*KānaC*)→*tūtujāna* + *sU* and *mah* + (*LIT*→*KānaC*)→*māmahāna* + *sU*. Note that *KānaC* optionally replaces *LIT* (3.2.106 *līt kānaj vā*) when the denotation is past and the usage is Vedic. Iteration of *tuj* (6.1.8 *līti dhātor . . .*) is facilitated via *sthānivadbhāva* by treating *KānaC* as if it was *LIT*. An application of *halādiśeṣa* (7.4.66) followed by a long replacement for the short of the *abhyāsa* by this rule produces *tūtujāna*. Similar rules apply in deriving (16) *māmahānah*. Deriving (17) *dādhānah* from *dhā* + *dhā* + (*LIT*→*KānaC*)→*dādhāna* + *sU*, involves iteration followed by *d* as a replacement for *dh* of the *abhyāsa* (8.4.54 *abhyāse car ca*). Now consider (18) *mīmāya*, a *LIT*-derivate of *ḍUmiN*, where *tiP* (3.4.78 *tipitasjhi . . .*) is replaced with *NaL* (3.4.82 *parasmaipadānām . . .*). This yields *mi* + (*N*) *a(L)* which, through applications of *vṛddhi* (7.2.115 *aco' nñiti*) and replacement in *āy* (*ayādeśa*; 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvah*) produces *m(i→ai→āy) + a = māy + a*. We now apply iteration with reference to 1.1.58

*dvirvacane' ci* whereby we get *mi* as the *abhyāsa*. That is, we get *mi + māy + a* where *mi* comes by as *abhyāsa* by way of extension of the form (*rūpātidesā*) of verbal root *mi*. Our present rule will now apply to yield *m(i→i) + māy + a = mīmāya*, through a long replacement (*dīrgha*). Note that a replacement in *ā* for *i* of *mi* (6.1.49 *mīnātinotidūnām...*) is not accomplished. Such exceptions are not hard to find in the Vedic. Similar rules also apply in deriving (19) *tūtāva* from *tu + NaL→tū + tau + a* and (20) *dādhāra* from *dhr̥N + NaL*.

6.1.9 *sanyañōḥ*6.1.10 *ślau*6.1.22 *cañi*

(21) <i>pipakṣati</i>	(27) <i>arāryate</i>
(22) <i>pipatisati</i>	(28) <i>prornonūyate</i>
(23) <i>aririṣati</i>	(29) <i>āśisat</i>
(24) <i>pāpacyate</i>	(30) <i>ārdidat</i>
(25) <i>yāyajyate</i>	(31) <i>apīpacat</i>
(26) <i>aṭātyate</i>	(32) <i>apīpathat</i>

Deriving (21) *pipakṣati* from (*pac + saN*) + *LAT* requires iteration, *halādiśesa*, *i*-replacement of the *a* of *pa* (*abhyāsa*) and no introduction of *iT*. Recall that *pac* is a root which does not allow augment *iT* (*anit*). We get a derived verbal root with the form of *pipakṣa* where *c* of *pac* is replaced with *k* (8.2.30 *coh. kuḥ*). The *s* of *saN* goes through a replacement in *ś* (*satva*) as has been shown in many examples. We similarly derive (22) *pipatisati* and (23) *aririṣati* from (*pat + saN*) + *LAT* and (*r + saN*) + *LAT* where the derived roots are *patiṣa* and *ariṣa*. Both these roots receive augment *iT*. The *r* of *ariṣa* also goes through *guṇa* followed by *r*. Their affixal *s* is also replaced with *ś* (8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoh*). Operations relative to iteration and *abhyāsa* finally produce desired derivates.

Note that (24) *pāpacyate* derives from *pāpacya + (LAT→ta)* where *LAT* is replaced with the third singular *ātmanepada* affix *ta*. Verbal root *pāpacya* (3.1.32 *sanādyantā dhātavah*) is derived from *pac + yaN* where what is iterated in view of our present rule is *pac*. The *a* of the *abhyāsa* is then replaced with its long counterpart (7.4.83 *dīrgho' kitah*). Of course, this applies subsequent to the application of *halādiśesa*. Thus, *pa(c→ϕ)pac + ya→p(a→ā)pac + ya→pāpacya + (LAT→ta)→pāpacya + (Ś)a(P) + ta→pāpacya + a + t(a→e) = pāpacya (a + a→ā) + te = pāpacyate*. The last two steps illustrate *etva* (3.4.79 *tītātmanepadānām ter e*) and *pararūpa* (6.1.97 *ato guṇe*), respectively. Similar steps apply in deriving (25) *yāyajyate*.

Deriving (26) *aṭātyate* with (*at + yaN*) + *LAT* requires the help of a *vārttika* to introduce *yaN* (*vt. sūtrimūtryātyartya...*; ad 3.1.22 *dhātor ekāco...*). Iteration applies here with reference to the second syllable formed with *tya* of *at + ya(N)*. Here again we find the application of *halādih śesah* (7.4.60; *at(y→ϕ)a + tya*) and *dīrgho' kitah* (7.4.83; *at(a→ā) + tya = aṭātya*). Deriving *aṭātyate*

from *atātya + ŠaP + (LAT→ta)* follows patterns similar to (24) *pāpacaye*.

Note that (27) *arāryate* also derives with a root ending in *yaṄ*, via the same *vārtika* proposal. The *r* of the root goes through *guṇa* of 7.4.30 *yani ca*. Rule 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdha* . . . could not apply since 1.1.5 *kniiti ca* blocks it on account of *Ṅ* of *yaṄ* as an *it*. Iteration applies to *ar + ya* but with an exception made again by a *vārtika* (ad 6.1.3 *na ndrāḥ samyogādayah . . . ; vt. yakāraparasya rephasya pratīṣedho na bhavati*). We thus get *a + rya + rya*. An application of *halādiśesa* and *dīrgho' kitāḥ* (7.4.83) then produces: *ar(y→ϕ)a + rya→ar(a→ā) + rya = arārya*. Deriving *arāryate* from *arārya + ŠaP + ta* is easy.

Now consider (28) *prornonūyate* where affix *yaṄ* is also introduced after verbal root *pra-ūrnūṄ* under the same *vārtika* proposal. We find that the focus of iteration is *nu*. The *r* of *ūrnū* must here be excluded because of 6.1.3 *na ndrāḥ . . .* The *guṇa* of the *abhyāsa*, i.e., *nu*, followed by *dīrgha* of the second *nū* is then accomplished by rules 7.4.82 *guṇo yanlukoh* and 7.4.25 *akṛtsārvadhātukayoh*, respectively. We thus get: *pra-ūrnū + ya(Ṅ)→pra-ūr + nu + nu + ya→pra-ūr + n(u→o) + nu + ya→pra-ūr + no + n(u→ū) + ya = prornonūya*. Follow derivational steps of earlier examples for deriving *prornonūyate* from *prornonūya + ŠaP + (LAT→ta)*. Note, however, that the *n* of *prorno* is replaced with *ṇ* (*ṇatva*; 8.4.1 *raṣābhyaṁ no ḷah . . .*).

Note that (29) *āśisat* and (30) *ārdidat* follow derivational patterns of *ātiṭat*, in the appendix of rule 1.1.59 *dvirvacane' ci* (II:416–17). The *r* of *ārd* in *ārdidat* will be excluded from iteration on account of 6.1.3 *nandrāḥ samyogādayah*. The next two derives are causative. Thus, (31) *apīpacat* and (32) *apīpathat* derive from *(pac + NiC) + LUNṄ* and *(path + NiC) + LUNṄ*, respectively. We first get *pāci* from *pac + NiC* through applications of 3.1.26 *hetumati ca* and 7.2.116 *ata upaṭhayāḥ*. Thus, *pac + (Ṅ)i(C)→p(ā)c + i = pāci*. Applications of rules such as 3.2.110 *luṇi*, 3.1.43 *cli luṇi* and 3.1.48 *ṇisridrusrubhyah . . .* produce *pāci + LUNṄ→pāci + CLJ + LUNṄ→pāci + (CLJ→CaṄ) + LUNṄ→pāci + (C)a(Ṅ) + LUNṄ*. A replacement in *ti(P)* for *LUNṄ*, followed by *i*-deletion (3.4.100 *itaś ca*) and introduction of augment *aT* (6.4.71 *luṇlanlṛṇ . . .*), yields *pāci + a + (LUNṄ→ti(P)→pāci + a + t(i→ϕ)→a(T) + pāci + a + t*. Deletion of *NiC* (6.4.51 *ner aniti*) and shortening of the penultimate (*upadhā-hrasva*; 7.4.1 *ṇau caṇi . . .*) then follow. We thus get *a + pāci(i→ϕ) + a + t→a + p(ā→a)c + a + t = a + pac + a + t*. Rule 6.1.11 *caṇi* then applies for iteration to yield *a + pac + pac + a + t*. An application of *halādiśesa* then produces: *a + pa + pac + a + t*. The *a* of the *abhyāsa* then goes through a replacement in *i* (7.4.79 *sany atah*) under the provision of *sanvadbhāva* ‘treatment as if affix *saN* followed’. The short vowel *i* of the *abhyāsa* is then replaced with its long counterpart (7.4.94 *dīrgho lághoh*). We thus get *a + p(a→i) + pac + a + t→a + p(i→ī) + pac + a + t→apīpacat*. Similar rules apply in deriving (32) *apīpathat*.

### 6.1.15 *vacisvapiyajādīnām . . .*

(33) *uktah*

(34) *uktavān*

(35) <i>suptah</i>	(41) <i>ūḍhah</i>
(36) <i>suptavān</i>	(42) <i>ūḍhavān</i>
(37) <i>iṣṭah</i>	(43) <i>uṣitah</i>
(38) <i>iṣṭavān</i>	(44) <i>uṣitavān</i>
(39) <i>uptah</i>	(45) <i>śunah</i>
(40) <i>uptavān</i>	(46) <i>śunavān</i>

This section of rules deals with *samprasāraṇa* (1.1.45 *ig yaṇah samprasāraṇam*), a replacement in *yaN* (*y/v/r/l*) for vowels denoted by *iK* (*i/u/r/l*). The term *samprasāraṇa* refers to both: (i) the process whereby a sound denoted by *yaN* is replaced with a corresponding sound denoted by *iK* and (ii) vowels which are denoted by *iK* and which replace a corresponding sound denoted by *yaN*. An application of replacement in a *samprasāraṇa* vowel also, where applicable, leads to a single replacement of a vocalic sequence similar to what precedes (*pūrvarūpa*). The second vowel of the sequence must be occurring after the *samprasāraṇa* vowel (6.1.107 *samprasāraṇāc ca*).

The examples are all derivates of the (*niṣṭhā*) suffixes *Kta* and *KtavatU* (1.1.26 *ktaktavatū niṣṭhā*). Consider *vac + (K) ta → (v→u) ac + ta → (u + a→u) c + ta → u (c→k) + ta = uktā + sU → (34) uktah*, where *v* of *vac* is replaced with its *samprasāraṇa* counterpart *u*. Rule 6.1.107 *samprasāraṇāc ca* replaces the vocalic sequence *u + a* with *u*, similar in form to the preceding vowel termed *samprasāraṇa*. Rule 8.2.30 *cōh kuḥ* then replaces the *c* with *k* (*kutva*). This same also applies to *vac + KtavatU → uk + tavat = uktaval + sU = (35) uktavān*. Refer to the appendix of 1.1.5 *kniti ca* for additional derivational details (II: 336–37), especially for applications on derivates with *tavat*. Deriving *ūḍhah* from (*vah + Kta*) + *sU*, requires *h* to be replaced with *dh* (8.2.31 *hoḍhah*) subsequent to *samprasāraṇa* and *pūrvarūpa*. Rule 8.2.40 *jhaṣastathor . . .* then replaces the *t* of *ta* with *dh*. This *dh* then goes through a replacement in *dh* (*ṣṭutva*; 8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuh*). Rule 8.3.15 *dho dhe lopah* then requires the preceding *dh* to be deleted. The short *u* which precedes is then replaced with its long counterpart (6.3.109 *dhralop pūrvasya . . .*). We thus get: (*v→u*) *a + h + (K) ta → (u + a→u) + h + ta → u (h→dh) + t→u→uḍh + (t→dh→dh) a→u (dh→ϕ) + dh + a→(u→ū) + dh + a→uḍha + sU → (40) uḍhah*. Similar rules apply in deriving *vah + KtavatU → uḍh + (K) tavat(U) + sU = (42) uḍhavān*. Examples (42) and (43) (*vas + Kta*) + *sU* → *uṣitah* and (*vas + KtavatU*) + *sU* = *uṣitavān*, require a *ṣ* to replace *s* (*ṣatva*; 8.3.60 *śāsivasi . . .*). Our last two examples, i.e., (45) (*śvan + Kta*) + *sU* → *śunah* and (46) (*śvan + KtavatU*) + *sU* → *śunavān*, require that the *t* of the *niṣṭhā* suffix be replaced with *n* (*niṣṭhā-natva*; 8.2.45 *odiś ca*).

### 6.1.16 *grahijyāvayi . . .*

(47) <i>gr̥hitah</i>	(49) <i>gr̥hnāti</i>
(48) <i>gr̥hitavān</i>	(50) <i>jarīgṛhyate</i>

(51) <i>jīnah</i>	(57) <i>vṛkñah</i>
(52) <i>jīnāti</i>	(58) <i>vṛkñavān</i>
(53) <i>jeñyate</i>	(59) <i>varīvṛścyate</i>
(54) <i>ūyatuh</i>	(60) <i>parīprcchyate</i>
(55) <i>ūyuh</i>	(61) <i>bhrjjati</i>
(56) <i>viddhah</i>	(62) <i>barībhrjjyate</i>

Examples (47) *grhitah* derives from (*grah + iT + Kta*) + *sU* where *iT* is replaced with its long counterpart (7.2.37 *graho' liṭi dīrghah*). This same also applies to (48) *grhitavān*. Our example (49) *grhnāti* is a derivate of *grah + LAT* where *LAT* is replaced with *tiP*. An introduction of *Śnā* (3.1.81 *kryādibhyah* *śnā*) and its subsequent treatment as marked with *N* (*nit*; 1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit*) produces *grah + nā + ti*. An application of *samprasārana*, *pūrvarūpa* and *natva* (8.4.2 *atkupvān . . .*) then produces *g(r→r) ah + nā + ti → g(r+a→r) h + nā + ti → grh + (n→ṇ) ā + ti = grhnāti*. Refer to (25) *pāpacyate* (under 6.1.9 *sanyañoh*) for derivational details of (50) *jarīghyate*. This derivate requires introduction of augment *nīK* (7.4.90 *rīg ṛdupadhasya ca*) to the *abhyāsa*. An application of *samprasāraṇa* then follows under the condition of affix *yaN*. We thus get *g(r→ar) + grah + iT + ŚaP + ta*, through an additional application of 7.4.66 *ur at*. The *g* of *ga* is then replaced with *j* with the application of 7.4.62 *kuhōs cuh*.

Note that (51) *jīnah*, (52) *jīnāti* and (53) *jeñyate* all are derives of verbal root *jyā*. The *t* of the *niṣṭhā* suffix *ta* is replaced with *n* (8.2.44 *lvādibhyah*) in *jyā + Kta*. Of course, subsequent to the *samprasāraṇa* of *jyā*. The *i* of *ji + na* of *jīnah* is replaced with its long counterpart by 6.4.2 *halah*. Our next examples, *jīnāti* and *jeñyate*, are derives of *LAT* where the second carries a derived root with affix *yaN*. The first derives with the introduction of *Śnā*. Derivational histories of (54) *ūyatuh* and (55) *ūyuh* are discussed in the appendix (III: 698). Our next example (56) (*vyadh + Kta*) + *sU* → *viddhah* illustrates that *v* of the root does not go through *samprasāraṇa* because *y*, another *samprasāraṇa*, follows (6.1.36 *na samprasārane . . .*). Thus, we get the *samprasāraṇa* of *y* followed by replacing *t* of *Kta* with *dh* (8.2.40 *jhasastathor . . .*). The *dh* of the root is then replaced with *d* (8.4.52 *jhalām jaś jhaśi*). Thus, *v(y→i) dh + Kta → vidh + (t→dh) a → vi(dh→d) + dha = viddha + sU → viddhah*. The next two derives of *niṣṭhā* illustrate *samprasāraṇa* on *vraśc* of (57) (*vraśc + Kta*) + *sU*) and (58) (*vṛśc + KtavatU*) + *sU* where *samprasāraṇa* yields *vṛśc + ta*. The *t* of the *niṣṭhā* is replaced with *n* (8.2.45 *oidtaś ca*). The *s* of the conjunct at the end is deleted (8.2.29 *skoh samyog . . .*) and *c* is replaced with *k* (*kutva*; 8.2.30 *coh kuh*). The *n* of *na* of *vṛśc + na* is then replaced with *ṇ* (*ṇatva*). Recall here that the *ś* of *vṛśc* is technically *s* which, before *c*, gets replaced with *ś* (8.4.39 *stoḥ ścunā ścuḥ*). Its deletion by 8.2.29 *skoh samyog . . .* is accomplished with the understanding that it is *s*.

Derivational details of (59) *varīvṛścyate* are similar to many derives of

*yaṄ* already discussed. Note that augment *n̄Kis* here introduced to the *abhyāsa* (7.4.90 *n̄grdupadhaya ca*). Since there being no *r̄* in the *upadhā* ‘penultimate position’, a *vārttika* proposal is made (ad 7.4.90: *vt. n̄grtvata iti vaktavyam*). Similar rules apply in deriving (60) *parīprcchyaṭe*. Recall that augment *tUKis* here introduced by 6.1.71 *che ca*. Examples (61) *bhrjjati* and (62) *barībhṛjjate* involve similar operational steps. Note, however, that *s* of *bhrasja* is replaced with *d* (*jaśtva*; 8.4.52 *jhalāṁ jaś jhaśi*). This *d* is then replaced with *j* (*ścutva*; 8.4.39 *stoḥ ścunā ścuḥ*). Thus, *bhra(s→d→j)j + ŠaP+tiP→bh(ra→?)jj + a + ti = bhrjjati*.

### 6.1.36 *apaspṛdhethām . . .*

(63) <i>apaspṛdhethām</i>	(68) <i>śrātā</i>
(64) <i>ān̄rcuḥ</i>	(69) <i>śritam</i>
(65) <i>ān̄ruh</i>	(70) <i>āśir</i>
(66) <i>cicyuṣe</i>	(71) <i>āśirtta</i>
(67) <i>tityāja</i>	

These, still again, are derivates where both *bāhulaka* and *nipātana* are invoked. Our first example, i.e., (64) *apaspṛdhethām*, derives from *spardh + LAN*, where *LAN* is replaced with the second person dual middle ending *āthām*. Iteration, *samprasāraṇa* of *r* and deletion of *a* is all accomplished via *nipātana*. Our next two examples, i.e., (65) *ān̄rcuḥ* and (66) *ān̄ruh*, are derivates of *LIT* introduced after verbal roots *archA*. These are third personal active plural forms where *LIT* is subsequently replaced with *us*. An application of *samprasāraṇa* and deletion of *ā* is accomplished via *nipātana*. Iteration and operations relative to *abhyāsa* then follow. Note that lengthening of *a* and augment *nUT* are accomplished by 7.4.70 *ata ādeḥ* and 7.4.71 *tasmān nud . . .*, respectively.

Examples (66) *cicyuṣe* and (67) *tityāja* derive from *cyu + (LIT→thās→se)* and *tyaj + (LIT→NaL)*, where iteration, *samprasāraṇa* of *y* (in the *abhyāsa*) are major applications. The first also involves a replacement in *s* (*śatva*). The second involves a *vrddhi* replacement similar to the preceding *a* of the vocalic sequence. Note also that augment *iT* in *cicyuṣe* is also blocked by *nipātana*. Example (68) *śrātā* derives from *śrīN + Kta* where *śrā* is introduced as a replacement via *nipātana*. Example (69) *śritam* replaces long *ī* of *śrī* by its short counterpart, again via *nipātana*. The last two examples, i.e., (70) *āśir* and (71) *āśirtta*, both have *śrīN* with the preverb *āN*. They both get *śrī* replaced with *śir*. The first is a derivate of *KvIP* before which *śir* replaces *śrī*. The second is a derivate of *niṣṭhā* suffix *Kta* where *t* of *Kta* is saved from being replaced with *n*, again via *nipātana*.

### 6.1.66 *lopo vyor vali*

(72) <i>didivān</i>	(73) <i>didivāṁsau</i>
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(74) <i>didivāṁsaḥ</i>	(77) <i>jīradānuḥ</i>
(75) <i>gaudherah</i>	(78) <i>āśremāṇam</i>
(76) <i>paceran</i>	

Note that (72) *didivān*, (73) *didivāṁsau* and (74) *didivāṁsaḥ* are nominative singular, dual and plural forms of *didivas*, a derivate of *KvasU* introduced after *div*. Follow derivational patterns of *papivān* and *jaksivān* under the appendix of 3.2.107 *kvasuś ca* (III: 745). Refer to the appendix (II: 418–20) under 1.1.59 *dvirvacane’ ci* for derivational details of (75) *gaudherah*, (76) *paceran*, (77) *jīradānuḥ* and (78) *āśremāṇam*.

#### 6.1.68 *halnyābbhyo dīrghāt* . . .

(79) <i>abibhar</i>	(81) <i>abhinar</i>
(80) <i>ajāgar</i>	(82) <i>abhino’ tra</i>

Example (79) derives from *bhṛN* + ŠaP + (*LAṄ→tiP*), where ŠaP goes through deletion (2.4.75 *juhotyādibhyah* . . .), *bhṛ* goes through iteration (6.1.10 *ślaw*) and operations relative to *abhyāsa*. This yields: *bhṛ* + *bhṛ* + *t*. The *i* of *tiP* is, of course, deleted by 3.4.100 *itaś ca*. An application of 7.4.66 *ur at* is followed by 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣah* to produce *bh(r→ar)* + *bhṛ* + *t* → *bha(r→ϕ)* + *bhṛ* + *t*. Rule 7.4.76 *bhṛñām it* then introduces *i* to replace *a* of the *abhyāsa*. This gives us *bhi* + *bhṛ* + *t* where *guṇa* (7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdha* . . .) of *r* and introduction of *aT* produces *a(T)* + *bhi* + *bh(r→ar)* + *t*. Rule 8.4.53 *abhyāse car ca* then applies to replace the *bh* of *bhi* with *b*. Thus, *a* + (*bh→b*) *i* + *bhar* + *t*. Our present rule then deletes *t* and we get (79) *abibhar*. Example (80) *ajāgar* follows similar applications except for iteration. For, this root belongs to the *adādi* class. The *guṇa* of *jāgr* is accomplished by 7.3.85 *jāgro’ vicin*. . . . The last example, i.e., (81) *abhinar*, derives from *aT* + *bhid* + ŠnaM + (*LAṄ→siP*). Our present rule deletes the *s* of *siP*. The final *d* of *a+bh(ŠnaM)d* + (*s→ϕ*) is then replaced with *rU* (8.2.75 *daś ca*). The *r* is further replaced with *u* (6.1.112 *ato ror* . . .), followed by its *guṇa* (6.1.87 *ād gunah*) before *atra* of (82) *abhino’ tra*. The *a* of *abhino’ tra* will then be subjected to the *pūrvarūpa* of 6.1.108 *enāḥ padāntād ati*.

#### 6.1.75 *dīrghāt*

(83) <i>apacācchāyate</i>	(84) <i>vicācchāyate</i>
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The examples are two derivates of *cho* ‘to cut, pierce’ in *LAT* where the roots *cāchāya* and *vichāya* end in *yaṄ* and are used with the prevers *apa* and *vi*, respectively. Recall that, given *cho* + *yaṄ* (3.1.22 *dhātor ekāco* . . .), the root-final *o* is replaced with *ā* (6.1.45 *ādeca upadeśe* . . .). Iteration (*dvitva*) and shortening (7.4.59 *hrasvah*) of the *abhyāsa* then produce *ch(ā→a)* + *chā* + *ya*. The *ch* of the *abhyāsa* then goes through a replacement in *c* (*cartva*;

8.4.55 *khari ca*). We thus get *cachāya*. The *a* of the *abhyāsa* is then replaced with long of 7.4.83 *dīrgho' kitah*. We derive *cāchāya* + (*LAT*→*ta*)→*apa* + *cācchāyate* = (83) *apacācchāyate*, with introduction of *tUK* (6.1.73 *che ca*) before *ch*. Similar rules apply in deriving (84) *vicācchāyate*.

#### 6.4.55 *ayāmantālvāyyetnviṣṇuṣu*

(85) <i>gandayantah</i>	(89) <i>sṝhayāyyah</i>
(86) <i>maṇdayantah</i>	(90) <i>gr̄hayāyyah</i>
(87) <i>sṝhayāluḥ</i>	(91) <i>stanayitnuḥ</i>
(88) <i>gr̄hayāluḥ</i>	(92) <i>poṣayiṣṇavah</i>

Refer to derivational details of *kārayāñcakāra* and *hārayāñcakāra* under the appendix of rule 3.1.40 *kṝncānuprayujyate liti* (III: 717–18). Our first two examples, i.e., (85) *gandayantah* and (86) *maṇdayantah*, are derived from (*gaḍI* + *NiC*) + *jhaC* and (*maḍI* + *NiC*) + *jhaC* where the *Uṇādi* affix *jhaC* (3.18: *trbhūvahibhas* . . .) is replaced with *anta* (7.1.3 *jho' ntah*). Note that the root is marked with *I* as an *it* (*idit*). Consequently, augment *nUM* is introduced by 7.1.58 *idito num dhātōḥ*. An application of non-deletion of *NiC*, followed by a replacement in *ay* of this rule, produces *ga(nUM)d + (N)i(C)* + (*jha*→*ata*)→*ga(n→n)d + (i→ay) + ata* = *gandayata* + *sU*→(84) *gandayataḥ* and *maḍI + NiC + jhaC*→*ma(n→n)d*→*gandayataḥ* = *maṇdayata* + *sU*→(86) *maṇdayataḥ*.

Deriving (87) *sṝhayāluḥ* and (88) *gr̄hayāluḥ* from (*sṝhi* + *āluC*) + *sU*→*sṝhayāluḥ*, and (*gr̄hi* + *āluC*) + *sU*→*gr̄hayāluḥ*, also involves non-deletion of *NiC* and a replacement in *ay*. Note here that *sṝha* and *gr̄ha* are accepted as roots of the *cur-ādi* class ending in *a* (*ad-anta*). This *a*, at the end of *sṝha* and *gr̄ha* before *NiC*, is subsequently deleted (6.4.48 *ato lopah*). Affix *āluC* is introduced by 3.2.158 *sṝhigṝhipati* . . . with the signification of *tācchīlya* ‘characteristic nature’. Examples (89) *sṝhayāyyah* and (90) *gr̄hayāyyah* are similarly derived with the introduction of affix *āyya* after *sṝhi* and *gr̄hi* (*Uṇādi* 3.93: *tanudakṣiṣṝhi* . . .). Affix *NiC* is saved from deletion and *ay* again comes as a replacement. Example (91) *stanayitnuḥ* is derived from (*stana* + *NiC*) + *itnu*→*stan(a→φ) + (i→ay) + itnu* = *stanayitnu* + *sU*→*stanayitnuḥ*. Here again we find *a*-deletion and replacement in *ay*. Refer to derivational details of *pārayiṣṇavah* under the appendix (III: 754) of 3.2.137 *neś chandasi*. Example (92) *poṣayiṣṇavah* follows applications similar to *pārayiṣṇavah*.

#### 6.4.62 *syasīcīyuttāsiṣu* . . .

(93) <i>cāyiṣyate</i>	(99) <i>adāyiṣyata</i>
(94) <i>cesyate</i>	(100) <i>adāsyata</i>
(95) <i>acāyiṣyata</i>	(101) <i>śāmiṣyate</i>
(96) <i>acesyata</i>	(102) <i>śamisyate</i>
(97) <i>dāyiṣyate</i>	(103) <i>śamayiṣyate</i>
(98) <i>dāsyate</i>	(104) <i>āśāmiṣyata</i>

(105) <i>asamisyata</i>	(122) <i>adisātām</i>
(106) <i>ásamayisyata</i>	(123) <i>ásāmiṣātām</i>
(107) <i>ghānisyate</i>	(124) <i>aśamiṣātām</i>
(108) <i>haniṣyate</i>	(125) <i>ásamayiṣātām</i>
(109) <i>aghānisyata</i>	(126) <i>aghāniṣātām</i>
(110) <i>ahanisyata</i>	(127) <i>avadhiṣātām</i>
(111) <i>grāhiṣyate</i>	(128) <i>ahasātām</i>
(112) <i>grahīṣyate</i>	(129) <i>agrāhiṣātām</i>
(113) <i>agrāhiṣyata</i>	(130) <i>agrahiṣātām</i>
(114) <i>agrahīṣyata</i>	(131) <i>adarśiṣātām</i>
(115) <i>darsīṣyate</i>	(132) <i>adrksātām</i>
(116) <i>drakṣyate</i>	(133) <i>śāmiṣiṣṭa</i>
(117) <i>adarśiṣyata</i>	(134) <i>śamiṣiṣṭa</i>
(118) <i>adraksyata</i>	(135) <i>śamayiṣiṣṭa</i>
(119) <i>acāyiṣātām</i>	(136) <i>cāyitā</i>
(120) <i>aceṣātām</i>	(137) <i>cetā</i>
(121) <i>adāyiṣātām</i>	

Refer to derivational details of *kariṣyati* (I: 511–12) and *kāriṣyate* (III: 728) under the appendices of rules 1.4.13 *yasmāt pratyayavidhis . . .* and 3.1.87 *karmavat karmanā . . .*, respectively. Derivate (93) *cāyisyate* differs from *kariṣyati* in the sense that its *LRT*→*ta* denotes *bhāva* ‘root-sense’ or *karman* ‘object’. A middle suffix, as against an active, is introduced with the signification of *bhāva* and *karman* of 1.3.13 *bhāvakarmanoḥ*. Of course, *kāriṣyate* is a derivate of *NiC* ‘causative’. Thus, *ci* + (*LRT*→*ta*)→*c(i→ai)* + *iT* + *sya* + *ta*→*c(ai→āy)* + *i* + *sya* + *t(a→e)* = *cāyisyate*, where we get the application of *cīnvadbhāva*, *iT*, *vṛddhi* and subsequent replacement in *āy*. We will not get *iT* if the option of *cīnvadbhāva* is not accepted. Thus, *ci* + *sya* + *t(a→e)*→*c(i→e)* + *sya* + *te* = (94) *ceṣyate*, with *guṇa* and replacement in *ś* (*satva*). Derivates of *LRN*, (95) *ci* + (*LR*→*ta*) = *acāyiṣyata* and (96) *aceṣyata*, can be similarly derived, with augment *aT* and no replacement in *e* (*etva*) of *ti*. Forms such as (97) *dāyiṣyate*, (98) *dāsyate* and (99) *adāyiṣyata*, (100) *adāsyata* are sets of optional middle derivates of *LRT* and *LRN*, respectively, introduced after *dā*. Note that, in addition to *sya*, we also get augment *yUK* (7.3.33 *āto yuk cīnkrtoḥ*) when the option of *cīnvadbhāva* is accepted. Thus, *dāyiṣyate*/*adāyiṣyata* and *dāsyate*/*adāsyata* in each set. Now consider (101) *śami* + (*LRT*→*ta*) = *śāmiṣyate* and (102) *śamis̥yate* where verbal root *śami* ends in *NiC*. This affix is deleted by 6.4.51 *ner anīti* before the optional application of *cīnvadbhāva* is accepted. It is also because of *cīnvadbhāva* that 6.4.93 *cīnñamulo'* *nyatarasyāṁ* offers an optional long replacement for the short (6.4.92 *mitāṁ hrasvah*) penultimate vowel of the *anīga*. We thus get form one (101) *śāmiṣyate*. No optional long replacement will give us form two (102) *śamis̥yate*. No optional *cīnvadbhāva* will bring augment *iT* of 7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasyed valādeḥ*, and will produce (103) *śamayiṣyate* with *guṇa* and *ay* of *i*. One can similarly derive the three

derivates of *LRN*: (104) *aśāmisyata*, (105) *aśamisyata* and (106) *aśamayisyata*.

Now consider (107) *ghāniṣyate*, (108) *hanisyate*, and (109) *aghāniṣyata*, (110) *ahanisyata*, the two derivational sets of *han* with *sya* in (*LRT*→*ta*) and (*LRN*→*ta*), respectively. Derivates of *LRT*, when opting for *cinvadbhāva*, will go through a replacement in *gh* for *h* of *han* (7.3.54 *ho hanter* . . .). Additionally, we also get a replacement in *vṛddhi*, due mainly to *N* as an *it* of *cIN* (*cinvadbhāva*). Derivates of *LT* will, additionally, have augment *aT̄*. Thus, *aghāniṣyata* and *ahanisyata*. Now consider (111) *grāhiṣyate* and (112) *grahiṣyate* where we get optional *cinvadbhāva*, augment *iT̄* and penultimate *vṛddhi* similar to preceding examples. A replacement in *s* for *s* of *sya* produces *grāhiṣyate*. But we also get *grahiṣyate* where *iT̄*, in the absence of the option of *cinvadbhāva*, is introduced by 7.3.35 *ārdhadhātukasyed valādeḥ*. An absence of *cinvadbhāva* and *upadhā-vṛddhi* is here compensated by long replacement for the short of *i* of *iT̄* (7.2.37 *graḥo' liti dirghah*). Corresponding forms of *LRN*, i.e., (113) *agrahīṣyata* and (114) *agrahīṣyata*, offer nothing new. Examples (115) *darśiyate*, (116) *drakṣyate*; and (117) *adarśiyata*, (118) *adrakṣyata* illustrate examples of *LRT* and *LRN* with *sya*, respectively. Option of *cinvadbhāva* and *iT̄* offers *guṇa*, followed by *r* (*rapara*). Thus we will get *d(r→ar) s + iT̄ + (s→s) ya + t(a→e)* = *darśiyate*. No option of *cinvadbhāva* will produce *drakṣyate* with augment *aM* (6.1.58 *sṛjīdṛśor jhalī am akīti*). The *s* of *drś* will then be replaced with *r* (*yaN*). Its *s* will similarly be replaced with *s* (8.2.36 *vraścabhrasjasra* . . .). Rule 8.2.41 *śadhoḥ kah si* then replaces the *s* with *k*. Finally, 8.3.57 *inkoh* replaces the *s* of *sya* with *s* to produce: *dr + a(M) s + sya + te→d(r→r) + a(s→s→k) + sya + te→drak + (s→s) ya + te = drakṣyate*. Forms of *LRN*, (117) *adarśiyata* and (118) *adrakṣyata*, will, of course, derive with augment *aT̄*.

Examples (119) *acāyiṣātām* and (120) *aceṣātām* illustrate optional examples of third dual middle (*ātām*; 3.4.78 *tiptasjhi* . . .) of (*LUN*→*ātām*) where *CLI* is replaced with *sIC* and augment *aT̄* is introduced. Thus we get *aT̄ + cī(Ñ) + (CLI→sIC) + (LUN→ātām)→aci + s + ātām*, where the option of *cinvadbhāva* introduces augment *iT̄* and *i* of *ci* is replaced with *āy* via its *vṛddhi* replacement in *ai*. Thus, *ac(i→ai→āy) + i(T̄) + s + ātām = acāy + i + (s→s) + ātām = acāyiṣātām*. We will get *aceṣātām* with a replacement in *guṇa* if the option of *cinvadbhāva* is not accepted. We will similarly get derivates of *dā* such as (121) *adāyiṣātām* and (122) *adiṣātām*. The first is derived from *dā + (LUN→ātām)→aT̄ + dā + sIC + ātām→a + dā + iT̄ + yUK + s + ātām*. We will get the *ā* of *dā* replaced with *i* (1.2.27 *sthāghvor ic ca*). The *guṇa* of *i* will be negated because of *K* as an *it* status of *sIC*. We will thus get *adiṣātām*.

Examples (123) *aśāmiṣātām*, (124) *aśamiṣātām* (125) *aśamayisātām* are derivates of *LUN*, introduced after verbal root *śami* ending in *NiC*. An optional *cinvadbhāva*, optional penultimate lengthening and deletion of *NiC* will produce *aśāmiṣātām* and *aśamiṣātām*. No *cinvadbhāva* will bring *iT̄* of 7.3.37 *ārdhadhātukasyed valādeḥ*, *guṇa* and replacement in *ay*, thereby pro-

ducing *aśamayisātām*. These forms are similar to (104) *aśamisyata*, (105) *aśamisyata* and (106) *aśamayisyata*. We will similarly get examples of *han* such as (126) *aghāniśātām*, (127) *avadhiśātām* and (128) *ahasātām* where the first will go through *kutva*, etc., similar to (109) *aghāniṣyata*. The second and third forms will have optional replacement of *han* with *vadha*. We will thus get *avadhiśātām* and *ahasātām*. Note that *ahasātām* will have deletion of *n* (6.4.37 *anudāttopadeśavanati* . . .) because of the *kit* status of *sIC* (1.2.14 *hanah* sic).

Our *LUN* derives of *grah*, i.e., (129) *agrāhiśātām* and (130) *agrahiśātām*, will opt for *cīṇvadbhāva* and *vṛddhi* of the penultimate vowel. Example (129) *agrahiśātām* will have the long *i*-replacement of 7.2.37 *graho’ liṭi dīrghaḥ*. Refer to earlier forms of these verbal roots for particular operations with or without the option of *cīṇvadbhāva*. Examples (133) *śāmisiṣṭa*, (134) *śamisiṣṭa* and (135) *śamayisīṣṭa* illustrate derives of *sīyUT* (cf. II: 436–37). The last two examples, i.e., (136) *cāyitā* and (137) *cetū* are derives of *tās*.

#### 6.4.72 *ād ajādīnām*

(138) <i>aikṣīṣṭa</i>	(146) <i>aikṣīṣyata</i>
(139) <i>aihiṣṭa</i>	(147) <i>aihiṣyata</i>
(140) <i>aubjūt</i>	(148) <i>aubjīṣyat</i>
(141) <i>aumbhīt</i>	(149) <i>aumbhīṣyat</i>
(142) <i>aikṣata</i>	(150) <i>aijyata</i>
(143) <i>aihata</i>	(151) <i>aupyata</i>
(144) <i>aubjat</i>	(152) <i>auhyata</i>
(145) <i>aumbhat</i>	

An *aṅga* which begins with a vowel and occurs before *LUN*, *LAṄ* and *LRṄ* receives augment *āT* at the beginning. Thus, *īkṣ* + (*LUN*→*ta*)→*īkṣ* + *iT* + *sIC* + *ta*→*āT* + *īkṣ* + *i* + *s* + *ta*→(*ā* + *i*→*ai*)*kṣ* + *i* (*s*→*ś*) + (*t*→*t̄*) *a* = (138) *aikṣīṣṭa*. Rule 6.1.90 *āṭāś ca* will offer a single replacement in *vṛddhi* for *ā* and *i*, thereby yielding: (*ā* + *i*→*ai*)*kṣ* + *i* + *s* + *ta*. Refer to *kṛṣīṣṭa* (II: 339–40) for additional details. Example (139) *aihiṣṭa* is derived from *īh* + (*LUN*→*ta*) with similar applications. Our active (*parasmaipada*) derives *ubj* + (*LUN*→*t*(*i*→*ϕ*)) = (140) *aubjūt* and *umbh* + (*LUN*→*t*(*i*→*ϕ*)) = (141) *aumbhīt* will receive *iT* (7.3.96 *astisico’ prkte*) in addition to *āT*. Their *sIC* will then be deleted by 8.2.28 *it iti*. A *savarna-dīrgha* application on (*ā* + *u*→*au*)*bj* + *i* + (*sIC*→*ϕ*) + *i* + *t*→*aubj*(*i* + *ī*→*ī*) + *t* and (*ā* + *u*→*au*)*mbh* + *i* + (*sIC*→*ϕ*) + *ī* + *t*→*aumbh* (*i* + *ī*→*ī*) + *t* will finally produce *aubjūt* and *aumbhīt*. Examples of *LAṄ*, i.e., (142) *aikṣata* and (143) *aihata*, derive from *īkṣ* + (*LAṄ*→*ta*)→*āT* + *īkṣ* + *ŚaP* + *ta* and *īh* + (*LAṄ*→*ta*) = *āT* + *īh* + *ŚaP* + *ta*. The *ā* of *āT* and *ī* of roots will yield a single replacement in *vṛddhi* (6.1.90 *āṭāś ca*). This same also applies to active derives (144) *aubjat* and (145) *aumbhat*, where *i* of *ti* gets deleted by 3.4.100 *ītāś ca*.

The middle derivates of *LRN̄*, i.e., (146) *aikṣisyata*, (147) *aihiṣyata*, will receive  $\bar{a}T$  and a single replacement in *vṛddhi*. They will also receive the usual *syā* and *iT*. Their active counterparts, i.e., (148) *aubjīṣyat* and (149) *aumbhiṣyat* are not any different. They will, of course, have the application of 3.4.100 *itāś ca*.

Our last three examples, i.e., (150) *aijyata*, (151) *aupayta* and (152) *auhyata*, are third person singular middle derivates of *LAN̄* introduced after *yaj*, *vap* and *vah*. *Kāśikā* offers operational steps as follows: *ta* as a replacement of *LAN̄* (*lādeśa*), *yaK*, *samprasāraṇa* and  $\bar{a}T$ . Refer to my notes under this rule concerning obligatory and non-obligatory (*nityānitya*) aspects of rule applications.

#### 6.4.77 *aciśnudhātubhruvāṁ yvoriyañnuvañau*

(153) <i>āpnuvanti</i>	(160) <i>niyau</i>
(154) <i>rādhnuvanti</i>	(161) <i>niyah</i>
(155) <i>śaknuvanti</i>	(162) <i>luvau</i>
(156) <i>cikṣiyatuh</i>	(163) <i>luvah</i>
(157) <i>cikṣiyuh</i>	(164) <i>bhruvau</i>
(158) <i>luluvatuh</i>	(165) <i>bhruvah</i>
(159) <i>luluvh</i>	

This rule introduces *iyAN̄* and *uvAN̄* as replacements for the final *i* and *u* of an *āṅga* which ends in *snu* (3.1.73 *svādibhyah śnuh*), or of a *dhātu*, or else, the *ū* of *bhrū*. Of course, when a vowel-initial affix, follows. The first three examples derive from *āp* + (*LAT* + *jhi*) → *āp* + (*S*) *nu* + (*jh* → *ant*) *i* → *āp* + *n(u* → *uvAN̄*) + *anti* = (152) *āpnuvanti*. Similar applications are witnessed in (154) *rādhnuvanti* from *rādh* + *Śnu* + *jhi* and (155) *śaknuvanti* from *śak* + *Śnu* + *jhi*.

Recall that *atus* and *us* are third person dual and plural active replacements of *LIT* (3.4.82 *parasmaipadānām . . .*). Examples (156) *cikṣiyatuh* and (157) *cikṣiyuh* thus derive from *kṣi* + (*LIT* → *atus*) and *kṣi* + (*LIT* → *us*), where *i* of *cikṣi* + *atus* and *cikṣi* + *us* are replaced with *uvAN̄* after iteration and related operations. Thus, *ciks(i→iyAN̄)* + *atus* → *cikṣiyatu(s→h)* and *ciks(i→iyAN̄)* + *us* → *cikṣiy + u(s→h)* = *cikṣiyuh*. Examples (158) *luluvatuh* and (159) *luluvh* illustrate a replacement in *uvAN̄* for *u* of *lulu*. Our next four derivates of *nī* and *lū* end in affix *KvIP* (3.2.61 *satsūdvīṣa . . .*; 3.2.76 *kvip ca*). Note here that *KvIP* goes through total deletion (*sarvāpahārilopa*) and an item which ends in a *KvIP* does not abandon its status as a *dhātu* (cf. *kvibantā dhātutuvaṁ na jahati*). Thus, *n(i→iyAN̄)* + *au* → (160) *niyau* and *n(i→iyAN̄)* + *Ja(s→h)* → (161) *niyah*. We similarly get (162) *luvau* and (163) *luvah* with a replacement in *uvAN̄*. This rule makes a special mention of *bhrū* because it is a nominal stem. We thus get *bhr(ū→uvAN̄ + au)* = (164) *bhruvau* and *bhr(ū→uvAN̄ + (J) as* → (165) *bhruvah*.

6.4.149 *sūryatiṣyamatsyānāṁ ya upadhāyāḥ*

(166) <i>saurī balākā</i>	(169) <i>āgasti</i>
(167) <i>taiṣam ahaḥ</i>	(170) <i>āgastīyah</i>
(168) <i>taiṣī rātriḥ</i>	(171) <i>matsī</i>

This rule offers deletion of the penultimate *y* of a *bha*, namely *sūrya*, *tisya*, *agastya* and *matsya*, provided *i* or a *taddhita* follows. We derive (166) *saurī* from *saurya* + *NīP*, where *saurya* derives from *sūrya* + *Nas* + *aN* → *s* (*ū* → *au*) *rya* + *a* → *saurya* (*a* → *∅*) + *a* = *saurya* with initial *vrddhi* and deletion of *a* (6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*). Note here that yet another deletion of *a* is accomplished when deriving *saurī* from *saurya* (*a* → *∅*) + *NīP* → *saurya* + *i*. The *y* of *saurya* is then deleted by our present rule. This deletion of *y* is accomplished by treating deletion of *a* as *asiddha* ‘suspended’ (6.4.22 *asiddhavad atrābhāt*). For, if *a*-deletion is not treated as *asiddha*, *y*-deletion cannot apply. That is, *y* will then be final, and not penultimate. The first deletion of *a* cannot be treated as *asiddha* because it is conditioned by affix *aN*. The deletion of *y* is conditioned by *i* of the feminine affix. Deletion of the second *a*, and the penultimate deletion of *y*, both have similar locus (*samānāśraya*). This *a* is treated as *asiddha*. Deriving (167) *taiṣam* from *taiṣa* + *sU* and (168) *taiṣī* from *taiṣī* + *sU* is easy. Note, however, that *taiṣa* derives from *tisya* + *aN* with initial *vrddhi*. We also find deletion of *a* and *y* of *tisya* before *aN*. Another *a*-deletion is accomplished when affix *NīS* (4.1.15 *tiddhāṇañ . . .*) follows *taiṣa*. We similarly derive (169) *āgasti* from (*agastya* + *Nas* + *aN*) + *NīP*, with the significance ‘a female offspring of Agastya, a sage’ (4.1.114 *r̥yandhakavṛṣṇi . . .*). Here again, we find *a* and *y* deletions before affix *aN*. We derive (170) *āgastīyah* by further introducing affix *cha*, again with *a* and *y* deletions. The word (171) *matsī* ends in a *NīS* (4.1.41 *śid gaurādibhyaś ca*) introduced after *matsya*. This derivate also involves *a*-deletion which, in turn, facilitates *y*-deletion via *asiddhatva*.

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